CULTURE'S OXYGEN

THE PEN REPORT

DEVELOPING THE MINORITY-LANGUAGE CREATIVE WRITING INDUSTRY IN KENYA, HAITI, SERBIA AND NIGERIA

AN INTER-REGIONAL RESEARCH, ADVOCACY AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

pen INTERNATIONAL

UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Diversity of Cultural Expressions

pen INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS CIRCLE

TO THE MEMORY OF KEN SARO-WIWA, JNR. (1968–2016)

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

IFCD	UNESCO International Fund for Cultural Diversity
TKK	(Kiswahili: 'Let's Read Our Own'). Programme of teaching materials for schools in the mother languages of Kenya
TLY	Tusome Lugha Yetu: Picture book. Publications in mother languages with pictures, introduced as part of the teaching system in Kenya
KLB	Kenya Literature Bureau
NERDC	Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council

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Paul Finegan & James Tennant

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PREFACE

OKICINJENI YA MĨIKARĨRE

NĨ NGŨGĨ WA THIONG'O

Ngũkũngũĩra riboti ĩno ya PEN na njĩra yakwa nĩĩ mwene tondũ nĩ ĩhutĩnĩtie na ngoro ya harĩa ngereire. Mwakainĩ wa 1966 nĩ ndathire mũgomano wa thĩ yothe, *International PEN Congress,* ũrĩa warĩ Niyoko, Ngwatanĩro ya Mabũrũri ma Amerika. Mũcemanio ũcio nĩguo watũmire ndĩcokere ngoro mũrũgamĩreinĩ wakwa harĩ rũthiomi rwakwa, thiomi cia Abirika, o hamwe na iria ingĩ cĩĩ mũtondoinĩ ũmwe. Mũtigairĩ Arthur Miller nĩ hĩndĩ ĩyo warĩ ndongoria ya ngwatanĩro ĩyo ya PEN. Mũcemanio ũcio wokire rĩrĩa Mbara ya Heho yacacĩte, no oa na kũrĩ ũguo, nĩ mũcemanio nĩ wokĩtwo nĩ andĩki a kuma kũrĩa hĩndĩ ĩyo gwetagwo Mburoko ya Irathĩro, na angĩ arĩa hau kabere matangĩetĩkĩrirĩo gũtata bũrũri ũcio nĩ ũndũ wa wĩtĩkio wa ũteti wao, ta Pablo Neruda mũrebeti wa kuma Chile.

Ũmwe wa andĩki acio magana matano, ndaranĩirie na ithuĩ atatũ kuma Abirika, nĩ Ignazio Silone, Mũitariani mwandĩki wa mbuku yoĩkaine mũno, *Mũgate na Ndibei,* (*Bread and Wine)* ĩrĩa yoimire 1937. Mĩarioini yake aageragia kuga atĩ nĩ wega ũtaũri wa mabuku ma Gĩitariani gũthiĩ Kĩngeretha wongerereke. Akĩhĩtũkia mĩario o ũguo, Silone, akĩhong'oka akiuga atĩ Gĩitariani ti rũmwe rwa thiomi ta cia Mbantu iria itakĩrĩtie kiugo kĩmwe kana igĩrĩ ũingĩinĩ wa ciugo. O na akorwo nĩ ndoĩ atĩ mwĩto wa Mũgomano ũcio wakonĩĩ "Wĩrũgamia wa ngoro ya mwandĩki", na ningĩ ngarrikana mĩario ya kũhingũra ya Arthur Miller gũkindĩra atĩ tũtiarehetwo kũu kũrũgamaĩrĩra mabũrũri maitũ, kana atĩ tũiguage no mũhaka mwandĩki agitĩre mĩikarĩre kana mawĩtĩkio ma ũteti, nĩĩ nĩ ndaiguire nadakunywo nĩ ciugo cia Silone, na ngĩrũga na igũrũ gũtetera thiomi cia Abirika.

Mĩrio yakwa, na kũrĩa yorotete mwandĩkĩreinĩ wakwa kuma 1961, yacokire kũnũmĩrĩra nginya Leeds kũrĩa ndacokereire kwandĩka mbuku yakwa ya gatatũ, *Thanda ya Mbembe,* na kĩngeretha, ĩĩ ma, o Kĩngeretha kĩrĩa, na ti rũmwe rwa thiomi icio cia Mbantu ndacirĩrĩire na rũrĩmĩ rũrĩrĩmbũku mwaki. Ndaikarire mĩaka ikũmi – ĩrĩa ndarutire ibuku rĩngĩ, *Mahũa ma Thakame*, na Kĩngeretha, o hamwe na gũikio korokoro njera nene mwaka ũmwe nĩ ũndũ wa mathako, - ngĩkebarabaria nginya ngĩandĩka mbuku yakwa ya mbere na gĩkũyũ, *Caitaani Mũtharabainĩ*. Mĩaka ĩngĩ ĩnana yathira nĩ rĩo ningĩ ndacokire kwanĩrĩra Mbukuinĩ yakwa, *Gũkonora Ũkoronia Kĩongoinĩ*, atĩ nĩ ndathinĩkania Kĩngeretha na nakũu, atĩ kuma 1984, ndĩrĩandĩkaga na Gĩgĩkũyũ kana Gĩthwaĩri.

Kuma ndatua itua rĩu, nĩ guo ndacokire kũmenya wega cia ũingĩ na ũritũ wa mĩgogo ĩrĩa mĩige nĩ hithitũrĩ na mĩbango ya andũ njĩrainĩ cia thiomi cia Abirika. Ribotiinĩ ĩno ya PEN nĩ ĩgwetete mĩgogo ĩmwe na na tharianjata ciayo njĩrainĩ cia thiomi iria nyinyi. Ĩmwe ya mĩgogo ĩyo, yumanĩte na thirikari na arutithia a mabuku gũthuna mbeca na gũkunderia njĩra cia kũnyita mbaru ũkũria wa wandĩki; wagi wa gĩthomo kĩĩganu gĩgĩthoma kana gũthomithia thiomicia-Maitũ; namo mũndũ macio magakunderia athomi na mũthomere, o hamwe na agũri na mũgũrĩre wa mabuku. Namo manyiira macio harĩ thiomi icio makoererwo nĩ ngwatanĩro cia ndunia iria ituĩte atĩ thiomi cia kuma mabũrũri ma Ithũĩro no cio tu irĩ na ũhoti na mwaramĩre.

Imwe cia ngwatanĩro icio nĩ iheyanaga iheyo cia gũkũria kĩrĩra kĩa Abirika, no ningĩ ikaruta watho atĩ mwandĩki ndangĩandĩka rũgano rwake na rũthiomi rwa Abirika. Mwandĩki no andĩkire na kĩngeretha kana kĩbaranja nĩ getha etĩkĩrio gũcindanĩra iheyo icio, o hamwe na mbeeca na gĩtĩyo kĩrĩa ikorogwo ikuanĩirie. Ũgũrũki ũgatuĩka ũhoreri; wogomu ũgatuĩkamũrũngarũ; ũrimũ ũgatuĩka ũgĩ. Kwoguo thiomi cia Abirika na iria ingĩ ciothe cia cĩĩ handũinĩ hamwe, igatuĩka nĩ cio irahoya ũikaro bũrũriinĩ na mĩikarĩreinĩ ya cio.

Nĩ njĩtĩkanĩtie na Itua rĩa Barcelon rĩa 1996, Itua rĩa Thĩ yothe harĩ Haki cia Rũthiomi, rĩrĩa riugĩte atĩ rũthiomi rwa Maitũ kana rwa mĩikarĩre ya mũndũ, ti kĩheyo gĩa kũiguĩrwo tha kana gũtanahĩrwo nĩ mũndũ ũngĩ, nĩ haki ya ũmũndũ wa mũndũ o wothe.

PEN nĩ ĩmwe ya ngwatanĩro iria cianyitire itua rĩu mbaru, na riboti ĩno, mũthathaũranĩreinĩ na mataaroinĩ, ĩtwaranĩte na ngoro ya wanĩrĩri wa Barcelona, na yagĩrĩirwo nĩ gũthomwo nĩ andĩki, ataũri, arutithia a mabuku, athondeki a mĩtaratara gwa thirikaari, na atongoria a ngwatanĩro cia mbia, tuge arĩa othe marĩ na bata wa gũkũria ndũnia na njĩra ĩiganaanĩirie kana ĩtarĩ na mũthutũkanio. Harĩ thiomi kana mĩikarĩre hatirĩ wa nda na wa mũgongo.

Handũ ingĩregana naho no mũhũthĩro wa ciugo, "thiomi nyinyi", tũkiaria cia thomi icio. O na akorwo ũrĩa riboti ĩno ĩhũthĩrĩte kiugo, "nyinyi", ti kũnyihia ĩranyihia thiomi icio, no ningĩ kiugo kĩo kĩene kĩahota gũtũma mũndũ eciria atĩ gwĩ thiomi njiare na hinya na ingĩ na ũmocu. Ũkuruhano wa thiomi na Mĩikarĩre tobauti ũkaragwo ũgĩathwo nĩ hinya ũrĩa wĩ na ene thiomi icio, Thiomi cia arĩa makuĩte hinya bũrũriinĩ kana thĩinĩ wa Thĩ nĩ cio ihatagĩrĩria cia arĩa matarĩ na hinya. Ciuo iria njega nĩ "Thiomi iria hatarĩrie!" Rũthiomi kũhatĩrĩrio gũtitwaranĩte na ũingĩ wa ene rũthiomi kana gĩthemba kĩa rũthiomi. Reke njuge o rĩngĩ atĩ gũtirĩ rũthiomi rũciare rwĩ rwa kũhatĩrĩrio; nĩ kũhatĩrĩrio rũhatagĩrĩrio nĩ ũndũ ũmwe kana mothe marĩa magwete ribotiinĩ ĩno.

"Thiomi Hatĩrĩrie" nĩ cio ciugo iria ireretha ũndũ ũyũ wega. Rũthiomi rũhatĩrĩrie ihinda rĩmwe kana handũinĩ hamwe no rũtuĩke rwa kũhatanĩrĩria hĩndĩ ĩngĩ na handũ hangĩ. No ningĩ ũtiganu wa mũhũthĩrĩre ciugo ndũragiria riboti ĩno ĩkorwo ĩ ya bata. Ihinda rĩyo nĩ ikinyu. Na nĩ ĩrahutia maingĩ matũkonĩĩ. Nĩĩ nĩ ndamĩamũkĩra wega na nĩ ndĩmĩendereria harĩa arĩa othe marũagĩra mĩikarĩre ya ngeithi na ngwatanĩro.

Ciugo nyendete mũno nĩ cia Mũtiga irĩ Aime Cesaire ũrĩa mbukuinĩ yake ĩrĩa ĩtagwo *Ndereti Ikonĩĩ* Ũkoronia, harĩa oigĩte atĩ ngeithi cia Mĩikarĩre nĩ cio Okicijeni ya Ũthitarabu. Thiomi nĩ cio gĩtugĩ gĩa gatagatĩ gĩa thiomi. Kwoguo ngĩcokeria Cesaire guoko no njuge atĩ ngethi cia thiomi njĩrainĩ ya ũtaũri nĩ cio Okicijeni ya Mĩikarĩre. No ngeithi ico itingĩmata hatarĩ ũiguano na ũigananu wa thiomi.

THE OXYGEN OF CULTURE

BY NGŨGĨ WA THIONG'O

I welcome this wonderful PEN report in a very personal way. It was the International PEN Congress held in New York in 1966, which made me finally confront my own relationship to my language, and by extension, African languages, and others similarly situated. Arthur Miller was then President of International PEN. Held at the height of the Cold War, the conference was unique in attracting a large attendance of writers from the then Eastern Bloc, and also others previously not allowed on American soil, like Pablo Neruda, of Chile, on account of their past political affiliations.

Among the 500 writers present, including three of us from Africa, was Ignazio Silone, author of *Bread and Wine,* first published in 1937. In making a case for more translations from Italian into English, he happened to say, in passing, that Italian was not one of those Bantu languages with one or two words in their vocabulary. Despite being mindful of the theme of the Congress, the 'Writer as Independent Spirit', and Miller's opening address which had emphasised that none of us were there to represent their country, and certainly none was obliged to speak as an apologist for their culture or political beliefs, I felt obliged to speak out immediately, in defence of African Languages.

My response, and its implications for my own literary practice since 1961, would later follow me back to the Leeds where I resumed writing my third novel, *A Grain of Wheat*, in English, yes in English, and not in one of those Bantu languages that I had defended with fiery eloquence. It took me ten years, during which I published yet another novel, *Petals of Blood,* in English, and a year at a Maximum Security Prison for my work in theater, to come round to writing my first ever novel, *Caitaani Mũtharabainĩ,* self-translated into English as *Devil on the Cross*. And it took eight years more for me to declare in *Decolonizing the Mind,* that I had done away with English, that from 1984 onwards it was going to be Gĩkũyũ and Kiswahili all the way.

Since the declaration I have come to realize more than ever before the quantity and magnitude of obstacles placed by both history and design in the way of African languages and others similarly situated. Some of these obstacles, and hence challenges they pose, have been raised and well put in this PEN report on minority languages. Among the challenges were lack of financial and infrastructural support for the creative industries from government and publishing houses; lack of adequate mother-language education; which then had an impact on readership and consequently consumer base. It becomes a vicious circle.

The negative attitudes to these languages are reproduced in global institutions with their bias towards the dominant Western European languages. Some institutions even offer prizes in the promotion of African literature with the inherent condition that they DON'T write "it" in their own languages. These writers would be considered for the awards and the prestige and financial rewards that go with them, only if they write in English or French. This blatant absurdity is promoted as the desirable and inevitable norm. So it is African languages and others similarly situated who find themselves fighting for literary space even within their countries and cultures.

I believe in the 1996 Barcelona Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights, which recognises that the right to mother tongue or the language of one's culture is not a privilege to be granted or withdrawn at will, it's a human right. PEN is one of the supporters of the Declaration and this report, in its analysis and recommendations, is within that spirit, and should read by writers, policy makers, translators and publishers and all financial institutions with a stake in equitable global development.

I would however differ in the use of the term minority to describe these languages. Although its usage in this report is comprehensive, nevertheless, it might give the impression that some languages are inherently major and others inherently minor. In reality there is no language which is inherently minor. The question of language and culture relationship is essentially one of power. The languages of national and global power marginalize all the others. A better term might be marginalized languages. Marginalization has nothing to do with the quantity of speakers or the quality of a language. Again, there is no language which is inherently marginal. It is pushed to the margins by one or a combination of factors well covered in this report. The term Marginalised languages, is the more accurate description. A marginalised language in one place and time can become marginalizing in a different location and time.

However this difference on the usage of the term minor does not take away from the importance, timeliness and relevance of this report and I commend those who put it together, and recommend it to all those struggling cultures of inclusion and dialogue.

One of my favorite quotes is from Aime Césaire's *Discourse on Colonialism* where he says that cultural exchange is the oxygen of civilisation. Languages are central to all cultures, big and small. So I would add to Césaire and say that language exchange, through translations, is the oxygen of the oxygen of culture, but this assumes their equality.

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INTRODUCTION

CULTURAL OSMOSIS

The term 'creative industry' cannot be understood solely in the commercial sense: aimed only at producing items (for example, tourist souvenirs) that can be sold easily in the marketplace. Creativity has a much deeper power and it can stimulate changes that transform societies, making them fairer and more comfortable to live in. Any question about the role of minority languages in these processes will necessarily be linked to encouraging a capacity to show respect for differences, fostering empathy and promoting mutual understanding: something that makes countries more democratic and more capable of managing diversity, and not only in the linguistic sense.

Literary works offer the opportunity to build one's own world while at the same time opening it up to other influences. While cultural osmosis allows for the preservation of identity, a permeability of linguistic barriers, as achieved through translation, allows for the constant evolution of readers' sense of identity through literary contact with other cultures.

The researchers employed to conduct this study reported that there is still a conviction in the mainstream publishing industry that it is primarily viable to sell books in dominant languages. Reversing this trend will require changing the way that society perceives the value of minority languages, bringing back their dignity, presenting them as equivalents in day-to-day communications at all levels and providing the population with the ability to read and write in these languages, based on a formal learning process that forms part of the school system.

If the situation we want is one of constant exchange, the lessons of the colonial past in the focus countries gives a very different view, namely the possibility of eliminating differences, absorbing and assimilating. Although the violence of geographical colonisation may have disappeared, the fantasy of being able to remove all barriers and construct large spaces for communication without intermediaries is something that is still very much present in the global book business. Apart from being difficult to achieve, reading in a single shared language and finding inspiration in a single tradition would have such an impoverishing effect that creativity, on a national and international level, would be considerably diminished.

STUDY METHODOLOGY

The aim of this study was to analyse the condition of minority-language creative writing industries in four focus countries – Kenya, Haiti, Serbia and Nigeria – and to identify the conditions respondents in each country felt were necessary in order to achieve the production and promotion of books in minority languages. The four focus countries of the study were selected on the basis of the existence of divergent language and publishing models and the presence of PEN Centres. PEN International organised a series of meetings and workshops between May 2014 and November 2015 and took part in a number of book fairs and literary festivals in each of the four countries.[1]

PEN aimed to ensure that the main source of information on the situation in the publishing industry would be the publishers themselves. A mapping process of local-language books in each country then took place, along with surveys and semi-structured interviews of publishers in the four countries[2] carried out by in-country researchers to complement the desk-based mapping.[3] PEN organised and facilitated workshops at literary festivals in each of the four countries to secure the highest number of participants. These brought together experts from publishing, including PEN International's Publishing Circle, academia, government and writers for an exchange of views on the challenges and opportunities facing minority-language publishing in each country. PEN International and the four Centres simultaneously developed and rolled out advocacy strategies to promote local-language publishing with government, publishing houses, funders and the public across each of the four countries. The findings from the mapping, research and advocacy inform this report. Further details of the research and development seminars can be found in the Study Sources section at the end of this report.

From the first meeting, held at PEN International's offices in London in May 2014, it was established that a major obstacle to establishing and sustaining strong minority-language publishing industries was the way that minority languages were valued, both locally and nationally.[4] Participants at this initial meeting reached the consensus that the marginalisation of a language has nothing to do with the number of speakers, but is instead a direct consequence of a lack of recognition, or even respect,

1 See Chronological List of Meetings, Seminars and Workshops Held at the end of the report.

2 See Study Sources for further details.

3 See Secondary Sources for further details.

4 A report from this meeting is available from: http://www.pen-international.org/newsitems/report-from-unesco-ifcd-strengthening-minority-language-policies-and-publishing/

PEN's Carles Torner listens to SIL's Dave Pearson with Professor Julia Sallabank. Initial project meeting, London, May 2014.

for the reality that language represents – the status of speakers of the language and the economic, social and political values thereby assigned to that group. Thus, the term 'minority language' does not necessarily refer to a reduced number of speakers, but may refer to any language that has lost its social prestige or public reach and is not regarded as an appropriate means of communication in the everyday circumstances of the people who speak it. Reversing a situation of linguistic marginalisation requires the legitimising of the minority language in question as an effective tool for the transfer of knowledge, ensuring that it is seen socially as a language that it is on a par with other, 'majority' languages, both culturally and in terms of its perceived worth.

Further considerable challenges that were identified at this initial meeting were the lack of financial and infrastructural support for the creative industries from government and publishing houses in each of the countries. Similarly, the lack of mother-language education after the first three years of primary school emerged as a key challenge to the development of a readership and consequently a consumer base in minority-language publishing.

It should be stressed that one of the most positive results of this study came from the development of networks formed through the innovative nature of the methodologies employed. The contacts established between the various stakeholders in the publishing sector across all four focus countries have led to ongoing contact between writers, professionals and practitioners who, had it not been for this project, would have been unaware of colleagues pursuing similar aims in different regions and countries. In addition, the activities (seminars, public and panel discussions) organised in the four countries helped to shape public opinion and influenced debate in the media, particularly on the subject of linguistic rights.

Challenges to the research project included the difficulty of accessing non-metropolitan areas, especially as affected by low internet access; low response rates to requests for information which were not in-person; an inability to reach individuals publishing through non-traditional means (i.e. self-publishing in minority languages) and a lack of official systemised data on publishing in the target countries. Researchers also identified prejudice as to why publishing in minority languages wouldn't be feasible as a further challenge. Further research in these areas is necessary.[5]

THE IMPORTANCE OF TRANSLATION

The instability that affects creative writers in languages with poor cultural infrastructure can also be found in many well-established cultures. The international book

5 In this regard, a particularly interesting observation is highlighted in UNESCO's creative economy report regarding the difficulty of obtaining reliable data on activities relating to culture: 'The first challenge for policymakers is to obtain reliable data on cultural and creative activities […] Cultural statistics are often patchy and unreliable as they are also designed to only measure those things that are deemed to be worth measuring, particularly to justify public funding'. — RAJ ISAR, Yudhishthir (ed.). Creative Economy Report 2013. Special edition. Widening Local Development Pathways. UNESCO, 2013, 39.

PEN's publishing seminar in Port-au-Prince.

DOCUMENT 1

THE QUEBEC DECLARATION ON LITERARY TRANSLATION AND TRANSLATORS[1]

1. Literary translation is a passionate art. Promoting values of openness, acting for peace and freedom and against injustice, intolerance and censorship, translation invites a dialogue with the world.

2. All cultures are not equal when it comes to translation. Some cultures translate by choice, others by obligation. Translation is a key to the protection of less powerful languages and cultures.

3. Respectful of authors and original texts, translators are nevertheless creators in their own right. They seek not only to reproduce a literary work but to move the work forward, to expand its presence in the world. Translators are not simply messengers: though they speak for others, their voices are also their own. In particular, they act in favour of cultural diversity by remaining loyal to marginalised authors, literary styles and social groups.

4. The rights of translators must be protected. Governments, publishers, the media, employers—all must respect the status and needs of translators, give prominence to their names, and ensure fair remuneration and respectful working conditions—in all forms of print and digital media.

5. The physical safety and freedom of expression of translators must be guaranteed at all times.

6. As creative writers with specific skills and knowledge, translators must be shown respect and consulted for all questions related to their work. Translations belong to those who create them.

market is experiencing far-reaching changes, and globalisation processes are unifying trends and reducing the diversity of both the range of titles and the aesthetic options available. In this regard, even within the most well-established and influential 'global' cultures, the struggle taken on by non-dominant cultural groups as they seek to gain respect for minority trends may also play an important role in the preservation of creativity.

Literary creation should not be subjected solely to models used to measure commercial success. Indeed, the over-exploitation of exclusively quantitative formulae is precisely what prevents the possibility of promoting unrestricted, open creativity that is not conditional upon instant commercial success. Rather, longer-term development of creativity in local languages which gives sufficient support and freedom to the creative process is essential to making such development more inclusive and thus ensuring the sustainable and balanced economic and cultural growth that can ultimately transform societies.[6]

Encouraging creativity means encouraging a diversity of choices and contact with hitherto unknown experiences. Translation is increasingly seen as the only possible 'language' for literary expression.[7] Instead of striving to create a single, standardised market, we should be increasing our capacity for exchange and encouraging the intensity and the frequency of contacts. The mediation offered by translations is especially effective in territories in which different identities live side by side. The inevitable conflict caused by the overlapping of languages within the same space can be converted into a driving force for progress and aid the construction of more robust and more open societies.[8] Instead of suppressing the difference, one needs not only acceptance but also an active relationship between the cultures that share the same territory.[9]

In their desire to protect themselves, 'minority' cultures can draw in on themselves, rejecting outside points of reference. Translation offers an antidote to the risk of isolation, presenting the opportunity for exchange and allowing one to make oneself known to the outside while creating a space for the voices of others within one's own language.

This constant inward and outward flow is especially important in post-colonial contexts in which the speakers of minority languages use the dominant language without intermediaries, and translation into the local language is regarded as unnecessary. This is a mistaken approach that leads to serious consequences. Without translation, the weak language will become even weaker, starved of the innovative flow necessary to adapt to current contexts. Speakers of the minority language effectively understand the texts they are reading in the dominant language, but their own language will not benefit from this since, without translation, the minority language may not have any need to adapt or change, and it will thus find itself out of step with the modern world, as well as losing its historical references and the broad horizons offered by literary exchanges.

To promote creative writing it is absolutely essential to promote reading. Initiatives for promoting the creative use of minority languages must be aimed at stimulating the populations' interest in reading authors from their own communities. In order for the literary arts to flourish it is necessary to establish a community of readers, based on a shared language.[10]

THE ROLE OF NEW TECHNOLOGIES

The languages in this study that do not have a fully codified written form, or are not accepted within established literary circles as an equivalent means of expression, are the ones that have to overcome the strongest prejudice. New technologies offer previously unimaginable possibilities for languages that do not have their own structure and are inadequately codified. For the first time in history, humankind has the ability to store and pass on oral content beyond the space and time in which it is voiced. Film and TV are expensive media and require structures that are even more complex than book publishing, but the digital revolution has substantially altered the circumstances, and access to what we might call the global archive is now easier for all cultures.

6 '…the cultural resources can make to drive sustainable development processes as a whole. Culturally driven ways of imagining, making and innovating, both individual and collective, generate many human development goods, and these in turn can contribute to inclusive social and economic development, environmental sustainability and the attainment of peace and security, as goals upon which the post 2015 United Nations development agenda is predicated.' — RAJ ISAR, Yudhishthir (ed.). Creative Economy Report 2013. Special edition. Widening Local Development Pathways. UNESCO, 2013, 39.

7 BASSNETT, Susan; LEFEVERe, André, Translation, History and Culture. London: Cassel, 1995.

8 SHERRY, Simon. Villes en traduction. Calcutta, Trieste, Barcelone et Montréal. Montréal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 2013.

9 PARÉ, François. Exiguity. Reflections on the Margins of Literature. Waterloo, Canada: Wilfrid Laurier UP, 1993.

10 FINEGAN, Paul. Interview with Billy Kahora and Angela Wachuka, Kwani? Trust. (15-4-2015). — FINEGAN, Paul. Interview with Musyoki Muli and Beatrice K. Nugi, Longhorn Publishers Kenya. (15-4-2015) — Garland; Dok, 13-4-2015). — FINEGAN, Paul. Interview with Muthoni Garland and Millie Dok. Storymoja Festival. (13-4-2015). Internal PEN International documents.

Question time at PEN's publishing seminar in Port Harcourt.

Cameroonian philosopher Achille Mbebe entitled one of his essays with a proverb from the Lamba people in Zambia: 'He left his footprint on the stone, but he himself moved on'.[11] The exclusion of minority languages in many cases means precisely that; these are cultures and languages that have been systematically denied the right to leave a footprint, to write themselves into history.

The digital revolution has broken down the structures for the passing on of knowledge and opened up paths that allow cultures without a developed infrastructure to gain access to the spaces in which people communicate. The impact of digital technologies in Africa or the Caribbean, and even among the linguistic communities that carry little demographic weight in Europe, could represent an authentic revolution.

However, unbridled optimism at the possibilities offered by new technologies is misplaced. The situation facing minority languages that have not been codified is critical, even from the digital perspective. A quick look at a popular and free-to-access tool such as Wikipedia is enough to dispel the illusion that everything is possible, even without basic infrastructure and without political recognition. The languages included in this study, (excluding the minority languages in Serbia that are languages from neighbouring states, such as Hungarian and Romanian, or the variants that have arisen form the language known as 'Serbo-Croatian'), gave the following results: There are more than 10,000 Wikipedia articles in Haitian Creole (placing it at 75th position in the Wiki languages league), Swahili (94th) and Yoruba (96th). More than 1,000 articles are written in Ruthenian (152nd), Hausa (227th) and Igbo (240th). And some 100 articles can be found in Kikuyu (243rd) and Roma (249th of the 280 active languages on Wikipedia). And that is all. There is not a single article in any other language from Nigeria or Kenya, and in Roma, the language that unites all of south-eastern Europe's Roma, there are as many articles as there are in Old Church Slavonic, which is in 251st position and a ceremonial language that was never used beyond its archaic ritual confines.

Finally, within repressive regimes where languages are actively repressed or forced to assimilate, the situation of minority language publishing is even more dire.

These are some of the most salient challenges which need to be overcome.

11 MBEBE, Archille, 'Necropolitics', *Public Culture* 15 (2003), 11-40.

PART ONE

TRENDS IN MINORITY-LANGUAGE LITERATURES

One of the mistakes that is most frequently made in studying minority languages is to confuse the languages that are fully embedded in their region and are spoken by millions of people with the situation facing residual linguistic communities in which only some traditions from the past survive. The cultivation of folklore and ethnological traditions may, in some cases, actually be the only way of keeping alive a demographically small language that has no other way of being reintroduced into other areas of public life. But for a language to be fully present in a region, even if it does not enjoy sufficient recognition and the community that speaks it does not have its own political structures, one cannot limit efforts to focusing on the past and passing on traditional knowledge.

Despite the fact that attempts to promote the use of these languages in contexts outside the family circle may arouse political tensions, the struggle to achieve respect for languages cannot be aimed solely at the mere recognition of their existence, restricting them to a limited environment in which they can demonstrate their individual peculiarities.

One of the methods of exclusion which has proved most effective in the past in all the contexts we have observed has been to convince the bulk of public opinion that certain living cultures are just vestiges that have no connection with the real world. Any language is entitled to cultivate its memories and customs, but it also has the right to think of itself as part of the present. Any strategy that leads to denial that a language being spoken today is of no use for current communications should be viewed as highly suspect, an attempt to provoke exclusion and the marginalisation of languages and identities that are politically 'uncomfortable'.

Angela Wachuka (Kwani Trust) with Moses Kilolo (Jalada) during PEN's publishing seminar in Nairobi, June 2015.

CREOLISATION

The status of minority languages in Kenya, Haiti and Nigeria still appears to be marked by their post-colonial context. These societies each display great difficulties in attaining complete acknowledgement of their diversity. The most extreme case is Haiti, with a language that is spoken by the vast majority of the population and yet is so strongly disparaged that there are serious obstacles to its introduction into the educational arena or its institutional use. Creole is a hybrid language which has emerged as the result of the prolonged co-existence of various languages in the same space. Its success or failure as a cultural language could, over the long term, indicate the possible course of future developments in other similar contexts, particularly in Africa.

The possibilities for the use of pidgin as a written language and as a language for literary creation is a subject of vigorous debate in Nigeria. In Kenya, conversely, the debate centres around the use of Sheng, a slang version of Swahili. The publication of books in English in both countries should not in any way be seen as standard and non-problematic. With the disappearance of the colonial world, African literary writings in English have questioned the language model. The traditions and implicit references in more formal English are becoming increasingly distanced from African realities. In this connection one must be aware of the lively internal debate that has arisen within the creative community.

CASE STUDY 1

SHENG

Another example of Creolisation, and one that is of particular interest as a sociological phenomenon is the case of Sheng, which is primarily associated with the urban population in Kenya. There is a vibrant cultural scene in Kenya, and the number of literary events, particularly in Nairobi, has grown extraordinarily in recent years. Particularly remarkable are the events that include performances of oral literature or poetry slams. The new generation of writers and poets want to reflect the reality of today's Kenya, especially the issues relating to urban growth and life in this environment. The language they use to express themselves is one that was born out of this reality, meaning that they want to break away from formal structures. They have turned their back on 'the Queen's English' and standard Swahili.

Sheng began to emerge at the beginning of the 1990s as a hybrid language that contains elements of both English and Swahili. Since then there has been a generation of creators who work and live at the midpoint between their mother tongue, English, Swahili, and the hybrid variants. While English and Swahili are the predominant languages used in Kenya's schools, real life, as experienced by most Kenyans, is conducted in a mixture of languages. Sheng offers a new, vibrant and creative form of expression that does not rely on the structures of formal English, which are not seen as wholly appropriate for Africa. Even in their explorations of themes related to history and tradition, Sheng literary artists employ a radical approach with language that is characterised by its capacity for impact and its ability to express violence and life within a space relieved of the strictures of more formal literary expression.

Sheng now has a sufficiently stable vocabulary for it to be understood by a large number of people through a variety of media. Nevertheless, it is a long way from being able to be standardised or codified. Writers have emerged who are even experimenting with novels in Sheng, though the written Sheng language has not yet been consolidated. Multimedia formats are the most suitable, as they allow the inherently oral nature of this hybrid language to be preserved.[2]

SUPRAREGIONAL LANGUAGES

In Kenya and Nigeria, apart from the predominance of English, one also can see the emergence of supraregional languages, such as Swahili in Kenya and Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo in Nigeria. In Nigeria there are around 19 million Yoruba speakers, and it is regarded as the regional language of the south-west. Igbo is spoken by 18 million people in Nigeria and is the regional language of the south-east, while Hausa is spoken by some 18.5 million people in the north, though if one includes speakers from neighbouring countries, 25 million people use this language.[12]

Particularly notable is the case of Swahili, which is present not only in Kenya but across east Africa. It is the national language of Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, and it is spoken in parts of Rwanda, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia and Somalia. It is estimated that the number of native speakers is around 15 million, though as the language of communication in public spaces it is used by around 150 million[13].

Swahili has notable resources; it has a presence in the communications media and support from the governments of several countries. With its origins as a language primarily of trade, Swahili is not the mother tongue of the majority of speakers, but rather a *koine* that brings together people of diverse origins. For this reason, it is an appropriate language for use in business and city life, the contexts that tend to suppress difference and lean towards standardisation.

FRAGMENTED PEOPLES

In Serbia, the linguistic rights of minorities are effectively respected. However, the lack of a universally agreed definition of the country's own language, Serbian, has provoked tensions in the immediate past. These tensions can also be seen in Serbia's interaction with neighbouring countries and the perceived discouragement of potential literary exchanges, creativity and access to a viable potential market.

The official language of Serbia is Serbian, and the state has a preference for this to be written in Cyrillic script. There is some difficulty in defining the languages that have emerged from the language known as 'Serbo-Croatian'. The same codified and standardised language was used in the territories of Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro for 150 years in all areas of written communication. The current situation is not clearly defined, as the laws of these four states encourage linguistic differentiation in four distinct languages, though the reality is that borderless communications prevail, for the simple reason that each of these variants can be perfectly understood by speakers of all the others.[14]

The statistics published by the National Library of Serbia show that Bosnian, Croatian, Bunjevci Croatian (from a very small region inside Serbia) and Montenegrin are all classified as minority languages. Between 2005 and 2015 there were 1,051 books published in Bosnian and 598 in Croatian, while not a single title was published in Montenegrin in the entire decade. The criteria for classifying publications fall along clearly political lines, demonstrating that Bosnian and Croatian are perfectly identifiable as different, while Montenegrin does not need to be separated from Serbian. Furthermore, a distinction is made between the standard Croatian variant and a local variant, 'Bunjevci, Croatian', in which not a single publication was issued in ten years, but which should be classified as a separate category. There are other categories in these same statistics that are also confusing: 'Vlahi' (Vlach), given that it refers to a Romanian minority, would suggest an attempt to create internal divisions in this community,[15] while 'Aškali' and 'Egipćani', are terms used to describe Roma who use the Albanian language (in which there are also no published works) but are recognised by the Serbian State as two distinct minorities.

PEOPLES WITH THE NOMADIC LIFESTYLE

Another particularly important case is that of the Roma people in Europe. Roma literature is extremely difficult to define, even as a concept. It is not possible to place it within a limited geographical area, so it is not possible to think of it in the same terms as one classifies categories of existing national literature. Roma are often seen as outsiders within the country in which they live, and they experience exclusion based on persistent attitudes of negative stereotyping of nomadic peoples. In addition, the Roma do not share a single language. Some authors write in Roma, while others write in the language of the country in which they live. The example of European Roma literature is of great importance to an understanding of how we lack categories with which to describe and comprehend realities that differ from the prevailing models.[16]

Serbia's Roma represent a specific challenge with regard to researching basic literacy through to the development of their own literary tradition. Given their nomadic lifestyle, standard measures usually

12 Information drawn from Ethnologue. Other cross-border languages in Nigeria are Fulfulde (11 million), Songhay (2.4 million) and Kanuri (2 million).

13 Ethnologue. Languages of the World: https://www.ethnologue.com/.

14 Kodrić, Snježana. 'Le serbo-croate aujourd'hui: entre aspirations politiques et faits linguistique.' *Revue des études slaves* 75/1 (2004), 31-43.

15 Seminar for publishers in minority languages. Belgrade, Book Fair (28-10-2014).

16 Dowd, Siobhan. 'On the Road'. *The Guardian* (9-2-2002).

applied by single states are inappropriate for this population. In an effort to address this challenge, a group of twelve countries[17] took part in an international initiative entitled 'The Decade of Roma Inclusion: 2005-2015', a broad and coordinated action involving both governments and the general public, aimed at preventing discrimination against the Roma population and its exclusion from the societies in which they live. Nevertheless, in Serbia, during the ten years from 2005 to 2015, only 148 works were published in Roma in comparison with approximately 50,000 titles in Serbian in this same period.

Official recognition of minority status is afforded to the Roma people and two other distinct groups, the 'Aškali' and the 'Egipćani' (= Egyptians, i.e. 'Gypsies', also pejorative in English), who are also Roma but who use Albanian as their language of social communication. How can this overlap be resolved? Is this just one single Roma people? In which case, should their own language, culture and traditions take precedence, even though they have been adapted to different administrative or political contexts, one Serbian, one Albanian? Should the Roma people who use Serbian lean towards assimilation with Serbian culture while those who use Albanian lean towards the culture of their own language? Or should they be classified by breaking them up into separate communities that are completely isolated from one another, marking out the differences and allocating them to narrowly localised contexts? These questions highlight the complexity of such situations and the enormous obstacles that prevent the establishment of a baseline from which a minimum level of cultural infrastructure can be built.

CASE STUDY 2

PUBLICATIONS IN THE MINORITY LANGUAGES OF SERBIA

(Data listed in order of the number of titles published)

NATIONAL MINORITY	LANGUAGE	BOOKS	SERIAL PUBLICATIONS (TITLES)
Hungarian	Hungarian	2,578	70
German	German	1,305	9
Bosnian	Bosnian	1,051	13
Slovak	Slovak	844	10
Romanian	Romanian	667	18
Croatian	Croatian	598	16
Ukrainian	Ukrainian	483	7
Albanian	Albanian	435	17
Macedonian	Macedonian	273	6
Bulgarian	Bulgarian	204	4
Slovenian	Slovenian	182	3
Roma	Roma	148	9
Greek	Greek	115	1
Czech	Czech	35	2
Jewish	Hebrew	15	0
Askali	no data available	0	0
Bunjevci	Croat	0	0
Egipćan	no data available	0	0
Montenegrin	no data available	0	0
TOTAL		8,335	165

17 Detailed information on 'The Decade of Roma Inclusion: 2005-2015' can be found at : http://www.romadecade.org/index.php?content=1

Gojko Božović, Editor-in-Chief and Director of Archipelag Publishing House at the PEN seminar, October 2014.

Social exclusion of the Roma persists and is well documented, both in Serbia and in other countries in south-eastern Europe. Simply acknowledging the problem is not enough to make the circumstances change. It must be stressed that the fragmentation of these groups and their subdivision without clear, agreed criteria, based on a feeling that these are 'different' groups of people, will not benefit a change of approach and the possibility of regarding all cultures as equal.

VITALITY OF 'MINORITY' LANGUAGES IN EVERYDAY LIFE

It is difficult to make generalisations about 'minority languages' when each of the languages in the study are completely embedded in a specific region and serve as a form of communications in all aspects of life within that region and community. This is the situation affecting the languages of Kenya discussed in this study, all of which have millions of speakers and display great vitality: Kikuyu is spoken by around 6.5 million people and its use is increasing, Dholuo is spoken by 4 million and its use is also growing, while Kalenjin is spoken by around 5 million and Luhya by another 5 million speakers.[18]

The marginalisation of these cultures often stems from the government's fear of losing control and power over the regions in question if the use of the minority language is allowed without restriction in all contexts. Tensions can reach explosive levels, particularly when a minority language acquires influence in its own region and is effectively able to counteract the influence of the dominant State language.

Kenyan writer Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o created an exemplary project for the reassessment of the languages of Africa in his work, written in Kikuyu. His most well-known academic work, *Decolonizing the Mind* (1986)[19], has over time become the benchmark for how to resolve the linguistic problem in African literature. His ideas have also been influential in other contexts involving historically disadvantaged peoples.

Ngũgĩ raised some profound questions. Should authors of literary works ask themselves whom they're actually writing for? Which audience are they addressing? An author should be aware that different audiences perceive his or her work at different levels. An author must even know what kind of texts have previously been read by the community that he or she is addressing, and what their reference points are. And, above all, an author must consider what it is that readers are looking for in his or her books, what kind of reality they need to see reflected in his or her poems, stories or plays. Literary perception is capable of seeing right through to the tiniest and

18 Ethnologue. Languages of the World: https://www.ethnologue.com/.

19 NGŨGĨ WA, Thiong'o. *Decolonizing the Mind: the Politics of Language in African Literature*. Nairobi: Heineman, 1986.

Vesna Prodanović, Cultural journalist and translator at the PEN seminar, Belgrade, October 2014

most prosaic details. A text must offer the possibility of recognising specific trees and plants, animals large and small, symbols and imaginary beings, even parasites and insects, 'these things that surround us in our lives', as well as the sky and heavenly bodies, works of art or the clothes that people were wearing in a particular time and place. All of this is important; all of these details are what make a text capable of transmitting a view of the world.[20]

In contrast to Ngũgĩ's project for the modernisation of literary expression, the trend for the preservation of the use of minority languages has almost always been accompanied by attempts to preserve the legacy of oral traditions. Particularly notable among the efforts aimed at overcoming this stagnation of tradition is the work of the linguist L.L. Appleby, who published the first grammar in the Luhya language.[21] Michael Marlo of the University of Missouri recently proposed adding to his efforts to promote the use of this language in the west of Kenya, identifying authors currently writing in Luhya and suggesting that they use their language creatively. The project included learning basic creative writing techniques. The models to be followed were based on both world literature and the African oral tradition.[22]

Towards the end of the 1980s, following Ngũgĩ's example, the publication of books in minority languages began to become more visible in Kenya. Some publishers began to commission authors working in minority languages to write new works. However, even with this widely welcomed boost for literary renewal, at a practical level the basic problem remained, namely that books in minority languages were generally aimed at rural areas, where there were still high levels of illiteracy and poverty. Since these first attempts at the end of the 20th century, efforts to create a robust level of book publishing in minority languages have gradually fallen away still further and few favourable developments can be seen at present in this area.

RESIDUAL LANGUAGES, ETHNOLOGICAL TREASURES

Among the minorities that live in Serbia it is worth highlighting the case of the Ruthenians. The Ruthenian diaspora is a prominent one and it is these exiled communities that have done most to cultivate the passing on of their cultural legacy and an awareness of their identity. In Ukraine they are not recognised and their language is regarded as a dialect.

In Serbia, Ruthenians have minority status, and their language is classified as one of the State's minority languages. In contrast to other minorities in Serbia, such as the Hungarians or the Romanians, Ruthenians do not have a homeland where their language is the majority tongue and which could offer support for the development of their cultural activities. The community has around 15,000 speakers in Serbia. Given its small demographic size, translation into Serbian is essential for authors who write in Ruthenian. It is the only way that they can form part of the literary life of the country they live in. The government of the province of Vojvodina supports them, and has specific programmes to subsidise their publications, which form part of a strategy to preserve the cultural diversity of this region.

Historic communities that are demographically fragile and isolated, without any possible contact with an original homeland, cannot pretend to survive on the basis of market forces. In such cases, an attitude of preserving and respecting their roots is especially important.

MINORITIES THAT ORIGINATE FROM NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES

The case of the Hungarians and the Romanians who live in Serbia is one that is commonly seen throughout Central Europe. The borders of the different empires and their successive national states have changed a number of times over recent centuries, meaning that some regions that were once united are now divided by a state border. When collaboration between the cultures is healthy, such situations place the minority in the privileged position of mediator between the two literary traditions, as has occurred in Serbia, particularly in the case of the Hungarian minority. Publishing in Hungarian in Serbia is well established. Books and other cultural activities are also eligible for assistance from the Hungarian government. Authors who publish in Serbia can also often be found in libraries in Hungary, though it is difficult for authors working in the diaspora to achieve the same level of attention enjoyed by authors who live and work in Hungary itself. The exchange is not so fluid in the case of Romania, and the output of the Romanian minority is restricted to the activities organised within Serbia.

20 O'OKWEMBA, Khainga; WANJALA, Christopher Lukorito. 'Minority Language Creative Literature and Publishing in Kenya: The cases of Kikuyu, Luhya and Kalenjin'. Internal PEN International document (September 2015).

21 Appleby, L. L. *A first Luhya Grammar with exercises*, East African Literary Bureau, 1961.

22 O'OKWEMBA, Khainga; WANJALA, Christopher Lukorito. 'Minority Language Creative Literature and Publishing in Kenya: The cases of Kikuyu, Luhya and Kalenjin'. Internal PEN International document (September 2015).

CASE STUDY 3

LEARNING ENGLISH IN KENYAN PRIMARY SCHOOL

'My problems with the language began when I started school. They taught me the English nursery rhyme "London's Burning". I remember thinking, what does "London" mean? We were all very confused, nobody understood what the word "London" meant. We thought that London was perhaps the name of a person. Then we decided to sing the song in Lulogooli in order to be able to follow the lyrics. Our idea was that if we were talking about a fire then we should understand what we were saying. But that wasn't what the teacher wanted.'

Stanley Gazemba, Kenyan writer

PART TWO

THE LINGUISTIC SITUATION IN THE FOUR COUNTRIES

The term 'minority language' is used throughout this study in order to ensure consistency with the title of the project. It should be borne in mind that one of the aspects that this project highlights is precisely the impossibility of bringing highly diverse situations and realities together under a single heading. For example, Serbia, with its nine and a half million inhabitants, and Haiti, with just over 10 million, are demographically comparable. However, 5,000 books are published in Serbia each year, while in Haiti the number is no more than 150.[23] This study is intended to provide an understanding of drastic imbalances such as this.

There are multiple, complex reasons for the marginalisation of a language. The linguistic situations in the four countries studied reveal some of the different kinds of marginalisation – situations which, undoubtedly, could be found in other countries. Based on this analysis, PEN came to a critical conclusion: The contexts in which specific languages could be regarded as 'minority' are so different from each other that we cannot hope to be able to establish a single way in which we might reverse the situation and prevent the degradation of the conditions in which these languages are used and developed. The most obvious example is that of the prevailing diglossia in Haiti, where the majority of the population know and use Creole, while the use of French is limited purely to more official contexts. A large percentage of the population is unable either to write in French or understand it. Nevertheless, the language that must in this case be studied as the 'minority' language is Creole, because it lacks the structures that would allow its proper development and consolidation.

In addition to the term 'minority language', this study also uses the expression 'mother tongue' in contexts relating to learning and schooling, and 'local language' in order to help distinguish between the state language and the languages of a smaller geographic or demographic area.

KENYA: MINORITY LANGUAGES AS AN OBSTACLE TO NATIONAL UNITY?

In Kenya, the coastal population is predominantly Muslim, and uses Swahili as its quotidian language of communication. English and Swahili are recognised as official languages. For the most part, publishing is carried out in these two languages. As regards minority languages, it is important to note the influence of missionaries who promoted the translation of religious texts into local languages in order to aid the conversion of the population to Christianity. There are translations of the Bible in Kikuyu (1951-1965), Dholuo (1953-1977), Kalenjin (1969) and Luhya (1975).[24]

However, literacy in minority languages was for a long time associated solely with popular cultural heritage. Collections of traditional tales, proverbs and other gnostic forms were compiled and documented.[25] In this regard, only a very small number of literary works in the modern sense have traditionally been produced. One tends to find that even languages with their own poetry and a well-developed oral tradition are only passed on in written form in English translation.

In Kenya, a major obstacle to minority-language publishing is the political insistence that English and Swahili are regarded as unifying languages that will ensure peaceful coexistence and progress. Minority languages are perceived, by contrast, not only as an obstacle but as a real cause of disunity and conflict.[26]

23 MILCÉ, Jean-Euphèle. 'Etat de la part réservée dans l'édition aux livres en langue créole'. Internal PEN International document. (September 2015). — PAUNOVIĆ, Zoran. 'Minority-language publishing in Serbia'. Internal PEN International document (September 2015).

24 Ethnologue. Languages of the World: https://www.ethnologue.com/.

25 Chesaina, C.: *Oral literature of the Kalenjin.* Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, 1991. — Kabira, Wanjiku Mukabi; Muthahi, K.: *Kikuyu oral literature*. Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, 1988.

26 WOLFF, Ekkehard (ed.). *Optimizing Learning and Education in Africa. The Language Factor. A Stocktaking research on Mother Tongue and Bilingual Education in Sub-Saharan Africa.* Libreville, Gabon: UNESCO, ADEA, 2006.

Vladimir Kopicl, Director of the Institute of Culture of Vojvodina at the PEN seminar, Belgrade Book Fair, October 2014.

HAITI: BUILDING PRIDE FOR ONE'S ROOTS

The current situation in Haiti is one of a diglossia, with French occupying a privileged position in society, even though only the elite classes speak it well, while Creole is the day-to-day language of communication for the vast majority of the population. Attempts have been made over the last thirty years to introduce a range of measures to change the status quo, but formal use of the Creole language continues to be disparaged. The Academy of the Creole Language was founded in December 2014 with the aim of encouraging the use of Creole as a cultural language.

SERBIA: RECLAIMING A SPACE FOR CULTURE

As far as minority languages are concerned, in Serbia only the autonomous province of Vojvodina is notable for its diversity. The largest minority groups in Vojvodina are Hungarian and Romanian communities that live over the border from the neighbouring state in which theirs is the majority culture. A number of other minorities – including Slovaks, Slovenians, Czechs and Bulgarians – originally came from the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and ended up staying in Vojvodina for a variety of historical reasons. Notable among these minorities are the Ruthenians in Pannonia and the Germans in Banat. Banat was a province of the Austro-Hungarian Empire between 1849 and 1860, in frontier territory that is now divided between Hungary, Romania and Serbia and is known for its diversity.

Finally, the Roma community has a significant presence in Serbia. There is an urgent need[27] to develop and support the Roma cultural sphere and to strengthen the strategies to support schooling and ensure that pupils can continue with their studies as the language is largely absent from education and publishing.

NIGERIA: INCONSISTENT PROMOTION OF MOTHER-LANGUAGE EDUCATION

The level of linguistic diversity in Nigeria is phenomenal. An Index of Nigerian Languages, in its 1976 edition, includes 349 languages, 28 while the 1992 edition documents a total of 430.29 In 2012, Blech classified 485 different languages. A major problem in Nigeria is that the use of minority languages is often restricted to the home environment. There are also serious failings in

27 Detailed information on UE program 'The Decade of Roma Inclusion: 2005-2015' can be found at : http://www.romadecade.org/index.php?content=1

28 HANSFORD, K et al. *An Index of Nigerian Languages*. Ghana: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1976.

29 CROZIER, D.H.; BLENCH, R.M. *An Atlas of Nigerian Languages*. Ghana: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1992. — BLENCH, Roger. *An Atlas of Nigerian Languages*. 3rd. Edition. 2012.

Professor E.J. Alagoa, founder of the Rivers Readers Project, at PEN's publishing seminar in Port Harcourt, October 2014. With Ellah Wakatama Allfrey and Bibi Bakare-Yusuf.

the educational system, meaning that many students are not fully able to write either in their mother tongue or in English.

Of the minority languages, only Yoruba and Hausa have a standardised orthography. Igbo, the fourth of the country's most widely-used languages, is still in the process of being standardised, though grammatical forms have been established.[30]

Teaching in minority languages beyond levels 1 and 2 is not consistently available. A number of attempts have been made to overcome these difficulties, notably the 'Rivers State Readers Project' (c.1966), which focused on providing texts to teach school-age children in their own mother tongue. This project produced material for the teaching of reading and writing in 23 languages or dialects.[31] The project also included workshops for writers, teachers and speakers of these languages. It was through these workshops that many of the post-Independence generation in the Niger Delta region learned to read and write in their own languages. However, this ambitious initiative never became fully established. The initial project was revisited in the Rivers State Education Law of 2003, which aimed to reintroduce the 14 officially recognised languages into the education system: Abuan, Degema, Echie, Egbema, Egene, Ekpeye, Eleme, Gokana, Ibani, Khana, Ndoni, Odual, Ogba and Okrika.[32]

30 In the case of Igbo too, translations into English are restricted to lexicographical works or compilations from popular tradition, as shown by the translations included in the *Index Translationum*: Ezeuko, R. O. *Foundation Igbo grammar*. Onitsha: Jet Publishers, 1989. — Adamaechi, B. C. *Igbo grammar*. Onitsha: Kawuriz & Manilas Press, 1985. — Egudu, Romanus N. *African poetry of the living dead. Igbo masquerade poetry*. Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992. — *Poetic heritage. Igbo traditional verse* UNESCO representative work. Enugu: Nwankwo-Ifejika, 1971. — Amadiume, Solomon. *A study of Igbo proverbs. Translation, explanation and usage. Suitable proverbs for different occasions.* Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishing, 1995. — Ekechukwu, Perpetua Aku. *Tales, Songs From Igbo Land*. Transcribed in English and Igbo. East Hills, N.S.W.: Perpetua A. Ekechukwu [Australia], 2005. — Umeh, John Anenechukwu. *From Ọkpọnkụ abụ: poetry*. London: Karnak, 1990.

31 Williamson, Kay. 'Small languages in primary education: the Rivers Readers Project as a case history.' *African Languages/Langues Africaines* 5, 2 (1979), 95-l05.

32 Another important project, known as the 'Six-Year Primary Project' was introduced by the University of Ife in Yoruba in 1970 — WOLFF, Ekkehard (ed.). *Optimizing Learning and Education in Africa. The Language Factor. A Stocktaking research on Mother Tongue and Bilingual Education in Sub-Saharan Africa.* Libreville, Gabon: UNESCO, ADEA, 2006.

RIVERS READERS PROJECT[4]

The Rivers Readers Project was founded in 1967 by Professor Emeritus Ebiegberi Alagoa and Professor Kay Williamson, building on the latter's work in linguistics at the University of Ibadan which she continued from the late 70s at the University of Port Harcourt, where she held the UNESCO Chair in Cultural Studies. The aim of the project was to nurture and promote reading and writing in the local languages of Rivers State, including Ijaw (Izon) which is spoken by at least one third of the Niger Delta population. Work was undertaken – supported initially by UNESCO and the Ford Foundation – focusing on grassroots consultation with the communities themselves, providing training for teachers in how to instruct in their languages. Twenty-one major languages were identified in Old Rivers State by UNESCO and Ford Foundation in 1970, viz. Abuan, Degema, Egbema, Ekpeye, Egene, Echie, Eleme, Epie, Gokana, Ikwere, Ibani, Izon (Ijaw), Kana, Kalabari, Ndoni, Nembe, Obolo, Odual, Ogba, Ogbia, and Okrika. 'We decided to uncork our education and the languages of the Delta', explained Professor Emeritus Alagoa, during PEN's publishing seminar in Port Harcourt, October 2014.

Primers and grammars were produced in the 21 languages (17 in present-day Rivers State and four in present-day Bayelsa State), for use in schools, along with a limited number of creative (such as in Ikwere) texts; but the Ministry of Education failed to ensure effective distribution and to implement their use, and State support for the Rivers Readers Project was inconsistent. Government support was withdrawn in 1982, although limited funding was renewed from 2009. At the time of writing, largely on account of the resuscitated Rivers State Readers Project, the 17 languages recognised in present-day Rivers State and Izon in present-day Bayelsa State have all their orthographies approved and published by the National Language Development Regulatory Agency, the Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council (NERDC) of the Federal Ministry of Education, Abuja.

PART THREE

THE LEGAL AND POLICY FRAMEWORK FOR MINORITY LANGUAGES

International human rights law does not currently have an agreed definition of a minority language. Linguistic rights can broadly be understood as those obligations on states to use certain languages in certain contexts, to not interfere with the linguistic expressions of individuals and communities and recognise or support the use of languages of minorities or indigenous peoples.

Linguistic rights intersect across a number of human rights provisions including the prohibition of discrimination, freedom of expression, the right to private life, the right to education and the right of linguistic minorities to use their own language with others in the group. As such, they are found explicitly or implicitly in numerous key international and regional human rights treaties, including, notably the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) to which all of the states in this research are party.

DOCUMENT 2

PEN'S GIRONA MANIFESTO ON LINGUISTIC RIGHTS[5]

1. Linguistic diversity is a world heritage that must be valued and protected.
2. Respect for all languages and cultures is fundamental to the process of constructing and maintaining dialogue and peace in the world.
3. All individuals learn to speak in the heart of a community that gives them life, language, culture and identity.
4. Different languages and different ways of speaking are not only means of communication; they are also the milieu in which humans grow and cultures are built.
5. Every linguistic community has the right for its language to be used as an official language in its territory.
6. School instruction must contribute to the prestige of the language spoken by the linguistic community of the territory.
7. It is desirable for citizens to have a general knowledge of various languages, because it favours empathy and intellectual openness, and contributes to a deeper knowledge of one's own tongue.
8. The translation of texts, especially the great works of various cultures, represents a very important element in the necessary process of greater understanding and respect among human beings.
9. The media is a privileged loudspeaker for making linguistic diversity work and for competently and rigorously increasing its prestige.
10. The right to use and protect one's own language must be recognized by the United Nations as one of the fundamental human rights.

PEN Kenya president Khainga O'Okwemba; Emily Njeru and Elizabeth Nasubo (Kenyan Culture Ministry); Professor Chris Wanjala (chair, PEN Kenya TLRC).

KENYA: A RELATIVELY ROBUST LEGAL FRAMEWORK

Kenya and Nigeria are both party to the African regional human rights mechanisms. The Cultural Charter for Africa and the African Youth Charter recognize the need to develop African languages as a means of ensuring cultural progress, as well as economic and social development. The introduction of African languages in all levels of educations is also a goal which African states should achieve in line with literacy work at large and the right to enjoy the indigenous cultures by their members, especially the youth. So, African states are in principle obliged to recognise a minimum level of linguistic rights to promote among the youth the local cultures and creativity in their own languages. Yet, it cannot be ignored that the same provisions set forth with the intent to create a positive discrimination for minority languages in some cases can be used to discriminate against minority languages.

Kenya's Constitution, approved in 2010, offers a relatively robust and broad legal linguistic framework that allows for the implementation of policies for the recognition, support and development of the languages used by indigenous and minority communities. Article 7 of the Constitution names Swahili as Kenya's national language, declaring it and English to be the country's official languages. Article 7 goes on to establish that the State will promote and protect linguistic diversity, and will support the development of the use of indigenous languages (and Kenyan sign language), though the Constitution does not provide for these national languages to be afforded official status in any individual part of the country.

Article 11 of the Constitution recognises culture as a fundamental element of the State, establishing that the state must promote all forms of cultural expression through, among other means, literature and aspects of cultural heritage. For its part, Article 27 prohibits the state from exhibiting any kind of discrimination against its citizens, including discrimination based on differences in culture or language. At a later point, Article 44 of the Constitution establishes that everyone has the right to use the language of his or her choice and to participate in the cultural life of his or her community. This right is further developed in the same Article, which goes on to establish that a person belonging to a cultural or linguistic community has the right, along with the other members of the same community, to use their language and to gather to create, participate in and maintain cultural and linguistic associations.

Other Articles of the Constitution establish that anyone who is arrested or accused has the right to be informed of their rights and the charges against them in a language that they understand, and to have a translator in court

free of charge if they do not understand the language of the proceedings. In addition, the State must implement policies for the development of cultural values and the languages spoken by minorities. Finally, the Constitution establishes that the official working languages of the country's parliament are Swahili and English (as well as Kenyan sign language). In the event of any conflict between versions of the law in different languages, the one signed by the President will take precedence, and if a conflict arises between the different language versions of the Constitution, the English version will take precedence.

In the section on legislative development, it is regrettable that, after many consultations and a long study period, the draft law on the promotion of culture in its broadest sense was shelved, because it was not included in the list of priority legislative measures for constitutional development which had to be approved before 27 August 2015, the fifth anniversary of the enactment of the Constitution. Instead, priority has been given to a draft bill on traditional knowledge and expressions of traditional culture, the aims of which are reductionist and lead one to the view that there is a lack of political will to implement Article 11 of the Constitution, which clearly establishes that culture in its broadest sense forms the basis for national, and not just traditional, knowledge.[33]

SERBIA: LEGISLATION LEADING TO SUPPORT FOR TOLERANCE AND INTERCULTURAL DIALOGUE

The European regional rights system has two conventions dealing with linguistic rights. As a member of the Council of Europe, Serbia is party to linguistic rights obligations established in the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages and the European Framework for the Protection of Minorities. The Serbian Constitution, ratified on 8 November 2006, offers a solid basis for providing protection for minority languages and their development. Article 10 of the Constitution enshrines the Serbian language and Cyrillic script as the official forms in the Republic of Serbia, but at the same time it establishes that the official use of other languages and their scripts will be the subject of a specific law, based on the provisions of the Constitution. What is more, Article 14 of the Constitution places an obligation on the State to protect the rights of national minorities and to preserve their identity.

One remarkable aspect of the Constitution is the inclusion of a chapter devoted to developing the rights of national minorities. Article 75 establishes the right of people belonging to national minorities to decide or to take part in decisions affecting some aspects of their culture, education, information and the official use of their languages and script. To this end, it is established that, subject to the provisions of a special law, national councils will be able to be created so that these powers may be exercised autonomously within the framework of the law.

Zoran Hamović, Editor-in-chief of the Serbian publishing house Clio.

Other Articles guarantee equality under the law, prohibit any negative discrimination on the grounds that a person belongs to a national minority, prohibit enforced assimilation and establish the right to preserve the specific characteristics of national minorities in a range of areas, which include, among others, the various levels within the public administration, education in minority languages, the creation of cultural associations, information and the communications media.

The Constitution also establishes a series of values that must underpin legislation and the duties of the State, and in this regard it was established that Serbia would advance the spirit of tolerance and intercultural dialogue and adopt effective measures for the enhancement of mutual respect, understanding and cooperation between everyone living within its borders, regardless of their ethnic or cultural origins, their linguistic identity or their religion.[34]

While the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia contains a considerable number of measures for the protection of the linguistic rights of national minorities, in practice these measures are being implemented with differing degrees of success and uneven levels of commitment. Of significant concern are the political efforts being made to separate the different variants of the common linguistic core that is Serbo-Croatian and to define them as independent languages, despite the perfect mutual comprehension among the people who speak them. Similarly the classification officially adopted for minority languages, far from benefiting these languages, appears to be seeking to break them up and separate them from their respective reference points, such as Vlach in relation to Romanian, and the fragmentation of the Roma community. It is also important to point out that the tendency towards

33 OMOROGBE, Philip. "Language Rights and Protections in Nigeria and Kenya". Internal PEN International document (September 2015). — O'OKWEMBA, Khainga; WANJALA, Christopher Lukorito. "Minority Language Creative Literature and Publishing in Kenya: The cases of Kikuyu, Luhya and Kalenjin". Internal PEN International document (September 2015).

34 PAUNOVIĆ, Zoran. 'Minority-language publishing in Serbia'. Internal PEN International document (September 2015).

Jean-Euphèle Milcé, president of PEN Haiti, during publishing seminar in Port-au-Prince, July 2015.

linguistic purification during the rule of Slobodan Milošević (1991-1997) had a direct impact on the entire educational system with regard to minority languages. The traditionally good communications between Hungarians and Serbs in Vojvodina, for example, were affected to the extent that we are now seeing a shortage of literary translators who are able to move easily between the two languages.

HAITI: A SPECIFIC SET OF CHALLENGES

No regional convention protecting linguistic rights exist at the Inter-American level. Article 5 of the 1987 Haitian Constitution sets out that 'All Haitians are united by a single language: Creole', going on to add that Creole and French are the official languages of the Republic, with equal status. Article 40 requires the State to issue announcements regarding all laws, orders, decrees, international agreements, treaties and conventions affecting life in the country, except for information relating to national security, in both Creole and French. Finally, Article 243 of the Constitution provides for the establishment of an Academy of the Creole Language, which was effectively created on 4 December 2014.

The introduction of the Creole language into the educational system began with the school reforms of 1979, which established a communications programme in Creole during the first and second years of schooling. This programme involves acquiring the ability to express oneself correctly in the Creole local tongue and acquiring the underlying mental mechanisms required in the different areas of learning: listening, speaking, reading and writing.

The reforms initially had to withstand significant social resistance, though over time Creole has been gradually introduced into the pre-school and primary cycles, especially following the orders handed down by the Education Ministry in 1996 regarding the introduction of the teaching of Creole literature. This decision, which was a welcome development as regards respect for the Creole language, has however not been followed up with actions and incentives that would lead to its unhindered application, and published content in the Creole language is still scarce beyond the basic teaching level.

Despite the fact that there is an ever-increasing number of writers who are able to produce works in Creole, and that the Creole language is increasingly used in the

PEN event during Port Harcourt Book Festival, UNESCO World Book Capital 2014. 'What Language means to Literature: Identity and the Importance of Literary Translation'. Tade Ipadeola, president of PEN Nigeria, with Stanley Gazemba, Bibi Bakare-Yusuf, Ken Saro-Wiwa Jnr, and Ellah Wakatama Allfrey (chair).

communications media, the production of literary works is limited. There is also a significant lack of translations into Creole. Indeed, the few publishing houses operating in Haiti prefer to publish in French due to a lack of policies that offer incentives for publishing in Creole.

NIGERIA: FRAGILE IMPLEMENTATION OF PROTECTIONS FOR LINGUISTIC MINORITIES

The 1999 Nigerian Constitution does not offer any solid basis for the protection and development of the country's minority languages. Only Article 55 of the Constitution contains an explicit reference to several languages other than English, stating that sessions of the National Assembly (which comprises two chambers, the Senate and the House of Representatives) will be held in English, but may additionally be held in Hausa, Igbo or Yoruba 'when the appropriate resolutions have been adopted in this regard'. As regards the parliaments of the federal states, Article 97 states that their sessions will be held in English, though the other languages spoken in the state in question may also be used when this is agreed in a resolution by the chamber itself, thus offering even less protection than is provided for the Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba languages in the National Assembly.

Articles 35 and 36 establish that within the legal system, people have the right to be informed of the charges made against them in a language that they understand, and where applicable to have access to an interpreter free of charge. Article 21 guarantees the protection and promotion of the different cultures of Nigeria in general terms, though there is no express mention of minority languages, and Articles 15 and 42 prohibit any kind of discrimination based, among other things, on ethnic origin or membership of a particular linguistic group.

Despite its general statement regarding the protection of Nigeria's different cultures, Article 15 (which relates to basic national political aims) proclaims 'national integration' as one of the values that the State must promote, to which end it provides, among other measures, for mixed marriages between people of different origins or people who belong to different ethnic and linguistic groups, as well as favouring the creation of associations that break ethnic, linguistic and religious barriers, which could easily be interpreted as a mandate for assisting enforced assimilation. In this regard, Article 15 establishes that the State must encourage a common feeling of belonging among the different peoples within the Federation in order to ensure that loyalty to the State prevails over group loyalties. As one may conclude, these provisions could be used against the defence and promotion of some minority languages, since it could be argued that defending them would be contrary to the basic political aims of national integration set out in the Constitution itself.

The Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council (NERDC) is a federal agency that is responsible, among other duties, for the curricular and educational development of the languages of Nigeria. Teaching up to primary school level is usually given in the mother tongue or the language of the immediate community. At post-primary levels, English and one or two other Nigerian languages are compulsory.

According to the National Education Policy of 2004, the NERDC is responsible for establishing a national educational policy, while it is the job of state and local governments to adapt the application of national policy to their own local conditions. English is the normal vehicle for teaching, though the use of Nigeria's main languages (Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba) also forms part of the educational programme in secondary school.

Unfortunately, national language-teaching policies have been poorly implemented; few financial resources are provided for their introduction and there is a lack of suitable teaching materials. In addition, the number of teachers qualified to teach in languages other than English is insufficient. Furthermore, most of the less widely spoken languages have no written orthography, meaning that the production of teaching materials for use in the school environment is extremely difficult.

Within the NERDC is a body called the National Institute for Nigerian Languages, the aim of which is to support the indigenous languages of Nigeria. However, some indigenous and minority groups complain that, in practice, this agency only works to protect Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba and ignores the protection of all the other languages. In any case, the result of the defective application of the NERDC's principles to the teaching of Nigerian languages is a growing rate of illiteracy in the country's languages and, in the case of those that are least widely spoken, stagnation and reverse.

From the perspective of the strategies to be pursued in order to protect minority languages in Nigeria, we find that it would be advisable to implement policies for their defence and promotion principally at a state level, instead of using national channels, since the latter could lead to an approach that focuses solely on Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba and thus place Nigeria's minority languages at even greater risk.

PEN Nigeria's Professor Dele Layiwola with writers Rotimi Babatunde and Shadreck Chikoti.

PART FOUR

PREVAILING TRENDS IN THE BOOK MARKET

Our research across the four countries found that the major reason cited for a lack of educational projects and the book industry in minority languages is the absence of any financial return on these products.

In the post-colonial areas of Africa and the Caribbean, the publishing industry is only beginning to explore the huge potential of the capacity to 'speak' the language of its readers and to seek to work with their worlds in order to open up 'new' markets, even though they exist within the same countries, that is to say, are close at hand. The chain of prejudice is very long and highly complex, and it is therefore impossible to resolve the marginalisation issue with short-term projects.

The majority of these economic arguments are, in essence, ideological arguments dressed up in objective and neutral language. To reverse such deep-rooted convictions, it is necessary to start from the premise that the markets can be changed, and that consumer patterns and behaviour can be gradually altered. Under the right circumstances, a readership can be fostered, even created. In order for the book market in minority languages to be viable, even possible, we must remove the barriers that exclude wide swathes of the population from education in their local language and prevent its normalised use in their daily lives.

The power of literary creativity lies in its capacity to create something from nothing. People of letters have always worked willingly, eager to overcome any adverse circumstances. One of the main aims of this report has been to try to highlight the potential of the literary cultures which lack infrastructure and support to access existing markets.

It is unreasonable to think that minority languages can be structured from the top down and maintained solely with the support of external aid. In political contexts that are not always transparent, a policy of awarding grants can easily lead to problems of corruption, and even external aid, with actions as seemingly innocuous as filling libraries with books in places where books are in short supply, can upset the extremely fragile balance of a country's infrastructure, as shown in the report on Haiti.

The books that arrive from the outside will normally be in French, or even in other languages, and this will destroy the efforts made to produce books on the island itself, particularly in Creole.

By contrast, seeking to show that minority languages are not capable of functioning without internal and external support is an argument that seriously damages these languages and presents them, albeit unwittingly, as dependent languages, languages that can never be self-sufficient. It is for this reason that all financial aid must be aimed at removing obstacles and correcting the imbalances that have led to the situation of marginalisation, rather than being seen exclusively as a charitable donation.

The ability of a culture to create real economic benefits that can be demonstrated using objective figures should not lead us to the conclusion that the value of its cultural assets can be measured by their weight in gold – the direct profits generated. Showing commitment to a rich and diversified cultural life that is free to express itself will create circumstances that are beneficial for the development of all other economic activities. Indeed, it is in the cultural arena that one finds all those issues that need to be resolved before one can begin to talk about a fair and balanced welfare state.

KENYA: THE CONTRADICTIONS IN THE SCHOOL TEXTBOOK MARKET

Even though Kenya has ratified the UNESCO conventions on cultural diversity, policies for the promotion and support of minority languages have, in practice, been very poorly implemented. In the case of some languages, the passing on of their use to younger generations has been interrupted, to the extent that the young are no longer able to speak their local languages. A significant number of the 42 languages that currently exist in Kenya can be considered to be at risk of extinction.

The main problem is that the educational system is not prepared for the implementation of teaching programmes in mother tongue. Teachers do not have the necessary pedagogical training to teach languages, and the mobility that takes speakers away from their original communities prevents the use of local languages.[35] There are also insufficient teaching materials in the majority of minority languages, or those that exist are not made available. In addition, minority languages are not allowed to be used as the examination language in national schools.[36] Parents (particularly in the middle classes) frequently do not support teaching in mother tongue, since they believe that they are sending their children to school to learn English, and teaching in a mother tongue thus represents a backward step, especially in metropolitan areas and regions in which the population is more mobile. In some cases, children are still punished for using their mother tongue within the school grounds, which further strengthens stigmatisation.[37]

To further complicate the situation in Kenya, the issue of linguistic rights has taken on serious political connotations, especially since the 2007 elections, which ended in inter-tribal violence. Initiatives that supported schooling in mother tongue were severely damaged. A predominant conviction eventually emerged among members of the government that English and Swahili represent unifying factors and that all other trends are damaging to the cohesion of the State.

The implementation of effective policies to protect and promote the use of mother tongue required great efforts in order to encourage a change of attitudes towards minority languages, along with greater political involvement from government institutions. However, it is believed that the lack of teaching in mother tongue is an important factor in the number of pupils who do badly at school and subsequently abandon their studies. There are reports that condemn the situation faced by children,[38] especially in rural areas, who fail to reach pre-school and level 1-3 learning standards because they do not know any language other than their local one, and who abandon school at level 4, when classes are given solely in English.[39]

In 1981, Swahili was included as a compulsory language to be taught in Kenya's schools. The other minority languages, by contrast, have been excluded from the educational system beyond the most basic levels. In order for school textbooks in mother tongue languages to be written and published successfully, it is essential that governments make a commitment to introduce these materials into the compulsory curriculum, as well as being willing to subsidise publications, because without such guarantees, publishers cannot promise to produce them.[40]

The current situation differs from that of the 1980s, when Longhorn publishers fully adopted the TTK policy and proposed the publication of easy reading texts in literally 'all the local languages in the country'. The government abandoned its financial support for these projects in 1989, which led Longhorn to discontinue its publications in minority languages in 1991, because there was no longer any demand for them. Since then there has not been any subsidy in Kenya to support the publication of works in minority languages.

35 FINEGAN, Paul, OOKWEMBA, Khainga. Interview with Otella Riunya, Jomo Kenyatta Foundation. Internal PEN International document. The interview was informal, and the opinions do not reflect the Foundation's official points of view. (15-4-2015).

36 FINEGAN, Paul. Interview with Musyoki Muli and Beatrice K. Nugi, Longhorn Publishers Kenya. (15-4-2015). Internal PEN International document.

37 FINEGAN, Paul; WANJALA, Chris. Interview with John Karani, Bookmark Africa. (14-4-2015). Internal PEN International document.

38 SCHROEDER, Leila. 'Mother Tongue Education in Schools in Kenya: Some Hidden Beneficiaries' Language Matters, 35/1, (2004), 376-89.

39 The change in direction towards policies that favour teaching in mother tongue mentioned in P.F.'s interview with Kamau (16-4-2015) is significant.

40 FINEGAN, Paul, OOKWEMBA, Khainga. Interview with Otella Riunya, Jomo Kenyatta Foundation. Internal PEN International document. The interview was informal, and the opinions do not reflect the Foundation's official points of view. (15-4-2015).

Professor Chris Wanjala and colleagues from PEN Kenya with John M. Mireri of the UNESCO National Commission Kenya, April 2015.

EDITOR'S TESTIMONY FROM KENYA[6]

'What changed things for us was beginning to publish in an African language, Swahili. Kenya is an educational market. Textbooks represent 80% of sales.'

Henry Chakava,
East Africa Educational Publishers

The main publisher of educational books is the Kenya Literature Bureau (KLB), which has been a state-owned company since 1980, reporting directly to the Ministry of Culture. Its 2016 catalogue confirms the government's clear intent to give priority to teaching in English and Swahili. The supply of materials and textbooks in these two languages covers all levels, from pre-school through to university, as well as textbooks in specialist areas and a broad range of literary texts, also published in both languages.

By contrast, in minority languages the state-owned publisher only publishes basic language-teaching books for levels 1 and 2. Materials are available for Kikuyu, Dholuo, Kalenjin and Luhya, along with seven other languages. These are illustrated materials known as Tusome Lugha Yetu (TLY), and they are accompanied by wall posters and picture books aimed at preparing children to learn to read, in order to awaken their interest and broaden their vocabulary. The KLB collection also includes a series of publications in minority languages, running to a few dozen titles. Particular mention should be made of the anthologies of texts from the oral tradition, all of them translated and available only in English.[41]

One of the greatest contradictions thrown up by this study is that, despite the difficulty of implementing robust policies for the development of minority languages, the minority-language publishing industry in Kenya (such as it is) is essentially devoted to producing textbooks for schools.

41 Public information available on the KLB website.

NEGATIVE PERCEPTION OF MINORITY LANGUAGES IN KENYA

'The famous TV presenter and journalist, Caroline Mtoko, publicly and loudly announced that in the future for which she was educating her children, there was no place for vernacular languages. In Kenya, there are many who sympathise with her way of thinking.'

Muthoni Garland and Millie Dok, Storymoja Festival, Nairobi[7]

'Most people have grown up through the education system which uses English as the main instructional language, so they know how to speak their languages but not how to write in them. There is a real problem of missing out on the aspects of local languages that English can't convey.'

Moses Kilolo, Managing Editor of Jalada, Kenya.[8]

Our analysis shows, therefore, that the publishing industry in Kenya depends to a large extent on the assured sales offered by the publication of schoolbooks. This means that the curricula approved by the government have a direct impact on the entire publishing industry, especially as regards the publication of books in minority languages. And if the government does not believe it necessary for the population to be literate in their own languages, it is clear that the widespread production of creative writing in these languages is going to be difficult, if not impossible. Without individuals who have been educated as readers in their mother tongue, cultures are forced to continue to depend on the oral tradition exclusively. Reversing these trends is, and will continue to be, extremely difficult.

The circle of mutual dependence is perfectly formed: the government is advocating national unity; publishers are taking advantage of this position because they are limiting themselves to producing books only in two languages, and the majority of parents are convinced that by renouncing their local language they will ensure a better future for their children. The fact that Kenya has been identified as one of the countries, globally, with the greatest expectations of economic growth could speed up the abandonment of the use of minority languages, which are seen by some as inappropriate to modern life.[42]

AFRICA AND THE MOBILE PHONES

'Africa now has more than 761 million mobile phones; this is the technology that has expanded most quickly in all of the continent's history, and it will continue to have an extraordinary effect. In many senses, it is replacing infrastructure that does not exist or is impossible to achieve.'[9]

42 FINEGAN, Paul. Interview with Billy Kahora and Angela Wachuka, Kwani? Trust. (15-4-2015). Internal PEN International document.

In Kenya, new technologies have had an enormous impact, especially in the area of mobile phones. In this respect, any electronic content must be adapted for display on mobiles, more so than via platforms such as personal computers. In any case, the only minority languages that would be able to gain access to electronic broadcasting are Kikuyu and Dholuo, though there is still a lack of publishers with sufficient technical training to be able to take on such projects on a large scale. The large mobile phone operators such as Safaricom have not expressed much interest in creating platforms for cultural broadcasts, since they see the economic returns as very small. There is potential to attract loyal readers through subscriptions to digital publications, but this field remains as yet unexplored in Kenya, especially as far as minority languages are concerned.[43]

André Brenner, from CH Beck, leads PEN's publishing seminar in Nairobi.

CASE STUDY 5

JALADA – THE LANGUAGE EDITION[10]

One initiative which is making full use of new technologies to explore the potential for local-language publishing is Jalada, a Nairobi-based pan-African volunteer collective founded in 2013. In 2015, they published *Jalada 4: the Language Issue* which brought together poems, short stories and essays in 23 African languages and in English translation. This was a bold idea; the editors were conscious of the gap in creative language publishing in local languages across the continent but were unsure of what the response would be.

Following a call for contributions issued through the Jalada website and spread through social media, Jalada received submissions in 50 different languages from across the continent. A major challenge in producing the collection was the lack of editors in each language but they surmounted this through targeting individual editors, assessors and proofreaders in each of the languages through social media.

The language edition has been a major success for Jalada and generated high levels of internet traffic to the site. Commenting on this, Richard Odour, one of the editors, noted that this was the first time many people 'were seeing fiction in their language'.

While the editors are deeply conscious of the barriers to creative publishing in local languages, the interest in the language edition has convinced them of the need to build such a market and of the central importance of new technologies in doing so. The inaugural Translation Issue, published to popular and critical acclaim in March 2016, featured a new short story by the revered Kenyan scholar, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o. The short story was originally written in Kikuyu as Ituĩka Rĩa Mũrũngarũ: Kana Kĩrĩa Gĩtũmaga Andũ Mathĩ Marũngĩ, and translated into English by the author himself. It was published in 33 languages, making it the single most translated short story in the history of African writing. As a continuation to the Translations Programme, Jalada Africa has plans to publish one online translation edition every year.

Jalada's anthologies are available for free online. But the huge interest in the language issue suggests similar ventures might have a financially sustainable future.

43 FINEGAN, Paul. Interview with Billy Kahora and Angela Wachuka, Kwani? Trust. (15-4-2015). Internal PEN International document.

SERBIA: THE CHALLENGE OF CREATING AND PUBLISHING IN A LIMITED MARKET

In Serbia, the state of the publishing industry is delicate. It is true that more than 5,000 titles are published each year, but production is highly fragmented since there is almost no title that gets past an initial run of 1,000 copies. Living conditions have also worsened over recent decades, and the impoverishment of the population has had a general impact on the consumption of cultural goods, especially books. The price of books in Serbia is low, so profits are hard to achieve, and the country also lacks effective channels for distribution and sale.[44]

Against this background, the publishing industry has chosen to publish international best sellers. This destabilises the market and hampers the economic viability of original works, even when they are written in the country's majority language, Serbian. If these difficulties can typically be found in the country's majority culture, it is easy to understand why the publication of books in minority languages, and even translations by their authors into Serbian, has been relegated to entirely marginal proportions.

Books in minority languages are basically published through specialist cultural institutions. For this reason they have little chance of reaching the general public, since such institutions do not have adequate distribution channels. Without the involvement of professional publishers, it is difficult to ensure the production of publications that are economically sustainable.[45] Among the more promising initiatives of a cross-border nature is the Open Society Foundations programme *Roma Initiatives* which offers subsidies, grants and training with the goal of encouraging active social participation by Roma in all the European countries in which the Roma people live.

The publication of books in minority languages has increased a little over the last ten years, but the number continues to be very small. Even in cases in which a work in a minority language achieves a certain level of public visibility, it is generally difficult to find critical reviews or reports in Serbian referring to it. Beyond specialist webpages and book fairs there are very few channels that provide an opportunity for the majority population to follow developments in this category of literature. Furthermore, the Serbian media takes little interest in authors in the country who do not write in Serbian. Because of the lack of pressure in public spaces, these works clearly encounter more difficulties in becoming commercially viable.

Another much more serious circumstance that prevents works reaching the ordinary reader affects not only minority languages but all literary production of a certain level of complexity. In recent decades, booksellers have shown a diminishing interest in titles that are not commercially attractive from the outset, regarding them as 'not worth the effort'. The obstacles that result from poor sales could be rebalanced with the use of public grants, particularly from the Ministry of Culture. However, the economic situation in the country currently shows little signs of improving, and publishing houses are therefore continuing to cut costs and reduce the number of people they work with. It is vitally important for the publishing industry in Serbia that it has access to aid from outside the country, and that the publication of works in the languages of minorities belonging to the cultures of neighbouring States is subsidised by their countries of origin.

In any case, one thing that truly represents a barrier that is difficult to overcome in the distribution of works written in minority languages is the lack of competent translators. Serbia also lacks a critical apparatus that is capable of assessing and commenting on works in some of the country's other languages in a consistent and lasting way. Efforts to encourage publishing activity cannot be limited solely to the production of books. There must also be systematic strategies to develop an audience that is capable of following minority literature with interest and understanding.

The University of Vojvodina offers courses in the country's main minority languages, but there is a diminishing number of translators who want to work in literary translation. Bilingual speakers are, in fact, increasingly hard to find in Serbia. There is a Serbian proverb that says that 'the most difficult thing in the world is to learn your neighbour's language'. In Serbia this became especially true from the 1990s, during the Milošević era, when many existing university programmes were shut down and the number of primary and secondary schools for minorities living in Vojvodina was substantially reduced, a situation that has not as yet been reversed. What was destroyed during that period has still not been rebuilt.

HAITI: THE INVISIBILITY OF THE COUNTRY'S MAJORITY LANGUAGE

Haiti is divided between two languages, Creole and French. From the colonial era to the present day, a knowledge of French has been regarded as both essential and valuable and is acquired within the schooling system, while the Creole language is viewed as a means of communication between those who are less literate. The debate aroused by this strict division of duties between the languages remains controversial, even among Haitian intellectuals.

In the political sphere, hostility towards the Creole language is even more palpable. Decisions in favour of an appreciation of Creole's worth are, to a great extent, rejected at the highest levels of government.

Creole is not a minority language in Haiti if one is referring to its oral use. The problem lies in the transition to the

44 PAUNOVIĆ, Zoran. Interview with Gojko Božović, Arhipelag publishing house. (21-3-2015). Internal PEN International document.

45 PAUNOVIĆ, Zoran. Interview with Gojko Božović, Arhipelag publishing house. (21-3-2015) — PAUNOVIĆ, Zoran. Interview with Bora Babić, Akademska knjiga publishing house. (11-5-2015). Internal PEN International documents.

CASE STUDY 6

NEGATIVE PERCEPTION OF CREOLE IN HAITI

'Firstly, disdain for the language is a fact. Teachers do not have adequate training and the working tools are either insufficient or non-existent. There are insufficient books in Creole. Furthermore, some schools do not even have a library. Some head teachers prohibit the children from speaking Creole at school. This means that there is no linguistic policy that I am aware of. There is also no promotion of publications in Creole. The Ministry makes no statements on the subject. It should also be said that people do not want to speak Creole in public. They ban their children from speaking it outside the home, and where the situation is worst is in school.'

Eric Richemond, UNESCO Haiti.[11]

written word. The language spoken by the entire population is poorly represented in terms of written publications. It is a language that is discriminated against by public policy.

Creole is therefore the mother tongue, while French occupies the position of language of prestige, the one used to write books, teach and write laws. The use of Creole is widespread as an oral language. French, despite its dominant position in publishing, is spoken by only a tenth of Haiti's population. Among the less educated population, French remains an entirely foreign language.

All books published in Haiti, including self-published works, are required by law to have a registration number. Thanks to this requirement, it has been possible to prepare the following table that shows how many books are published in Creole in comparison with all other books published in Haiti.

The publishing industry in Haiti is very fragile. There is a lack of publishing houses, and a lack of opportunity to borrow books. With few libraries, less than 1,000 square metres of space is devoted to public library use across the entire country. Bookshops are almost non-existent, and those that do exist are concentrated in the metropolitan area, particularly in Petion-Ville. The bookselling business is organised informally, and books are mainly bought in the street from travelling vendors.

Ronald Blunden, from Hachette Livre, with PEN International's Romana Cacchioli during PEN's publishing seminar in Port-au-Prince.

The absence of any taxes on the importation of books explains why the majority of Haitians acquire their books directly from abroad. In addition, charities usually import French texts for the few libraries in the country. It would be helpful in the future for INGOs and charities to support a Creole publishing industry in addition to importing books in French.

CASE STUDY 7

BOOKS PUBLISHED IN HAITIAN CREOLE BETWEEN 2009 AND 2012[12]

YEAR	TOTAL	CREOLE	CLASSIFICATION OF CREOLE PUBLICATIONS					%
			RELIGION	SOC. SCI.	LANGUAGE	LITERATURE	OTHER	
2009	147	16	1	6	4	3	2	23.52 %
2010	146	11	1	--	3	6	1	16.06 %
2011	113	06	--	1	1	4	--	06.78 %
2012	179	15	1	2	--	10	2	26.85 %

Nevertheless, the demand for creative writing is growing, and small publishing houses are gradually emerging, managed by storytellers and poets, including members of PEN Haiti. One common characteristic among these new publishing houses is that they want to work without discriminating on grounds of gender, language or the affiliation of the author. They work in very basic conditions; the majority do not even have a website and receive requests for publication by email, or simply publish authors whom they know personally. Social networks serve as the main channel for advertising their publications and the various activities they organise.

These publishers believe that books written in Creole are of great potential value, since the number of readers in Creole has seen an unexpected rise in recent years and there are many potential readers who are eager to acquire books in Creole. Some of this interest is also due to the recent creation of the Academy of the Creole Language in 2014.

The question of how and where to find books remains. Difficulties in the publishing sector and the lack of even the most basic cultural structures are the reasons why more books are not published in Creole, because the potential demand certainly exists. Publishers believe that support from the political class and the possibility of gaining access to grants could help remedy this situation. However, practically none of the media outlets, either private or public, operate in Creole, and the State is not responding to demands from either publishers or creators who want to promote the Creole language, probably due to its preoccupation with priorities perceived to be more pressing.

NIGERIA: UNEXPLORED LINGUISTIC RICHES

Very few original works are published in minority languages in Nigeria, and in the main these are focused on children's literature. There are almost no translations of literary works into minority languages, with the notable exceptions of translations into Hausa and Yoruba of a significant body of Communist ideological works, from classic texts by Marx and Lenin through to literary works of the above referenced era. There are also translations of the Bible in Yoruba, Igbo and Hausa, dating respectively from 1884, 1906 and 1932.[46] Hausa is also codified in Arabic script. The Koran was translated into Hausa in 1992.[47]

46 Information drawn from the *Ethnologue* and *Index Translationum* portals.

47 *Al-Kur'ani mai tsarki*. Tilford: Islam International Publications [United Kingdom], 1992.

Bibi Bakare-Yusuf (Cassava Republic Press) with Ken Saro-Wiwa Jnr, Port Harcourt.

WRITER'S TESTIMONY FROM NIGERIA

'When I was a child, my mother spoke to me in Khana. My father was a defender of indigenous languages, though at home we spoke to each other in English. My first memories are from the beginning of the 1970s, just after the civil war, when I was out shopping with my mother and I asked her not to speak to me in our language in public. We weren't proud of our language and culture. That has changed now. Identity is now something we celebrate and are proud of. Our attitude has changed purely because of politics. I believe that our relationship with language is influenced by the public and cultural spheres'.

Ken Saro-Wiwa Jr., writer, Nigeria[14]

PUBLISHING IN HAUSA IN NIGERIA

Cassava Republic has published *Birds of Our Land*, a natural history work that included classification in Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo. There was a huge response on behalf of readers, motivated by the use of languages other than English. Cassava Republic would like to translate books into Hausa and Yoruba, certainly *Born on a Tuesday* by the two-time Caine Prize finalist Elnathan John, which is a novel written in English but with a clear Hausa undercurrent: John has said that sometimes as he is writing he often moves in and out of English and Hausa. He is keen to work with a translator to see the book in Hausa. Unfortunately, as there are so few translators of local languages, the cost for Cassava Republic would be prohibitive at about $15,000USD. In Nigeria an average-length book translated from a European language into English would normally cost around $6,000USD. Another problem the publishing industry faces is a lack of trained editors with experience working with local languages.

Cassava Republic suggests that government grants be made available for translations, and that classics – such as work by Buchi Emecheta, Flora Nwapa, Elechi Amadi, Wole Soyinka and Chinua Achebe – be translated into as many local languages as possible, thereby elevating their prestige. One reason why Achebe's work has not been published in Igbo is that he apparently disagreed with the version of Igbo suggested for the translation – this shows the need for standardised orthographies (not excluding regional variants) to be adopted.[13]

In Nigeria it is only Hausa that is supported by a robust creative publishing industry that can compete with publications in English. Hausa is also widely used in the communications media, such as radio and TV. The huge popularity the BBC's Hausa services and of *Aminiya*, the Hausa version of the *Daily Trust* newspaper clearly demonstrates a potential readership for literary works in the language.

Taking account of the potential demographic and social considerations, one might think that publications in Yoruba (19 million speakers in the region) and Igbo (18 million in Nigeria) would also be commercially viable, but publishers have not yet explored this possibility.[48]

A problem in Nigeria is that certain languages do not have access to the public arena, nor are they able to participate in exchanges with other cultures. These languages require committed support so that they can be introduced into the school system and publications can begin to be produced. However, in the areas in which oral communication predominates, such as radio programmes for example, minority languages enjoy a greater presence.

One of the main barriers to publishing in minority languages in Nigeria is that official institutions are focused on educational policies that impose English on children as the language that they should use above all others. Children use it with their teachers, their parents and their schoolmates. Respondents in this study noted that children are persuaded they should use English if they want to pass their exams, and they accept English to make their parents happy. However, when the same children are left unsupervised in the playground, or when they are outside the classroom, their mother tongues are still very much heard. This pressure to assimilate prevents them from expressing themselves in a complex way. However it has been well established in the academic literature that the sole use of English from an early age inhibits their creativity and the advancement of learning in all subjects.

48 UJORHA, Tadaferua. «Hausa literature rising», *Daily Trust* (4-12-2014).

CONCLUSIONS AND LONG-TERM OBJECTIVES

VALORISATION OF MINORITY LANGUAGES

Respect for linguistic rights is guaranteed, though unevenly, by the constitutional legislation of the four countries examined in this study, though these laws do not always translate into effective methods of protection and promotion.

One of the main obstacles is the insufficient presence, and at times total exclusion, of minority languages within the educational system. An additional and worrying factor observed in some cases is that there has been a growing devaluation of these minority languages over recent years, with their increasing exclusion from the educational environment.

A lack of social prestige in a language's use has a direct impact on the possibility of that language gaining a presence in the public arena. The main cause of marginalisation is the perception that this is a discredited language that cannot be used to establish fluent communications in the surrounding environment. Minority languages are seen as a hangover from the past that have diminished in usefulness in today's world. An impression is created and a message sent out that their use excludes speakers of these languages from opportunities for social and economic advancement, to the extent that the use of such languages restricts access to certain areas of life, such as institutional contact, political influence or a presence in the more widely available communications media.

Initial marginalisation initiates a vicious circle which becomes increasingly tight: exclusion creates more exclusion; marginalisation gives rise to increasing marginalisation. Reversing these trends is extremely difficult because it goes against beliefs that in some cases have now become accepted, or because any attempt to reverse the situation may be regarded as disloyal in the political arena. However, it is possible to treat minority languages with dignity, but to do so one must go to the root of the problem: one must encourage societies to be more open and tolerant towards diversity and proud of their own origins.

Minority languages simply cannot compete with the hegemonic languages if we limit ourselves to comparing the number of books sold or the strength of public influence. These parameters exclude minority languages from the outset, and they therefore persist as some of the most widely voiced reasons to demonstrate that minority languages are not a viable vehicle in the market place and cannot be used to build the future.

Minority languages should find their own space, and they should be supported as what they are: languages from one's immediate surroundings that have the capacity to bind the community together and offer a more stable and emotional form of communication that feels like one's own.

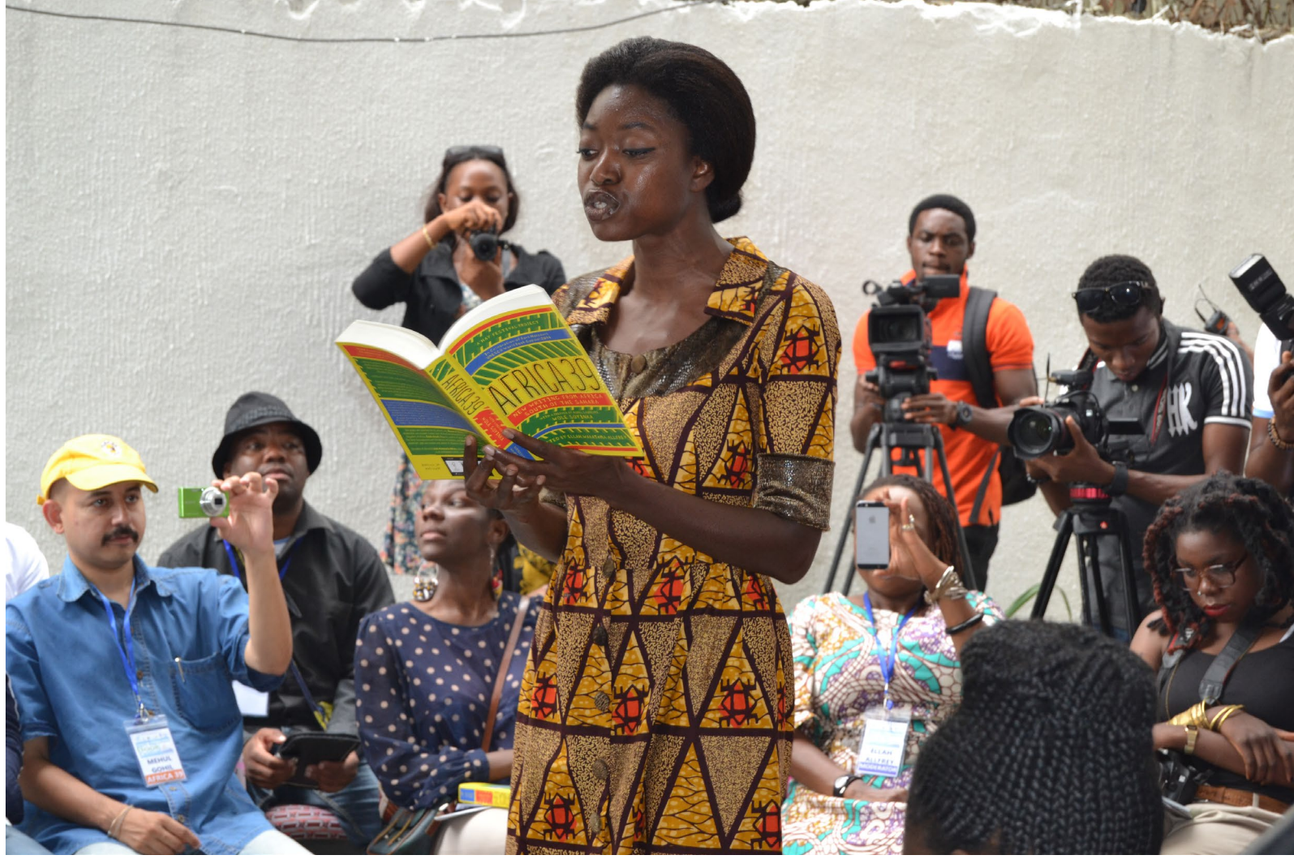
TRANSLATION

The conclusion is a serious one; not even the most established African languages have established strong translation networks (Creole is also clearly a language without a strong tradition of translation) that would allow them to connect with other literary traditions and thus become a part of world literature and benefit from the mutual influences that are the driving force of literary creativity. African literary expressions are seen as a legacy from distant times that must be preserved but have no connection with the modern world. [49]

In the two African countries covered by this study – Nigeria and Kenya – one's attention is drawn to the fact that only very specific works in minority languages are published in translation. It is practically only lexicographical works and compilations of popular culture that are 'exported', i.e. translated into English. And only very well-known works are 'imported' into minority languages. All of the languages analysed – Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo in Nigeria and Swahili, Kikuyu, Dholuo, Kalenjin and Luhya in Kenya – have translations of the complete Bible and many other religious publications, along with the languages used in the Muslim religion, Islamic religious texts and, in the case of Hausa, a complete translation of the Koran.

One of the most urgent measures required to reverse the degradation of the social prestige of minority languages

49 JUNYENT, Carme. 'The volatization of literature'. *Transfer* [Barcelona: Institut Ramon Llull] 1, (2006), 108-121. http://llull.cat/IMAGES_175/transfer01-foc05.pdf



Nana Brew Hammond reads at a PEN/Africa39 gathering at the Ken Saro-Wiwa Cultural Centre, Port Harcourt, October 2014.

in post-colonial contexts is to allow them to become participants in the exchange that constitutes the essence of world literature; translating and being translated.[50] It is unlikely that the economic obstacles, along with the shortage of trained translators, can be overcome using the structures currently in place. One cannot expect to see any coordinated action in Nigeria, or in Kenya, or in Haiti, either from government or from the publishing industry, because prejudices are still too deeply rooted.

Translation forms a particularly important part of this process, because it offers visibility to those who are part of a minority; we learn to understand them and make them a part of public life. Through translation, minority writers can gain a presence in the dominant culture, and not only in specialist literary communities. Translation therefore not only plays a role in the promotion of certain specific cultures, it also raises the issue of the need to promote the values of understanding and mutual respect in society.

Respect for linguistic diversity is a guarantee for the building of a more just and balanced society. In this respect, literary creativity represents the core element in the acquisition and passing on of knowledge of one's own environment and the preservation of memory and traditions. Literary works are an irreplaceable means of interpreting the present and planning the future. Literature has the capacity to create utopias and invent alternative worlds, but this huge potential for change can only be within the grasp of a culture that uses its own language with a certain degree of normality.

If we work from the premise that all cultures are comparable in terms of their worth and are capable of exchanging knowledge from one to the other, we cannot maintain any distinction between major languages and minor languages. In truth there are therefore no minority communities. Each community defends the values it deems most important. One must ensure that one does not think in exclusive terms that divide cultures.

Literary evolution and creativity are only possible if we accept the intrinsic importance of each and every culture. Unknown literary works should be able to take their place alongside other established bodies of literature. All cultures should try to develop their own infrastructure that will ensure the opportunity to develop creativity and enhance education (schools, libraries and publishing houses) in a sustained and systematic way.

50 ALLEN, Esther (ed.). *To be translated or not to be*. Barcelona: Institut Ramon Llull, PEN International, 2007. http://www.pen-international.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/04/Translation-report_OK-2.pdf

PEN's publishing seminar in Port-au-Prince.

FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND MINORITY-LANGUAGE PUBLISHING

It would be naive to expect that the changes required to consolidate the presence of minority cultures and languages could come solely from governments (and from societies) that are frequently subject to the strictures of centralised control and political convenience. And it is in this field of international cooperation and the protection of critical and independent thinking among the creative community that PEN International has worked since its foundation.

Minority cultures and their creative members must be able to find understanding and support for their efforts beyond their own national borders, especially when creative people are suffering some kind of persecution or lack of freedom at home. If we are to stimulate their creativity, then this creativity should serve to give a voice to the unheard stories and help people to become aware of their own situation. Literary creativity in minority languages should never be regarded as a mere decoration for traditional customs.

We must change attitudes that are based on dominant narratives alone. Gaining widespread acceptance for this principle will not be easy to achieve. It is for this reason that we must work in much broader terms to change opinions on the way in which we look at other languages and the value of other cultures. An awareness of diversity in all senses is being lost in the global book market, even when the books are written in the most deeply embedded languages in the world.

SPONTANEOUS AND UNREGULATED CREATIVITY

It is clear that the most desirable path towards ensuring respect for threatened minority languages, languages that do not have access to writings in their own tongue and cannot train readers in the usual way, would be to educate the population through formal schooling while at the same time obtaining full political recognition within their own territorial and functional region. However, in the contexts studied, these processes would appear to be very difficult to achieve in the near future.

Minority languages must therefore simply be used in all possible areas, their use must be protected within community environments, and attempts must be made by all international bodies to ensure that enforced assimilation is condemned and prevented. The right of people to use their own language within their most immediate surroundings must be scrupulously respected.

Spontaneous and unregulated creativity represents another great ally for threatened minority languages, along with family and community life. Nigeria is known for its production of low-budget films in mother tongue languages,[51] and this is a good example of how the arts can still flourish even with limited means of production. In Kenya, languages that are not recognised in the public sphere are seen on advertising hoardings, used to send text messages by mobile telephone and employed in forms of urban cultural expression such as street poetry; these are usages that have not been regulated or codified by any authority, but they keep these languages in use in daily life. These languages are being shaped and consolidated through everyday use, even though their visibility in formal contexts is minimal. Minority languages, like all languages, are constructed in spaces that develop in parallel to formally recognised literature and education, including music, the advertising industry, public events and leisure activities, as well as the communications media, particularly radio programmes which allow for the oral language to be passed on without it being necessary to codify the way it is written.

TRANSFORMATION OF TEACHING METHODS

It is probable that an improvement in the status of minority languages will not come about as a result of their formal consolidation through teaching or their immediate political recognition, but will instead happen because pressure from their creativity and use will succeed in transforming existing structures. Rigid schooling systems, which are inadequate in terms of their formalism and teaching methods, should themselves be transformed, and in the course of these reforms the mother tongues of Africa and the Caribbean could play a vital role.

Creative writing often does not form part of the curriculum in schools. In the two African countries studied, as well as in Haiti, the school environment is very formal, in such a way that teachers do not allow any experimentation with language. The possibility of expressing oneself in one's mother tongue in the school environment would stimulate the creative use of language.

It is therefore necessary to recommend the implementation of specific policies that lead to an understanding that tradition is not in contradiction with modernity, and that people can be modern without being uprooted and alienated from their own cultures and mother tongue.

51 RAJ ISAR, Yudhishthir (ed.). *Creative Economy Report 2013. Special edition. Widening Local Development Pathways*. UNESCO, 2013.

RECOMMENDATIONS

TO GOVERNMENTS:

1. In consultation with minority-language communities, academics and civil society develop, fund and implement best practice policies which protect and promote linguistic rights and creative expressions in minority languages.

2. Ensure minority languages are actively represented to promote the transformation of societies, including towards more democratic and participative models, particularly in regional and local environments in which minority languages are rooted.

3. Recognise and promote linguistic and cultural diversity as a source of social development. To this aim, permit linguistic communities to develop their own academic structures to be able to adopt standardised orthographies and produce the necessary lexicographic works.

4. Promote the use of minority languages at all levels of the educational system through:
   i. the production of materials, such as orthographical guides, manuals, dictionaries, grammars and other reading and writing aids;
   ii. the creation of technical terminology that allows for the expansion of the lexicon of each language;
   iii. the use of these languages in the teaching of science and modern technologies;
   iv. the promotion and production of creative writing in minority languages.

5. Create a database relating to each of their minority languages, with details of their cultural infrastructure, writers, publishers etc., with the aim of providing points of reference for the design of specific projects. Additionally, identify and build an inventory of all content that already exists in minority languages, which is frequently self-published, in order to identify examples of good practice. In this regard it is essential to create bibliographies and reliable statistics, based on scientific linguistic data that is not politicised.

6. Promote economic policies that encourage and incentivise the commercial viability of the creative industries in publishing and the arts, particularly initiatives championing creative expression in minority languages.

TO CULTURAL ACTORS, PUBLISHERS AND WRITERS:

7. Access to the markets and to both traditional and digital media: Intensify efforts for the promotion and distribution of publications in minority languages, with the aim of finding and ensuring a distinct place for these publications in the dominant culture and improving the extent to which they are valued. Their promotion should involve both traditional communications media and support via digital platforms.

8. Translation from and into minority languages: Identify and motivate potential translators of minority languages and cultivate institutional support for translations in both directions. Works written in minority languages must have the opportunity of becoming known outside their own environment, but readers in minority languages must also be able to read the works of world literature in their own language. The training of translators and editors in minority languages is of vital importance.

9. Practical application of the principle of non-discrimination: To make it possible for works in minority languages to participate in national competitions and festivals in conditions that are equal to works written in the State's majority or dominant language. Include the production of works in minority languages in all government support for culture and the publishing industry, and ensure that minority languages are adequately represented in the lists of compulsory texts used in the educational system, distributed thoroughly, and included in stock acquired by libraries using public funds.

10. International exchanges: Organise seminars and workshops, such as international fora for the exchange of ideas, for writers, publishers, translators and other stakeholders, with a view to creating and publishing works written in minority languages, as well as creating the possibility for promoters of minority languages to have the opportunity to set up collaborative projects and exchanges.

STUDY SOURCES

PRIMARY SOURCES

REPORTS COMMISSIONED

EWÉNLÁ, Olúwáfirópò; LAYIWOLA, Dele. 'Preliminary Research Report on Minority-Language publishing in Nigeria'. Internal PEN International document (September 2015).

MILCÉ, Jean-Euphèle. 'Etat de la part réservée dans l'édition aux livres en langue créole'. Internal PEN International document (September 2015).

OMOROGBE, Philip. 'Language Rights and Protections in Nigeria and Kenya'. Internal PEN International document (September 2015).

O'OKWEMBA, Khainga; WANJALA, Christopher Lukorito. 'Minority Language Creative Literature and Publishing in Kenya: The cases of Kikuyu, Luhya and Kalenjin'. Internal PEN International document (September 2015).

PAUNOVIĆ, Zoran. 'Minority-language publishing in Serbia'. Internal PEN International document (September 2015).

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF MEETINGS, SEMINARS AND WORKSHOPS HELD

MAY 29-30, 2014: Roundtable meeting, PEN Office, London, United Kingdom. GUEST SPEAKERS: Ellah Wakatama Allfrey (Zimbabwe-born editor and literary critic), Peter K. Austin (University of London), Emma Cleave (English PEN), Elin Haf Gruffydd Jones (Aberystwyth University), Dave Pearson (SIL International), Julia Sallabank (School of Oriental and African Studies, London), Emily Sharratt (editor at Faber Children's), Chiara Tognetti (editor at Walker Books), Ola Wallin (editor at Ersatz and Coltso) and Catherine Young (SIL International). PROJECT COORDINATORS: Christopher Lukorito Wanjala (Kenya), Olúwáfirópò Ewénlá (Nigeria), Dele Layiwola (Nigeria) and Simona Škrabec (Chair of Steering Committee). Jean-Euphèle Milcé (Haiti), Vida Ognjenović (Serbia) and Zoran Paunović (Serbia) were present through Skype, as they had not received visas for the UK in time and so could not attend the meeting. PEN INTERNATIONAL OFFICERS: Romana Cacchioli, Sarah Clarke, Paul Finegan, James Tennant, Carles Torner.

OCTOBER 22, 2014: 'What language means to literature – identity and the importance of literary translation': a panel discussion, open to public. Port-Harcourt Book Fair, Nigeria. PANELLISTS: Tade Ipadeola (President of PEN Nigeria), Stanley Gazemba (Kenyan Writer in English, Kiswahili and Kimaragoli), Ken Saro-wiwa Jr. (Ken Saro-Wiwa Foundation, Port Harcourt), Bibi Bakare Yusuf (Publisher, Cassava Republic, Abuja), James Tennant (PEN International) and Ellah Wakatama Allfrey (Zimbabwe-born editor and literary critic), as chair.

OCTOBER 24, 2014: PEN International Seminar on Publishing in Minority/Indigenous Languages': a formal, invitation only seminar. Port-Harcourt Book Fair, Nigeria. PANELLISTS: Olúwáfirópò Ewénlá (PEN Nigeria), Rotimi Babatunde (Nigerian Writer, Yoruba), Shadreck Chikoti (Writer, Malawi, Chichewa), Dele Layiwola (Director of Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan), Bibi Bakare-Yusuf (Publisher, Cassava Republic, Abuja, Nigeria), James Tennant (PEN International) and Ellah Wakatama Allfrey (Zimbabwe-born editor and literary critic), as chair.

OCTOBER 28, 2014: Publisher Research Seminar: open to the public. Belgrade Book Fair, Serbia. PARTICIPANTS: Ileana Ursu (Romanian-Language Publisher), Nicola Šanta (*Ruske slovo* magazine, in Russian), Pavel Gatajancu (*Europa* magazine, based in Novi Sad), Gabor Virant (Publishing House Forum, from Novi Sad), Vladimir Kopicl (Director of the Institute of Culture of Vojvodina), Radomir Vlahović (Director of the Cultural Centre of Banat), Miroslav Keveždi (Coordinator of the Institute of Culture of Vojvodina), Marko Čudić (Hungarian-Serbian translator), Vesna Roganović (Cultural journalist and translator), Zoran Hamović (Editor-in-chief of the publishing house, Clio), Gojko Božović (Editor-in-Chief and Director of Archipelag Publishing House), Radomir Vlahović (Cultural Centre of Banat). Zoran Paunović, Vida Ognjenović and Simona Škrabec as moderator.

JUNE 16, 2015. Festival Libérez la parole. Workshop with the editors. National Library of Haiti. PARTICIPANTS: Émelie Prophète-Milcé (Director General of National Library), Frantz Carly Jean-Michel (General Director of the National Book Directorate), Ronald Blunden (Vice President, Hachette), Charles Tardieu (editor Cadrage), Jean-Euphèle Milcé (PEN Haiti), Romana Cacchioli (PEN International), Junior Borgella (editor Les Editions des Vagues), Solange Lafontant (bookshop la Pléiade), Fred Brutus, (editor C3 Editions), Esther Vigne, (editor Les Editions Pulùcia).

JUNE 24, 2015: Linguistic Rights and Minority Language Publishing Seminar, at the Michael Joseph Centre, Nairobi with André Brenner, CH Beck. PARTICIPANTS: Rosebelle Otieno, (Publishing Manager, Oxford University Press East Africa), Peter Nyoro (Editorial Manager, Oxford University Press East Africa), David Muita (Managing Director, Moran Publishers), John Mwazemba, (Managing Director, Phoenix Publishers), Christopher Wanjala (Chair,

PEN Kenya Translation and Linguistic Rights Committee), Khainga O'okwemba (President, PEN Kenya), Sarah Clarke (PEN International), Muthoni Garland (Storymoja Festival), Dawn Makena (Storymoja), Angela Wachuka (Kwani?) ,Moses Kilolo (Managing Editor, Jalada Editions), Kelvin Okoth (Go Sheng), Njeri Wangari (writer), James Wamathai (writer), James Murua (writer), Edwidge Dro (Jalada), Alex Nderitu (PEN Kenya).

LIST OF INTERVIEWS

FINEGAN, Paul, OOKWEMBA, Khainga. Interview with Otella Riunya, Assistant Editor in Humanities of Jomo Kenyatta Foundation. NOTE: This was not a formal interview. The views expressed represent those of Ms Riunya and do not officially reflect the Foundation's principles. (15-4-2015)

FINEGAN, Paul. Interview with Billy Kahora and Angela Wachuka, Managing Editor and Executive Director of Kwani? Trust. (15-4-2015)

FINEGAN, Paul. Interview with David Muita and Naima Nyonge, Managing Director and Publisher at Moran Publishers, formerly a branch of Macmillan Publishers in Kenya. (14-4-2015)

FINEGAN, Paul. Interview with Musyoki Muli and Beatrice K. Nugi, Managing Director and Head of Publishing of Longhorn Publishers, Kenya. (15-4-2015)

FINEGAN, Paul. Interview with Muthoni Garland and Millie Dok. Storymoja Festival. (13-4-2015)

FINEGAN, Paul. Interview with Samie Korir, Rosebelle Otieno, Peter Nyoro, Florence Waeni, Caroline Weloba, Editor of Humanities, Publishing Manager, Editorial Manager, Publisher English and Early Childhood Education and Publisher Kiswahili at Oxford University Press, East Africa. (14-4-2015)

FINEGAN, Paul. Interview with Timothy Kamau, SIL International. (16-4-2015)

FINEGAN, Paul; WANJALA, Chris. Interview with John Karani, Managing Director of Bookmark Africa. (14-4-2015)

FINEGAN, Paul; WANJALA, Chris. Interview with John M. Mireri, Tabitha K. Muita and Christine M. Maingi. Deputy Secretary General, Programme Director, Education and Programme Director, Communication & Information. UNESCO National Commission Kenya. (17-4-2015)

FINEGAN, Paul; OOKWEMBA, Khainga; WANJALA, Chris. Interview with Henry Chakava, East Africa Educational Publishers, formerly Heinemann East Africa. (16-4-2015)

MILCÉ, Jean-Euphèle. Interview with Eric Richemond, UNESCO Haiti. (20-5-2015)

MILCÉ, Jean-Euphèle. Interview with Esther Vigne, Les Editions Pulùcia. (20-5-2015)

MILCÉ, Jean-Euphèle. Interview with Junior Borgella, Les Editions des Vagues. (19-4-2015)

NJAGI, Lawrence, Chairman of Kenya Publishers Association. (21-3-2014)

OOKWEMBA, Kainga; WANJALA, Chris. Interview with Kenya Ministry of Sports, Culture and the Arts. (17-4-2015)

FINEGAN, Paul, OOKWEMBA, Khainga. Interview with John Mwazemba, Managing Director of Phoenix Publishers. (15-4-2015)

OOKWEMBA, Khainga; WANJALA, Chris. Meeting with the Director of the Ministry of Arts and Culture, April 2015. The meeting aimed to develop a first draft of a new Kenyan Cultural Bill. (11-4-2015)

PAUNOVIĆ, Zoran. Interview with Bora Babić, Director of *Akademska knjiga* Publishing House. (11-5-2015)

PAUNOVIĆ, Zoran. Interview with Dejan Aničić, Editor at Karpos Publishing House. (11-6-2015)

PAUNOVIĆ, Zoran. Interview with Gojko Božović, Editor-in-Chief and General Manager at Arhipelag Publishing House. (21-3-2015)

PAUNOVIĆ, Zoran; KOSTOV, Velimir. Interview with Mladen Vesković, Chief of Sector for International Relations, European Integration and Development of Management in Culture, Serbian Ministry of Culture and Information. (20-5-2015)

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RESEARCH TEAM

PROJECT DIRECTOR

Simona ŠKRABEC is the Chair of the Translations and Linguistic Rights Committee of PEN International. Born in Slovenia, she has been living in Barcelona (Catalonia, Spain) since 1992. She is the author of books about 20th century European literature and she has translated more than twenty books between different languages. She is also a regular literary critic with various Barcelona-based newspapers and professor at the Open University of Catalonia.

COUNTRY COORDINATORS

Oluwafiropo EWENLA is the Secretary General of PEN Nigeria and is a writer, filmmaker, journalist, and human rights activist based at the University of Ibadan.

Jean-Euphèle MILCÉ is a writer. He directs the PEN Haiti House of Literature. He served as Director of the National Library of Haiti from 1996 to 2000 and as Director of the Intercultural Library of Fribourg, Switzerland, from 2004 to 2006. He also collaborates with the Department of Manuscripts and the Central Library of the University of Lausanne.

Zoran PAUNOVIĆ is Professor of English Literature at the Faculty of Philology, and Vice Dean for International Cooperation, Faculty of Philology, University of Belgrade. He is the Vice President of the Serbian PEN Centre. He has translated numerous texts into Serbian, including works by Joyce, Nabokov and Barnes.

Christopher Lukorito WANJALA is Professor of Literature in the Department of Literature, at the Faculty of Arts and College of Humanities and Social Sciences of the University of Nairobi. Professor Wanjala is the current Chairman of the National Book Development Council of Kenya (NBDCK). He is one of the foremost literary critics in the region, having authored several books on East African literature.

PROJECT MANAGERS

Sarah CLARKE is International Policy and Advocacy Manager at PEN International where she develops PEN's policy positions and leads on advocacy for PEN's free expression concerns at the national, regional and international levels. A graduate of Trinity College Dublin and Oxford University, she has previously worked in human rights and migration research, policy and advocacy for a number of UN agencies, NGOs and academic institutions where she continues to work as a consultant. She is currently training as a barrister at the English Bar as a scholar of the Inner Temple.

James TENNANT is Literature & Partnerships Manager at PEN International. He co-ordinates events, publications, the Publishers and Writers Circles and PEN's annual New Voices Award for unpublished authors. Tennant is a Commissioning Editor at *Asymptote,* and a Contributing Editor at *The White Review* where he was previously Poetry Editor. Tennant is a journalist, translator and has worked in publishing. He works occasionally as a consultant in literature for the European Commission, UNESCO & Arts Council England.

Paul FINEGAN has an M.A. in Human Rights from University College London, where his dissertation focused on the protection of endangered languages in Europe. He has previously studied English Literature and Psychology at Trinity College Dublin, where his interests included Linguistic Psychology and Post-Colonial Literatures. He worked for PEN International for over 4 years, most recently as Centres and Committees Officer, supporting the development of our network of PEN Centres around the world. He is currently Development Manager for the Belarus Free Theatre, the only theatre company in Europe banned by its government on political grounds.

ENDNOTES TO CASE STUDIES AND TESTIMONIES

1 This declaration joins a series of documents adopted by various organisations over the years (the Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works (1886-1979), the Universal Copyright Convention (1952), and the Recommendation on the Legal Protection of Translators and Translations and the Practical Means to improve the Status of Translators (1976)) with the aim of renewing and revitalising their principles and objectives. The Quebec Declaration was unanimously approved by the PEN International Assembly on 15 October 2015.

2 FINEGAN, Paul. Interview with Billy Kahora and Angela Wachuka, Kwani? Trust. (15-4-2015). Internal PEN International document.

3 Note: The information is drawn from the electronic catalogue of the National Library of Serbia. Search parameters: country of publication, Serbia; year of publication, 2005-2015; language of publication (according to ISO standard); type of publication (book or periodical).

4 Sources include: Dr Tony Enyia, CEO of Rivers State Readers Project.

5 Developed in Girona (May 2011) by the PEN International Translation and Linguistic Rights Committee, ratified by the PEN International Assembly of Delegates at the 77th Congress (September 2011), this Manifesto declares PEN International's ten central and guiding principles on linguistic rights.

6 FINEGAN, Paul; OOKWEMBA, Khainga; WANJALA, Chris. Interview with Henry Chakava, East Africa Educational Publishers, formerly Heinemann East Africa. (16-4-2015) — See also: CHAKAVA, Henry. Books and Reading in Kenya. Paris: UNESCO*, [197?] —CHAKAVA, Henry. Publishing in a Multi-lingual Situation: The Kenya Case [no data]*

7 FINEGAN, Paul. Interview with Muth.oni Garland and Millie Dok. (13-4-2015).

8 Jalada Translation Issue 01: Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, available from: http://jalada.org/2016/03/22/jalada-translation-issue-01-ngugi-wa-thiongo/

9 ANDREWS, Tanya (ed). Scoping the Creative Economy in East Africa, L*ondon: British Council, [no data], page 10.*

10 Jalada Translation Issue 01: Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, available from: http://jalada.org/2016/03/22/jalada-translation-issue-01-ngugi-wa-thiongo/

11 MILCÉ, Jean-Euphèle. Interview with Eric Richemond, UNESCO Haiti. (20-5-2015).

12 Information from the National Library of Haiti.

13 OCTOBER 24, 2014: PEN International Seminar on Publishing in Minority/Indigenous Languages': a formal, invitation only seminar. Port-Harcourt Book Fair, Nigeria. PANELLISTS: Olúwáfirópò Ewénlá (PEN Nigeria), Rotimi Babatunde (Nigerian Writer, Yoruba), Shadreck Chikoti (Writer, Malawi, Chichewa), Dele Layiwola (Director of Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan), Bibi Bakare-Yusuf (Publisher, Cassava Republic, Abuja, Nigeria), James Tennant (PEN International) and Ellah Wakatama Allfrey (Zimbabwe-born editor and literary critic), as chair.

14 OCTOBER 22, 2014: 'What language means to literature – identity and the importance of literary translation': a panel discussion, open to public. Port-Harcourt Book Fair, Nigeria. PANELLISTS: Tade Ipadeola (President of PEN Nigeria), Stanley Gazemba (Kenyan Writer in English, Kiswahili and Kimaragoli), Ken Saro-wiwa Jr. (Ken Saro-Wiwa Foundation, Port Harcourt), Bibi Bakare Yusuf (Publisher, Cassava Republic, Abuja), James Tennant (PEN International) and Ellah Wakatama Allfrey (Zimbabwe-born editor and literary critic), as chair.

Creativity has the power to stimulate changes that transform societies, making them fairer and more comfortable to live in. Questions about the role of minority languages in these processes must be linked to encouragement of the capacity to show respect for differences, foster empathy and promote mutual understanding. This makes countries more stable, more democratic and more capable of managing all forms of diversity.

This new report from PEN International analyses the condition of minority-language creative writing industries in four countries – Kenya, Haiti, Serbia and Nigeria. It finds that there is still a conviction in the mainstream publishing industry that it is primarily viable to sell books in dominant languages, and that a major obstacle to establishing and sustaining strong minority-language publishing industries is the way that minority languages are valued locally and nationally. It outlines global trends in minority-language literatures, explores the minority-language situation, and analyses the legal and policy framework and the prevailing book market trends in the four focus countries. Finally, it outlines long-term objectives for the future of minority-language publishing and makes a series of recommendations to governments, as well as to cultural actors, publishers and writers.

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Diversity of Cultural Expressions

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