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Displacement and Language
(pre-publication paper – published March 2017)
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Introduction

Displacement, as discussed in this chapter is a fairly recently recognised phenomenon within studies of migration, where people flee from their local environment to another location inside their own country, rather than to another country as refugees. The phenomenon occurs as a result of involuntary departure usually because of conflict, rapid onset disaster or climate change. These conditions cause not only spatial dislocation, but also a range of associated disruptions in the linguistic ecology, epistemology and cosmology of affected people. These in turn result in psycho-socio ruptures for individuals and communities (e.g. Dunn 2014). By far the majority of people affected by dislocation are marginalised communities and the locations to which they flee are often remote borderlands. Here the circumstances of vulnerability may be overlooked by national and governments, international agencies, and researchers. The focus in this chapter is to draw attention to the paucity of research, including both migration studies and linguistics (sociolinguistics and educational linguistics) in regards to people who have been displaced inside their countries or in the porous border regions of adjoining countries.[1] It is also to point towards the need for cautious research among communities that have suffered ongoing cycles of displacement, and how such research may contribute to ethical understandings of the relationship among conflict and or disaster, marginality, vulnerability and the role of language/s, well-being Polzer & Hammond (2008) and (dis-)citizenship (see also Ramanathan 2013).

The discussion of displacement here differs in at least four ways from literature that addresses similar or related issues for vulnerable or marginalised communities.[2] Firstly, although numerous authors have drawn attention to the disruptive consequences of colonisation for communities and the linguistic

[1] I wish to express my appreciation for the generous advice of a reviewer that led me towards gaps and additional sources to address these.

[2] The specifications provided for this chapter are to discuss displacement and language in relation to 'How environmental destruction, climate change, and human conflict are driving people from their traditional habitats. How these displacements have implications for language identities, education, heritage languages, and speech community.'

ecologies and education systems of Latin and North America, Africa, Asia, Australia and the Pacific (e.g. Hamel 1997, Bamgbose 2001, Heugh 2006, Ouane & Glanz 2011, Watson 2009, Sercombe & Tupas 2014), few studies address the consequences of displacement in recently emerging migration theory. Secondly, although there is a substantial literature that discusses linguistic diversity and colonial or post-colonial marginalization of language communities, this often suggests a flattened dichotomy between endogenous language communities and exogenous (colonial) languages. In other words, there has been insufficient discussion of the longue durée of pre-colonial as well as colonial and post-colonial layers of hierarchical marginalisation. These layers result in multi-scaled differences and degrees of (in)visibility between more powerful and less powerful Indigenous language communities. Mohanty (2010) draws attention to the 'double divide' between powerful regional and local language communities and Tribal communities that are subjected to on-going historical marginalization in India. This 'double divide' is equally palpable in Africa (e.g. Heugh 2013) where there are significant differences between the linguistic capital held by speakers of regionally powerful languages such as Amharic, Hausa, Wolof and isiZulu, compared with the systemically minoritised language communities, such as the speakers of San and Khoe languages in Southern Africa. It is these communities that are most susceptible to displacement. Thirdly, there is already a well-established literature on the causes of language displacement, shift, loss and endangerment (e.g. Brenzinger 1997, 2015; Ostler 2011), and language revitalization (e.g. Grenoble and Whaley 2006). These are usually addressed through the lenses of historical linguistics, sociolinguistics, and / or anthropological linguistics. The purpose here is to breach linguistics and to explore an interdisciplinary approach that includes displacement as a sub-branch of migration studies (itself including perspectives from psychology, sociology and anthropology) alongside linguistics. Fourthly, there appears to be an intersection of the dispersal of displaced people caught in within layers of marginality to geopolitical peripheries and borderland theory (Anzaldúa 1987, Martinez 1994) in which people experience ongoing stigma and dis-citizenship to borrow from Ramanathan (2013) undergo language shift or to expand their linguistic repertoires in order to survive. Fifthly, what is missing from the literature is an attempt to understand displacement as this articulates with an interrelatedness of community language, epistemology, cosmology and well-being.

The purpose here is to begin a discussion of displacement and language that goes beyond post-colonial analyses of disrupted linguistic ecologies. It is to attempt to unveil the linguistic consequences of

historical and systemic layers of marginality and invisibility of displaced minority communities that live in borderlands, out of sight and mostly out of mind.[3]

Contextual background

Whereas people who are forced to seek refuge outside of their countries are known as 'refugees', the term 'displacement' has recently gained currency in the literature of migration studies that distinguishes between those displaced within their own countries and those obliged to seek refuge outside of their countries (e.g. UNICEF 1996, UN 1998, Yoder 2008, Polzer & Hammond 2008, Brookings-University of Bern 2008, Phuong 2010, Jacques 2012, Dunn 2014, IMDC 2014a, b). While the attention of this chapter is primarily directed towards internally displaced persons (IDPs) rather than refugees, there are ambiguous historical circumstances of shifting and porous geopolitical borders; therefore, these distinctions are not always clear or constant. Since IDPs have been recognised as experiencing extreme circumstances of marginalisation and human rights abuse, and since many of these occur in remote borderland settings, the discussion here includes displacement of people who are obliged to follow porous routes that criss-cross remote political boundary lines. For all intents and purposes, such people exist as IDPs rather than as refugees who are documented and who have recourse to internationally agreed provisions.

Although displacement of people has been an ongoing feature of human existence for as long as historical information exists, attention towards the plight of people within the geopolitical borders of their own countries has been largely left in the hands of nation-state authorities. Whereas people who are displaced from their own to other countries have since 1950 fallen under the remit of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), IDPs have existed under the radar of international monitoring organisations, and have often passed undocumented in their own countries. Lack of information about internal displacement has meant that IDPs have fallen outside of legal provisions and policies of international agencies, including UNHCR, leaving IDPs particularly vulnerable to poor provision of human rights' protection and public services in their own countries. In cases of on-going cycles of displacement, including conflict, there is likely to be political and economic instability that leave displaced people living in conditions of long-term vulnerability (UN 1998). Vulnerability includes

[3] See, for example, 'Bombed, displaced, starving: rains about to cut off people of Blue Nile and South Kordofan from international aid, even if Sudan allows it in.' https://www.aegistrust.org/bombed-displaced-starving-rains-cut-people-blue-nile-south-kordofan-international-aid-even-sudan-allows/

poverty; susceptibility to ill-health; limited or dysfunctional provision of health care and education; inadequate access to administrative services; inadequate provision of and information about safety and security; and circumstances which bring about cultural and linguistic discrimination and possible loss of language, culture, epistemologies and ways of being. By the early 1990s it became clear that there needed to be internationally recognised instruments to protect IDPs. The *Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement* (UN 1998) was the first international document circulated to governments, UN affiliated bodies and NGOs for the first time. This document serves as the starting point for a growing set of reports, documents and legal instruments that focus attention on the scale and nature of, and international responses to displacement.

Internal displacement, currently estimated at 60 million people, arises from several causes. The most prevalent cause is socio-political or faith-based conflict, usually accompanied by violence and human rights violations. The twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, for example, have witnessed appalling examples of ethnic, faith-based or political cleansing and genocide across Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America and the Middle East. In each case, there has been large-scale human dislocation, with only one third of displaced people able to seek refuge elsewhere (IMDC 2014a).

The second most frequent cause of displacement is 'rapid-onset' disaster (e.g. tropical cyclones, floods, droughts, earthquakes and tsunamis). A third, often related, cause of forced relocation arises from environmental change resulting, for example, in desertification, famine and plague. A fourth, less documented cause arises from political and economic interests in natural resources (e.g. resulting in deforestation of equatorial forests alongside the Amazon and Congo Rivers) or mineral resources (resulting in mining-induced displacement) located in areas inhabited by (tribal or minority) communities with limited political or socio-economic power, (IMDC 2014b). Lastly, a fifth cause, is attributed to environmental interests where communities are displaced, ostensibly in order to protect the natural habitat of indigenous flora and fauna. In many cases, two or more of these causes overlap (IMDC 2014b).

Whereas there is a substantial body of literature and published research concerned with refugees (e.g. as evident in three prominent journals: *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Oxford; *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, Oxford; *Journal of Immigration & Refugee Studies*, Taylor & Francis), this is not the case with IDPs. The reason is that IDPs are usually located in remote settings, often out of sight and because conflict both

exacerbates vulnerability and restricts humanitarian aid and research access for reasons of safety and security. This means that the relationship between displacement and language is not well understood beyond the circumstances of those most affected and a limited number of NGO workers whose experience and knowledge of linguistic concerns have limited passage into UNICEF or UNESCO documents on education, and less so into academic literature. The role of language as the conduit to information required for life-sustaining and safety mechanisms, and humanitarian support, has therefore been under-represented in the newly emerging body of IDP literature.[4] It has similarly received limited attention in literature which addresses resettlement and reintegration of vulnerable communities.

Significant aspects of vulnerability include various forms of systemic human rights abuse, including physical and mental brutality in the form of abductions, rape, forced marriage, human trafficking and child soldiering; torture, mutilation and genocide; and an on-going environment of fear and instability. Such circumstances require emergency responses from humanitarian aid workers whose training lies beyond sociolinguistics and education. The likelihood that aid workers are able to communicate in IDP languages, particularly in areas of linguistic diversity, is slim. The role of language in relation to how information is transmitted and received as trustworthy or duplicitous, enabling or disabling, inclusive or exclusive, empowering or sub-alterning, and permitting or foreclosing of voice, is either not fully understood or not attended to by international agencies delivering emergency relief or engaging with reconstruction. It is also a context which remains under-researched by sociolinguists, despite the unprecedented scale of human displacement during recent years.

In this chapter, I hope to draw attention to issues of language in relation to well-being, epistemology and cosmology (belief) and communities who are displaced. These issues will be discussed in relation to three examples of contexts in which remote communities experience multiple or overlapping causes for displacement, and where these have consequences for language/s that have been little understood or that remain largely invisible in mainstream discussions. These examples have been selected for several reasons. First, sub-Saharan Africa has been identified as the region most likely to experience increasing internal dislocation for multiple overlapping reasons for several decades to come. These include conflict, rapid-onset disaster, environmental change, and deforestation and mining, which are expected to result

[4] The gap becomes evident in this chapter.

in the highest incidence of IDPs in the world over the next several decades (IDMC 2014a, b). Second, it is also possible to demonstrate the residual, cyclical and long-term nature of displacement in relation to some implications for language in these settings. Third, the author is also able to draw on ethnographic field data that may bring some immediacy to the discussion.

While these examples have been selected to illustrate extreme experiences of displacement, they are in no way intended to eclipse experiences of displacement elsewhere. Cases of displacement that have caused large-scale human suffering have characterized much of the 20th Century and first two decades of the 21st Century, for example as evidenced by minority communities in the post-Yugoslav states (e.g. Pupavac 2006), Colombia (e.g. Olarte & Wall 2012), Georgia (e.g. Dunn 2014), Mexico and Central America (IMDC 2015a), and notably large-scale displacement of communities in Syria and Iraq (IMDC 2015b).

The first example, on-going overlapping cycles of displacement of minority Indigenous San communities of Southern Africa over hundreds of years, illustrates the longue durée of displacement. These circumstances include forced migration, political and economic conflict, and interests of 'conservation', diamond mining and fracking. The second example, that of pastoral communities in the Afar and Somali Regions of Ethiopia, illustrates the consequences of settlement programmes, climate change and desertification, and overlaps with trafficking of young women, border conflict, opportunistic lawlessness and differences of belief/faith. The third example draws attention to systemic human conflict (armed insurgencies of rebel groups and government forces) in borderlands of Northern Uganda, South Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo, along with human trafficking and genocide. In each case, the consequence of displacement, whether as a result of conflict and / or competing interests, affect livelihood and well-being, and are amplified by clashing systems of belief / faith

Whereas migration studies literature on displacement distinguishes between different causes of displacement, the field data discussed here suggests that marginalised communities in borderlands are subjected to a repeated or successive mix of socio-political, conflictual and environmental factors that cause displacement over long periods of time. The mix of factors contributes to physical displacement and also psycho-socio vulnerabilities that compound poverty, hunger, lack of personal safety and marginalization (see also Martinez 1994, Polzer & Hammond 2008, Dunn 2014). Field data reported below suggest that in settings of marginality and diversity, displacement also has consequences in which local knowledge systems (epistemologies) residing within local languages/repertoires of language and

evolving from specific contexts may rupture or atrophy when people have to move to places that are environmentally alien. At the same time, and conversely, communities on the fringes, more used to mobility, may also acquire socio-cultural and linguistic resources of survival, reinvention and the establishment of new sets of sociolinguistic identities and affinities (see also discussion of community occupation of public space in Bogota, Colombia, Olarte & Wall 2012).

In the examples discussed below, changes in language practices of IDPs are often conflated in development literature in ways that 'voice' and 'agency' of affected people are assumed to have disappeared, and issues of voice and language are reduced, misunderstood or positioned through northern or western perspectives (e.g. Dunn 2014). Nevertheless, informants express their view of and association with repertoires of language, culture, and epistemologies (e.g. Heugh 2014) through a variety of media, including, for example, art, dance, trance and use of new technologies. It is also the case that informants express particular agency towards literacy and languages in education and in new local economic enterprises of resettlement (e.g. Heugh & Mulumba 2014). In each case, language regimes radiate outwards from the administrative centre. These regimes articulate awkwardly with communicative practices of marginalised communities responsive to the sociolinguistic ecology of borderlands. Although neither national government authorities nor various UN agencies have much pragmatic traction regarding how language practices and policies are reinterpreted in these settings, there are NGO and missionary agents with specific interests with implications for languages.

Overview of the topic

As indicated above, whereas international agencies have been monitoring the mobility of refugees, there have been serious gaps of information regarding the circumstances of internal displacement and resettlement (UNICEF 1996, UNICEF 2009, UNESCO 2011). It was only in 1998 that the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) established the International Displacement Monitoring Centre (IMDC) to collect reliable data. Statistical data and forecasts on conflict- and/or disaster-related displacement (IMDC 2014a, b) indicate an increase of the incidence of displacement and that humanitarian and associated socio-political, educational and economic concerns signal international crises (e.g. UNESCO 2011). Instruments for gauging medium-to-long-term human impact have not yet taken into account the implications for language practices beyond a rudimentary acknowledgement of linguistic diversity. IMDC (2014a, p. 9) indicates that the number of people affected by conflict-induced displacement rose from 19.3 million in 1998 to 33.3 million in 2013. The number of people affected by natural disaster or

hazard-induced displacement has averaged at 27 million per year between 2008 and 2013, affecting people in 161 countries (IMDC 2014b, pp 15, 11). Together 60 million people were identified as displaced as a result of conflict and / or natural disaster by the end of 2013.

The regions most affected by armed conflict induced displacement are sub-Saharan Africa, North Africa and the Middle East with 63% of displacements in 2013 from: Syria, Colombia, Nigeria, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Sudan and South Sudan (IMDC 2014a: 9). Currently IMDC (2015b) reports that the numbers of refuges are 1.5m in Nigeria, 2.85m in DRC, 4m in Iraq and 7.8m (at least) in Syria. Between 2008 and 2013, 81% of disaster or natural hazard displacement occurred in Asian countries. Africa is the second most frequent site of natural disaster. Because of projected population growth statistics, IMDC (2014b, p.25) anticipates that the number of people affected by disaster in Africa will rise and outstrip other regions within a few decades. In many cases there is a coincidence of armed conflict and natural disaster (IMDC 2014b, p. 44). Nigeria, Sudan and South Sudan are examples where rapid-onset disaster-related and conflict-related displacement coincide. Colombia is an example where displacement occurs for multiple reasons over several decades, i.e. ongoing political and civil conflict, natural disaster, mining-induced displacement, drug cartel intimidation and crime (see also Olarte & Wall 2012), while conflict-induced displacement is increasing in Mexico, Central America and the Middle East (IMDC 2015a).

Conflict-induced displacement exerts particular psychological trauma with long-term consequences for people forced to flee their home (e.g. Dunn 2014), experience genocide and are abducted and enslaved for purposes of sexual abuse or child soldiering. Such abuses have been and / or are prevalent in country-level and regional conflicts, for example in former Yugoslavia, Rwanda, Liberia, Sierra Leone, the Central African Republic (CAR), Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), South Sudan, Somalia, Uganda, and Nigeria over the last several decades. Global media have drawn attention to the ravages of rebel groups (insurgents) as related to Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan and Pakistan; Islamic State in Syria and Iraq; the Lords' Resistance Army in Northern Uganda, Central African Republic and South Sudan; Boko Haram in Nigeria; and Al-Shabaab in Kenya. However, the extent and long-term effects of displacement are little understood. Resettlement may only be possible several years or decades after displacement. In contrast, people affected by rapid-onset disaster are usually temporarily displaced and resettlement occurs within months or a couple of years. The international community steps in fairly quickly with various kinds of support to assist the administrative authorities in disaster-affected contexts. Conflict

and disaster thus affect IDPs in different ways and over different scales of time. Limited national and international access to IDPs in situations of conflict, result in inadequate monitoring of human rights. Since few sociolinguists have had access to displaced people in these circumstances, little attention has been given to the inter-relationship among language, literacy, linguistic practices and education, health care, safety and security, and economic livelihoods, or in relation to competing socio-political, environmental and economic interests.

Language has received limited attention in reports that relate to children affected by war. The first notable document to address educational and other concerns for children caught in conflict, Graça Machel's report on the 'Impact of Armed Conflict on Children' (UNICEF 1996), mentions language only in passing. Machel's follow-up 10-Year Strategic Review, 'Children and Conflict in a Changing World' (UNICEF 2009) mentions language six times. Once this is in relation to 'language barriers', and once to recommend that rights of children should be published in the official languages of the UN. Yet, these languages are not the ones that are used by the children who are most likely to be affected by displacement.

The most substantive document to address the implications for language across a spectrum of circumstances affecting displaced persons is 'Protecting Internally Displaced Persons: A Manual for Law and Policymakers' (Brookings Institute and University of Bern 2008). This document builds on the 'Guiding Principles on Internally Displaced Persons' (UN 1998), and spells out principles and legal requirements regarding the treatment and provisions for IDPs by internal governments, NGOs and UN-related bodies. The Manual draws attention to the need for vulnerable people to have access to information, health care, safety, shelter, food, and education in a language that they understand. It also draws attention to the consequences of increased vulnerability and exploitation of people, particularly women and girls, arising from language barriers.

Although attention to matters of language is greater in the Law and Policymakers' Manual than in other documents, this document is relatively recent and it is by no means clear the extent to which its recommendations are being adhered to in situations of conflict. As indicated above, access to IDPs may be limited to emergency medical attention, UN-administered food depots, and the erection of internally displaced people's camps (IDPCs) where communities to which IDPs have fled are unable to absorb or accommodate new-comers. Concerns for safety and security of aid-workers in situations of conflict limit

possibilities for external agencies to respond adequately to the linguistic needs of minority communities, or to monitor and collect data on wider political, educational, linguistic or cultural issues. However, the implications of and for languages in these situations, which are often ones in which linguistic diversity coexists with hierarchical scales that compound vulnerability, deserve careful attention that is mindful of potentially harmful consequences for IDPs (Polzer & Hammond 2008).

Issues relating to displacement and language: three examples from sub-Saharan Africa

As suggested above, sub-Saharan Africa is expected to experience a significant increase in rapid-onset and conflict related displacement. Also, as indicated above, displacement occurs along a continuum of co-occurring factors which may be overlooked when international agencies focus on the immediacy of shelter and food provision. The discussion now turns to three different contextual examples of displacement with sociolinguistic implications.[5]

Long-term displacements of San and Khoe peoples of Southern Africa

The San, often referred to as Bushmen, and Khoe peoples are minority indigenous peoples of Southern Africa (present day Angola, Botswana, Namibia and South Africa), pre-dating the large-scale southern migration of people using Niger-Congo languages from Central Africa between 2,500 and 3,000 years ago. Whereas the languages of the Khoe and San are often discussed in literature relating to language loss or death over a 300 year period of contact with European settlers from the mid-17th century (e.g. Traill 2002), displacement of communities such as these has been endemic over longer scales of time and space. While there are consequences for languages and language practices, these may be inseparable from epistemology (including knowledge of art, medicine, sustainable livelihoods) and cosmology (including belief and practices of song, dance, trance), in ways that cross both material and metaphysical borders and world experiences (see also Deacon & Dowson 1996, Crawhall 2004).

Migration and settlement of more economically and political powerful African and European communities have resulted in various stages and forms of displacement. First, lands over which mobile communities traversed in pursuit of the hunting and gathering livelihoods have been systematically appropriated. This occurred through the occupation of land by African and then European settler

[5] As indicated earlier, these examples are illustrative, rather than representative or exhaustive, of the relationship among language, livelihood, well-being (including epistemology, faith, belief or cosmology). They are settings in which the author has ethnographic research experience.

pastoralists and farmers (Crawhall 2004). This was followed by 18th and 19th century European demarcation of geopolitical borders, with restrictions placed on the mobility of people. The 20th century brought the designation of wildlife conservation areas (parks) and eco-tourism in precisely the areas where San and Khoe communities traditionally practised sustainable hunting. Communities were forcibly moved from the Kalahari Gemsbok Park on the South African side of the border with Botswana in 1930. Several decades later, on the Botswanan side, Baswara San were forcibly removed from hunting-rich areas on the basis that they are variously accused of poaching and because they need to be closer to where their children can attend school. However, provision of schooling is both culturally and linguistically inappropriate and carries more risks than opportunities (Pamo 2011, Sekere 2011, Bolaane 2014). However, it is also the case that large multi-national companies have diamond mining interests in the area and more recently, the government has issued permits for fracking operations in areas traditionally associated with the Baswara's habitat (Hitchcock 1998, IRIN 2009, Vidal 2014). In each of these cases epistemology (knowledge) and cosmology (belief) have been rooted in the physical space over which communities regularly travelled. Communities have epistemological and cosmological reasons and needs for their mobility (e.g. Deacon & Dowson 1996); and knowledge, experience, expertise and belief are embedded in their practices of language in both the physical and metaphysical world. These linguistic practices include speech; trance communication with ancestors, shamans and healers; rock and other forms of art; reading and interpreting signs and tracks of insects and animals. Displacement involving restricted mobility and forced relocation therefore has consequences in which connections among knowledge, belief and the use of language to communicate undergo rupture.

The second form of displacement has occurred as a result of conflict (war). Owing to knowledge of tracking, San trackers living in the border areas between Northern Namibia (then South West Africa), Botswana and Angola, were co-opted into the South African Defence Force during military operations in the region in the late 1980s. After Namibian independence and the retreat of the South African military, approximately 4,000 people from two linguistic groups, the !Xun (San) and the Khwe (Khoe), were obliged to seek refuge inside South Africa because some of their members had been coerced into serving as trackers. They had effectively lost their status as citizens of Namibia or Angola. They were brought to a temporary army camp in a dusty and arid part of the Northern Cape, an alien environment, and encircled by army camp fencing, where they remained for the next 14 years completely dislocated from the places in which their knowledge of the land, food sources, medicinal knowledge of plants, water sources, and connections with their ancestors and their spiritual world. Local communities

objected to their presence, government was reluctant to offer South African citizenship, and the displaced communities have suffered extreme ruptures of identity and well-being.

As suggested above, the consequences of displacement for mobile communities such as the San and Khoe reach much further than physical relocation. Crawhall (2004) argues that settlement of farmers has resulted in cultural genocide through, among other things, the destruction of the biodiversity of the Kalahari (now desert) in which hunter-gatherer and farming communities currently try to survive. Before the occupation and fencing off of land by farmers,

> Up to a million springbok used to migrate across the desert, pouring uric acid over the plant life and leaving fertile droppings ….[that] stimulated plant growth …. The elders remember a time when [what has now become] the desert was bursting with food in summertime (Crawhall 2004: 250; this author's insertion).

Fencing and farming have interrupted and decimated wildlife populations and resulted in desertification of the Kalahari. The significance for this in relation to language is that once the biodiversity had been destroyed, the epistemological substance of San and Khoe languages also disappeared. Once people were physically removed from the places (often particular water sources) associated with their ancestors, they could no longer use their practices of dance, song and trance to communicate with the ancestors for healing advice or for bringing rain. The purposes for which their languages were needed, including the passing on of knowledge and expertise, evaporated (see Crawhall 2004: 251ff). The loss of the functional uses of San and Khoe languages partly explain language loss. However, there is at least one additional reason that Crawhall in his two decades of research has found, and which this author similarly found in 1997. Although linguists (e.g. Mesthrie 2000) indicate that there are no longer speakers of the Khoe language Gri in the Northern Cape, both Crawhall and Heugh have found speakers of Gri. Heugh, accompanied by Northern Cape Government officials, found at least 200 speakers of Gri who lived on the outskirts of a town, Douglas, in 1997. The speakers of the community had taken what appeared to be a pragmatic choice of assuming the identity of 'Other Coloured' during the apartheid regime, because they would be entitled to some form of minimal social security provisions if they did so. This would not have been possible if they had identified as speakers of either a San or Khoe language. So, the speakers of Gri shifted to Afrikaans in order to close the ethnolinguistic gap between themselves and 'Coloured' speakers of Afrikaans.

However, the speakers of Gri acknowledged to this author, that the language shift had consequences for their health and well-being. First, they indicated concern that farming and urban settlement had an impact on the disappearance of herbs with medicinal properties from the veld. Second, the last Gri-speaking doctor in Douglas had died and with him went knowledge of how to prepare and administer traditional herbal medicines (Heugh 1998). Crawhall (2004) found that informants from other communities of people who speak Nama (another Khoe language) and San languages were similarly worried about the connection between the loss of linguistic knowledge and loss of traditional healing knowledge (identification, gathering, preparation and use of herbs from the veld). The inability to pass on what is known as *veldkennis* or knowledge of the veld, particularly in regard to how to gather and prepare indigenous plants for medicinal purposes appears to have serious consequences for community well-being in the cosmology of several Khoe and San communities.

There is a further dimension to language loss or language displacement (Brenzinger 1997). Because of the socio-political and ethnolinguistic hierarchies of apartheid (1948-1994), and because speakers of Gri believed that they had become outsiders in the very place into which others had migrated and assumed ownership, they had been dispossessed of their land. Language, specifically the use of clicks, became a marker of stigma, marginality and shame. The youth are too ashamed to learn the language:

> *Die jong mense sê dat ons taal klink na klippe aanmekaar kap*.
> [The youth say that our language sounds like stones that are being hit together.](Gri informant in Douglas, Northern Cape, July 1997, recorded in Heugh 1998).

The sense of shame is deeply felt by young members of the community who believe that upward social mobility lies through Afrikaans and then English. Contact with speakers of African languages in Botswana has similarly resulted in stigma and shame. Chebanne (2008) indicates that the Baswara San have been stigmatised as ignorant 'foragers' and social outcasts. Stigma and shame resonates with other vulnerable and marginalised communities existing in the shadows of borderlands (e.g. Martinez 1994). These matters are not simply matters of language loss or physical displacement, they go far deeper into the psyches of human beings and their place in the world of socio-political hierarchies of marginality and exclusion.

Displacement of Pastoral Peoples of Eastern Africa

The second discussion draws attention to the displacement of pastoral, nomadic, people of Eastern Africa, particularly in the Somali, Afar and Oromo Regions of Ethiopia. Pastoralists, historically have traversed wide stretches of arid and semi-arid lands across Africa, and have been the largest

contributors to the supply of meat for the populations of their countries (Oxfam 2008). They developed their own sustainable systems of water protection and management of grazing lands. Encroachment on and shrinking of pastoral lands now occurs as a result of controversial international development agency policies of settlement and bore-hole drilling, and powerful settler communities. Settlement policies have led to unanticipated consequences of over-grazing, resulting in desertification, loss of animal stock through pasture shortage, increasing poverty and marginalisation (e.g. Oxfam 2008). Displacement in such circumstances arises from a shrinkage of mobility and access to land use . These exacerbate competition for grazing and water resources, which leads to conflict and further displacement (PFE, IIRR & DF 2010).

Border conflict contributes additional pressure on pastoral communities. Ethiopia's ongoing sabre-rattling on its northern and eastern borders with Eritrea and Somalia; Kenya's disputes with Somalia; and the unstable borderlands of Northern Uganda and South Sudan are accompanied by cross-border raids of bandits involved in stock-theft and human traffickers involved in abductions of women and girls. Unstable borders feature militant insurgencies and human rights abuse, as discussed in the third example below. So, pastoralists may be displaced towards the geo-political margins of a country because of encroaching occupation of former grazing lands by other more powerful stakeholders. Once restricted to marginal or borderland areas, they become more vulnerable to the circumstances of unstable and volatile incursions. It is in such conditions that school enrolment, retention and achievement come under threat. It is also in such conditions that the provision of education that is sensitive to the rhythms of pastoral life and inclusive of pastoralist knowledge, experiences, systems of belief and faith, and languages are necessary (Heugh 2014).

Ethnographic data from the Afar and Somali Regions of Ethiopia reveal layers of marginalisation experienced through and compounded by displacement. Restricted mobility increases pressure on the grazing lands to deliver not only stock grazing but firewood fuel for domestic use and this results in desertification. Wood as a potentially renewable source of energy is no longer renewable under conditions of restricted mobility or displacement from traditional pasture lands. As it becomes increasingly scarce, girls and women who are responsible for sourcing this, have to walk longer distances to find supplies. The further they travel from their hamlets, the more vulnerable they become to bandits and raiding parties in search of young women to take back across the borders for enslavement, for example, in Yemen, Saudi Arabia and Somalia (Heugh 2014). The Regional Governments of Afar and Somali have provided few Alternative Basic Education (ABE) primary schools in pastoral areas.

Secondary schools are only available in one or two major towns, and unsurprisingly, only 5% of pastoralist children attend secondary school (PACT Ethiopia 2008). For most children, the ABE schools are impossible to reach by foot, and it is too dangerous for girls to try to reach school even if there is time both to collect firewood and attend school. Where girls can attend the minimum of three years of primary school, it is likely that this would be spasmodic attendance and all the more reason for education to be provided in the local languages which are known and used by students in their communities. Education in languages not well-known or used in the immediate community has little relevance and there is no evidence that such provision supports retention or access to secondary education in such settings (eds Skutbabb-Kangas & Heugh 2012).

Restricted mobility, unsafe borders, and environmental changes force some Afar pastoralists closer to the towns along the trade route through Afar, and between Djibouti, Ethiopia's only access to a seaport, and Addis Ababa. Yet this also brings danger of abductions along the Djibouti route. Although education policy since 1994 requires primary schools to teach through the medium of a regional language, this has not been the case in Afar Region where primary and secondary education in the towns is conducted in Amharic, a language associated with the Coptic Christians and the politically dominant Amhara community of the federal capital, Addis Ababa, and Amhara Region. In Afar, where Islam predominates, the insistence on Amharic medium education in primary school is interpreted as discriminatory along lines of language and faith. The reluctance of either the regional or federal governments to provide mobile schools and/or more alternative basic education (ABE) primary schools close to pastoral hamlets exacerbates inequality. Federal and Regional government insist that pastoralists send their children to urban boarding schools and position pastoralists as unco-operative if they resist. However, pastoralist community spokespersons are reluctant to leave children, especially girls, in boarding schools in towns where parents fear that their children will experience discrimination, alienation from pastoral traditions and epistemology, and possible abduction (Heugh 2014). The only way that pastoralists can send their children to school with some protection is if they relocate to towns and thus jeopardise their livelihoods. However, since children are taught Islamic literacy in hamlets and villages by community members, there is reason to suggest that if the federal and regional governments could foster informal education systems in ways that include a wider primary school curriculum. The needs pastoral communities in the Afar, Somali and Oromo Regions could be met through a sustainable system of mobile schools that would draw on the linguistic and faith-based resources within pastoral communities.

The following excerpt shows that pastoralists are not unco-operative, they do wish for their children to participate in school, and they do not wish to exclude girls. However, it also demonstrates a claim to linguistic citizenship by arguing for Afar medium of instruction followed by English medium. The omission of Amharic indicates resistance towards the federal government, its language policy, and Coptic Christianity:

> Girls should go to Grade 8 or beyond. We used to think foolishly that ladies should not get education – now we know that first ladies must get education … in Afar for Grades 1-4…. From Grade 5 it should be English (Chairperson, Dudub Hamlet, Afar Region, 2006)[6]

Sustainable education here points to the need for Afar medium of instruction, Islamic literacy to increase access for faith-related well-being and to reading and writing, the inclusion of local epistemologies, English as a subject, and flexible school hours to suit the conditions of hot arid areas and the rhythms of pastoral life (e.g. Heugh 2014). Increased participation not in primary education is more likely to ensure meaningful access to secondary education. Viable opportunities for participation in school education offer viable alternatives to early marriage for pastoral daughters, and opportunities for inclusive engagement and participatory citizenship for local, regional and global purposes.

Ethnographic data collected in this context demonstrates that marginalised pastoral communities voice clear objectives for the education of their children. These are particularly evident in views regarding the provision of language/s in education. In this case it is Afar and English, although some community members also recognise the pragmatic usefulness of Amharic for regional and national purposes of communication.

Internal displacement and conflict

The third discussion relates to the impact of armed conflict on displaced persons and their language practices. Specifically, attention is drawn to the impact of three decades (1979-2009) of conflict on communities of North West Uganda that border South Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Violence in the North West Nile districts of Uganda began with inter-ethnic violence towards the Kakwa-speaking minority of Koboko District bordering the DRC after the expulsion of Idi Amin, a dictatorial prime minister of Uganda originally from this district. This conflict was followed by the 1987 emergence of The Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), a militant insurgency group in Gulu District and associated with Joseph Kony, amputations, genocide, abductions, boy-soldiering, and rape of girls and

[6] Cited in Heugh (2014, p. 130).

women, and maiming. The LRA has displaced nearly two million people across Northern Uganda, and another 400 000 in neighbouring South Sudan, DRC and the Central African Republic (CAR). Emergency IDP camps established by the Ugandan Government had poor hygiene, were disease-ridden, and few if any schools. Local schools, if they were able to continue to function, could not absorb displaced children. Even if children could be absorbed, they encountered linguistic mismatches between themselves, other students and teachers. Since 2008, approximately 80% of displaced Ugandans have returned home, but after 20-30 years of dislocation, the socio-political and economic fabric of communities has been destroyed. For example, the majority of people in the Acholi-speaking areas of Gulu, Amuru and Nwoya Districts were relocated rural areas to IDP camps near apparently safe towns. Returning after at least 20 years IDP Camp reliance on UN food depots, and almost zero school education, decimated family units no longer have the knowledge of how to till the land or to grow crops, or how to engage in other sustainable economic activities. Development agencies and NGOs provided assistance to communities worst affected by the insurgencies for the first four to five years after the LRA was forced to leave Uganda. Short-lived interventions within a post-traumatic and disordered society, on the scale evident across Northern Uganda, have not been sustainable. Reconstruction in post-conflict settings requires long-term sustainable solutions, local participation and agency, and in the languages used by the communities (Heugh & Mulumba 2014).

Displacement for many people from Arua, Koboko, Yumbe, Moyo and Adjumani Districts largely meant crossing porous borders into DRC or South Sudan from 1979 onwards and attempts to merge with communities across the borders. Linguistic diversity is a significant feature of the NW Nile, DRC and South Sudan, and mobility of people in these areas requires multilingual repertoires. In addition to languages shared across the borders of Uganda and South Sudan, i.e. Kakwa, Ma'di and Acholi (Lwo), many people have acquired Kiswahili, Juba (South Sudanese) Arabic and languages of neighbouring countries. Displacement across the borders has not been one-directional from Uganda. Instability and on-going conflict in South Sudan and DRC has resulted in movement of people into Northern Uganda depending on insurgent operations. Borders in this area are porous and there has been a lack of government-enforced attempts to seal these from any of the three neighbouring countries while insurgents groups have had the upper hand. Although in some areas, IDPs have been returning home since 2004, it is only subsequent to the expulsion of most LRA groups from Uganda in 2008 that co-ordinated steps towards resettlement and reconstruction have been possible. Nevertheless, fresh outbreaks of conflict in South Sudan are destabilising the area again.

Although UN-related documents that respond to displacement acknowledge that information and services should be provided in local languages, guidelines were not available or had not been put into effect in Northern Uganda between 1979 and 2009. New district administrative centres established to manage local government, including health and education, coincided with the implementation of a new primary school curriculum policy in which the first three years are to be taught through the local language. Since the education system had disintegrated in the NW Nile, this has had to be re-developed. In many areas, primary and secondary schools built before the conflict, remain even if in disrepair. Teacher development centres have had to be established in order to support teachers, many of whom have not taught for years, and who need to adjust to the new curriculum, and specifically to teach through the local language which may not match a language of the teacher's repertoire. There is a paucity of written materials for teaching, particularly in local languages and the National Curriculum Development Centre (NCDC) of the Ministry of Education and Sports (MoES) in Kampala has neither the capacity nor the budgetary resources to develop written materials and teacher guides.

The Literacy and Basic Adult Education (LABE) NGO, has worked with rural communities in a way that is inclusive of multiple stakeholders and that builds sustainability. In 2009 LABE began a mother-tongue education project in the local languages of five (now six) NW Districts most severely affected by the conflict. The project supports national and local/district government efforts to re-establish primary school education post-conflict areas in conjunction with the implementation of the new curriculum and in the five languages of these districts.

LABE's collaborative approach includes village and district-level stakeholders in ways that encourage agency and participation. Each village has identified 'parent educators' to act as liaison persons between the school and village, and to encourage reciprocal investment between primary school education and adult basic education initiatives in local languages. LABE has also supported the establishment of local language boards for each of Kakwa, Lugbara, Aringa, Ma'di and Acholi languages and it has assisted in orthographic development training where necessary. LABE has also facilitated the writing of story-books based on local knowledge, and that are used by children and adult literacy learners. District officials, and the NCCD and the MoES in Kampala acknowledge that this intervention has been exceptional. LABE's experience in providing teacher development support in local languages is now being used by NCCD as a guide for the rest of the country (Heugh & Mulumba 2014).

The Ugandan example also demonstrates that language policies decided at the federal level may be too crude for highly diverse and marginal settings. After three decades of displacement, people have not returned to their villages linguistically unchanged. In many cases, although they may have fled mainly speaking one or two languages, they have returned with wider repertoires. Thus the restriction to one local language medium of education in each district does not match altered (or changing) linguistic realities. For a minority of people who observe Islam in this corner of a predominantly Christian country, there is a further complication. This is the need to accommodate Islamic literacy. It would be sensible if the local and national education systems were to acknowledge the need for Islamic literacy, where appropriate, and to incorporate this into regular school and community practices.

A further complication arises from teacher-deployment practices, where federal government has not matched teachers' linguistic profiles with those of school communities and the new early primary curriculum. Finally, the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) is assisting language boards in various districts to develop orthographies that will contribute towards the writing of literature and educational material. Yoder (2008) offers a detailed discussion of the societal conditions in which this kind of work has taken place in South Sudan, and how SIL has addressed the challenges there. In NW Uganda, the approach taken by SIL linguists has been to emphasise differences among closely related spoken language varieties. This approach includes the introduction of difficult to use diacritics, and an increase the number of vowels in one variety of Acholi. These are questionable practices on pragmatic and theoretical grounds. In a post-conflict situation, capacity-building and sustainability are particularly crucial, so this kind of intervention may carry risks. First, it is more likely to encourage communities to believe that their languages are too difficult for reading, writing and printing (see also Yoder 2008). Second, an emphasis on ethnolinguistic division may exacerbate conflict rather than reconciliation in a post-conflict setting.

Implications

Displacement as discussed here results in fractured systems and vulnerable communities in which language is intimately connected with physical and mental well-being. Whereas literature on migration makes passing mention of the need for communication in local languages, there is little evidence that the international community understands how mobile and marginalised people make use of language and its relationship with knowledge, cultural practices, livelihoods and faith. Development agency

reports and documents translated into the various official languages of the UN are of little practical and direct value to affected people. What matters to IDPs is their access to information in languages that they understand so that they can access services that will help them to survive. What matters once resettlement is possible, is that counselling, repair, rebuilding and reconstruction can be effective and sustainable through participation and agency. Participation and agency are only possible in languages and practices known and used. These are not the languages of the UN. Displacement alters the linguistic ecology of each community and reconstruction of communities is likely to benefit from a nuanced understanding of how the linguistic ecology has changes and contemporary community needs.

Although there is substantial research on the long-term effects of trauma on refugees and asylum-seekers, this has not been the case for IDPs. In large part this is because such research would require personnel who understand the linguistic and cultural practices of IDPs well enough to be able to navigate highly fraught circumstances. The linguistic phenomena of one setting will differ from the next and so inflexible language policies, even where these are inclusive of diversity, are unhelpful. Where minority Indigenous people have lived on the margins of society, such as the Khoe and San of Southern Africa, the Pygmies of Cameroon, or Indigenous peoples of Australia, language is not simply spoken, written or signed. The linguistic repertoire may include various forms of signs (knowledge of human and animal signs), art (rock paintings), song, dance, trance and dream. The consequence of displacement, marginalisation and stigma is so severe that even where some individuals express narratives of resistance, there is evidence that pressure to disguise or obscure linguistic and cultural identities brings about linguistic, epistemological and cosmological loss on scales and in dimensions between the physical and other worlds that have not yet been fully understood by linguistic anthropologists. Pastoral peoples of East Africa may well be associated with a particular language; however, mobility and reliance on selling livestock in markets require expanded repertoires. Such repertoires, however, may not coincide with the language regime of the federal system. For complex socio-economic, cultural and faith-based reasons, including displacement, pastoralists are likely to be in an antagonistic relationship with administrative agencies of national or federal centre. Resistance towards the scripts of the centre is demonstrated in this chapter by pastoralists in Afar who claim the right to use their language and English in the education of their children, rather than Amharic, the national working language of Ethiopia. In situations of conflict or post-conflict, language poses risks and opportunities. Mobility increases the likelihood of expanded repertoires as people relocate in order to find places of refuge in other parts of a country or in remote border regions of neighbouring countries. Expanding one's

linguistic repertoire is necessary for survival and in situations in which formal education collapses, and the expanded repertoire facilitates access to informal knowledge and expertise of new locations. This may increase opportunities for trade and local enterprises in border regions in times of resettlement. However, (restricted) placement in IDP camps for protracted periods, such as experienced by Acholi-speakers in Gulu district in Northern Uganda, may limit opportunities for expanding repertoires of language and knowledge. In the absence of opportunities to continue livelihood enterprises, people and communities also lose earlier held knowledge and expertise. The language of resettlement, counselling and education in post-conflict contexts such as this may very well need to be in Acholi because this is the language of the Gulu camps. However, for communities resettled in Koboko, Yumbe, Adjumani and Arua, and who fled across borders and who have returned as speakers of several languages, it does not make sense to restrict education and services to one district language. Instead, multilingual services and education make more practical sense.

Future directions

Language policies in South Africa and Botswana have thus far failed to address the particular needs of the most marginalised of their respective linguistic communities, the Khoe and San people who have experienced various forms of ongoing discriminatory practices, including displacement. South Africa's human rights-based constitution has not ensured equality of linguistic and cultural citizenship for Khoe and San communities. The government of Botswana has used opportunistic measures to displace people and to provide inappropriate educational and other services. The linguistic realities of vulnerable communities in these countries indicate that in addition to language loss or death, centuries of knowledge of the environment, sustainable livelihoods, belief systems intimately connected with well-being, all of which are embedded in language, will soon be lost.

The language policy of Ethiopia, although geared towards equal treatment of regional languages and communities, is not implemented in relation to educational provision for pastoral communities in Afar and Somali regions where Islam is observed. First, the mobility of pastoral communities is restricted through the resettlement of outsiders on pastoral lands. Second, resettlement exacerbates over-grazing and desertification and this increases poverty and increases risks of human trafficking. Third, restricted provision of education for pastoral children of Islamic faith in a predominantly Coptic Christian country has overtones of faith-based and /or ethnic discrimination. Together these increase alienation and disaffection from the state. A partial solution would be to tap into community practices and resources of

teaching and learning Islamic literacy in mobile schools and to assist communities to expand these practices in ways that suit pastoral life-styles, provide early primary education for children and facilitate access to upper primary and secondary education.

Decades of debates about the use of local languages in primary education of Uganda finally resulted in a policy in which local languages are to be used as medium of instruction for the first three years of primary school from 2007. Government, however, was unable to implement this policy while an NGO, LABE, has done this in 240 schools in post-conflict NW Uganda. LABE demonstrates how to build community agency, multi-party stakeholder capacity, and how to bring children back into schools and to remain in schools after decades of conflict. The success of the LABE intervention owes much to the development of agency and partnerships in which the district officials, community leaders, parents and schools are jointly invested in rebuilding the school system and providing adult basic education in the villages and schools. Its success is also attributed to LABE's involvement in de veloping orthographies, dictionaries, story-books and learning materials in the local languages. As the se were being developed, so too were the expertise and capacity of community members, local experts, teacher development officers and district education officials. What the Ugandan example also points towards are possible risks. The first is that the language education policy decided upon in Kampala does not quite fit the linguistic reality of each setting. Displacement from one district to another or across borders has increased linguistic diversity and repertoire for people who were not placed in IDP camps. Policy-makers therefore may need to consider how policies might be sufficiently decentralised or adjustable to accommodate changing linguistic circumstances. The isolation of people in IDP camps may have precluded expansion of linguistic repertoires. Policy implementation would therefore need flexibility. Then NGO interventions, such as that of LABE, may be positive. Others, with methodologies and practices that foster difference, such as SIL's approach to orthographic development, may inadvertently have impractical linguistic outcome that may also exacerbate ethnic difference in a volatile post-conflict situation.

These examples indicate that the linguistic practices displaced people in marginal settings need to be understood in relation to other dimensions of the well-being of human beings. Language policies and regimes conceived of in national or federal centres, even where ostensibly well-intentioned, are not likely to articulate closely with the needs of IDPs in borderland contexts. There is reason to argue for decentralised approaches that engage local agents and communities. Linguists and those who have an

interest in language (education) policy and practices may find that displacement, in difficult-to-reach areas, is one that is under-researched. It is also one in which researchers need to tread carefully and to anticipate the consequences of possible errors of judgement.

Summary

There was a forty-year gap between the 1950s recognition of refugees and asylum seekers and the 1990s recognition of internally displaced persons (IDPs) by international development agencies. With 60 million IDPs identified by 2013, and large-scale conflict in 2014 and 2015, displacement is a global crisis. Refugees who are able to escape the conflict-ridden countries draw international attention, including research on the linguistic implications of migration. However, this is seldom the case with IDPs. Partly this is because most displaced people are located in inaccessible areas.[7] This chapter considers displaced people in three marginal contexts. The first is in relation small endangered and marginalised San and Khoe communities of Southern Africa. The second is in relation to pastoral people in Ethiopia who experience restricted mobility, desertification, impoverishment and linguistic and faith-based discrimination. The third is in relation to post-conflict North West Uganda where socio-political and educational reconstruction occurs in the context of a changing linguistic landscape.

In each example, displaced, peripheral communities receive limited access to services and resources while they experience extreme vulnerability and marginalisation. Short-term emergency relief or aid brought by international development agencies are not yet responsive to the roles and functions of community language practices in such contexts. National governments and smaller agencies may bring educational and linguistic resources and expertise, but they may also bring theoretical and pedagogic practices that may exacerbate marginalisation and trauma. There is, however, some evidence to suggest that locally developed responses that tap into local languages and epistemologies may increase the prospects of sustainable literacy, language 'development' and educational practices.

Related topics

Place, Space and Language
New Orientations to Identity in Mobility
Migration, Development and Language
Migrant Trajectories

[7] A notable exception is the occupation of central parklands in Bogota by Indigenous IDPs (Olarte & Wall 2012).

Settler Migration

Narrative in the Study of Migrants

Multi-sited Ethnographies in the Study of Migration

Research Ethics in the Study of Mobility

Further Reading

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