UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

DEPARTMENT

CENTER FOR APPLIED LANGUAGE STUDIES AND SERVICES IN AFRICA (CALSSA) THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

TOPIC

A QUALITATIVE STUDY OF SOME OF THE EFFCTS OF USING ENGLISH AS A LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION AT STANDARD 2 AND 5 IN THE BOTSWANA EDUCATON SYSTEM, WHERE LEARNERS ARE NOT PRIMARY LANGUAGE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

BY

BOINGOTLO ALICE TSIETSO-MOSES

MSSBOI001

SUPERVISOR: PROF. D. N. YOUNG

A dissertation presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Philosophy, specializing in Applied Language Studies.

March 2001

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

University of Cape Town

Table of Contents

Chapter Outline

Chapter 1: Introduction	**Page numbers**
1.1 Introductory Remarks	1
1.2 .1 Background to the Study	2
1.2.2 The language Situation in the Botswana	2
1.3 The Research Question	3
1.4 Statement of the Problem	3
1.5 Aims of the Study	5
1.6 Personal Motivation for the Study (Rationale)	6
1.7 Limitations of the Study	7
1.8 Definition of terms	8
1.9 The synopsis	9
Chapter 2: The Literature Review	
2.1 Introduction	11
2.2 Language and Culture	11
2.3 Language Attitudes	14
2.4 Language in Education Policy	17
2.5 The Role of Textbooks in the School Policy	23
2.6 Bilingual Education	24
2.6.1 What Bilingual education is?	24
2.6.2 Types of bilingual Education	26
2.6.3 Mother Tongue Instruction and Second Language Learning	30
2.6.4 Research on Bilingual Programmes in Other Parts of the World	32
2.7 Conclusion	36
Chapter 3: Research Design and Methodology	
3.1 Introduction	37
3.2 The Research Design	37
3.2.1 The Target Group	37
3.2.2 The Location	38
3.3 Methodology	39
3.3.1 Qualitative Methodology	39
3.3.2 Observation	40
3.3.3 Interviews	41
3.4 Documents	41
3.5 Conclusions	42

Chapter 4: Data Analysis

4.1 Introduction	43
4.2 Background to the Study Location	44
4.3 The interview Process	46
4.3.1 Attitudes to Languages of Instruction	48
4.3.2 Methodology and Language Use	53
4.3.3 Teaching Materials	58
4.3.4 Pupils' Performance	60
4.3.5 Language Policy	60
4.4 The Observation Process	63
4.5 Conclusion	66

Chapter 5: Interpretation of Data

5.1 Introduction	67
5.2 Interpretation of the Data Elicited	68
5.2.1 Language in Education Policy (Botswana)	68
5.2.2 Attitudes Towards Languages of instruction	75
5.2.3 Classroom Teaching Methodology and Language Use	79
5.2.4 Language and Culture	83
5.2.5 Teaching Materials	87
5.3 Conclusion	90

Chapter 6: Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

6.1 Introduction	93
6.2 Summary	93
6.3 Limitations of the study	97
6.4 Recommendations	98
6.5 Possible Recommendations for Further Research	101
6.6 Conclusions	102

Bibliography	104
Appendices	

DISCLAIMER

I hereby declare that this dissertation is my own original work and has not been submitted before to any institution for assessment purposes.

Further, I have acknowledged all the sources used and have cited these in the bibliography.

Signed by candidate

07-03-01

Signature **Date**

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the following for the assistance they gave me in this dissertation. Without them my work would have suffered and probably not have been completed.

-Professor Douglas Young my supervisor, for his knowledge, support, guidance, patience, and encouragement. From him I benefited a lot throughout my struggle to complete this research. Without his comments, feedback and motivation this work would not have materialized.

-My sponsors, both the government of Botswana and the Flemish government through VVOB and CALSSA. Their sponsorship helped me with my typing, printing, editing and photocopying all the materials needed to carryout this work. Above all it provided for my survival here at the University of Cape Town.

-The government of Botswana for allowing me to collect the data in Botswana despite the fact that I was studying in South Africa. Also my thanks go to the three heads of schools that permitted me to carry-on with my study in their school premises.

-My family, especially my husband and our two children for understanding and allowing me to part with them for two solid years to come for my studies here in Cape Town. May God really bless them for supporting me in my further development.

Finally, I wish to thank the University of Cape Town for accepting me into this institution to pursue my studies here.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to address the issue of language in education policy in Botswana where English is used as a language of instruction at the lower levels of primary education, in this instance focusing on grades 2 and 5. Bearing in mind that English is not the learners' first language, this dissertation firstly attempts to discover some of the possible effects this could have on learners concerning their acquisition of English as a second language, and their progression into further education. Secondly it looks at the role of the primary language (Setswana) as the foundation for the child's acquisition of new knowledge and hence subsequently his/her learning of L2.

The data were collected qualitatively in three primary schools through interviews and classroom observations. All three schools are government-run Tswana medium primary schools. The study is based theoretically on the sociolinguistic perspective of bilingual/multilingual education. It draws on language policy studies, language attitude studies as well as issues of language and culture. All these theoretical perspectives together with the qualitative data collected are used to address the research question: *what are some of the possible effects of using English as a language of instruction at at grades 2 and 5, in the Botswana primary education system, where learners are not primary language speakers of English?*

The data analysis revealed that teachers are divided into two groups. There are those who supports the policy of early exit from Setswana to English as a language of instruction with the argument that learners exposed to the English language early enough would be more competent in it by the time they leave school. Then there is a group that is against this policy, their argument being that the learners are not even proficient in Setswana their first language and being made to learn in a language that they cannot comprehend will further hamper them academically. They also argue for cultural preservation through the promotion of Setswana as a LOI. Common also

amongst the three schools was lack of instructional materials, especially textbooks. This study did briefly look at the importance of textbooks in curriculum administration.

The arguments of both groups of teachers on language policy are persuasive. But on the other hand, as reflected by research on bilingual education, for learners to fully achieve competence in L2 (English in this case) they should have enough exposure and learning into the language both inside and outside the classroom. On the basis of my findings I recommend adherence to maintenance bilingual education, whereby both Setswana and English are maintained as LOIs throughout the primary education system. The dissertation concludes by pointing out the importance of maintenance bilingual education. This, I argue, will instill the pride of being bilingual, bicultural as well as biliterate in Botswana.

List of Tables

Table 1 Standard 2 timetable for the three schools observed p.45

Table 2 Standard 5 and 4 timetable for the three schools p.45

Table 3 Reasons teachers gave for their code-switching p.49

Table 4 Methods of teaching employed by teachers interviewed p.52

Table 5 an analysis of classroom discourse at the time of observations Appendix 4

Table 6 Interview analysis Appendix 3

Chapter One

1.1 Introductory Remarks

This dissertation focuses on the language in education policy for Botswana Primary Education as outlined in the Botswana 1994 **Revised National Policy on Education** (henceforth RNPE 1994). The main focus of the study is learning English and using it as a language of instruction (LOI) at grades 2 and 5. The study is intended to address the existing subtractive bilingual programme of early exit to English as LOI at standard two (the second year at primary school in Botswana) as recommended by the 1994 RNPE. This entails outlining the language in education policy of Botswana. I will relate this to other language in education policies and practices, drawing on comparisons with some other Southern African countries.

The study is founded on the theoretical perspectives of bilingualism/multilingualism, sociolinguistics and psycholinguistics. The assumption here is that the first language has a positive role to play in learning and acquiring a second language. Relevant studies on bilingualism will be reviewed. Qualitative methodological approaches have been used to help me test my arguments. This, together with the literature review, will hopefully give an answer to the research study question, namely: 'what are some of the possible effects of using English as a language of instruction in Botswana primary education where learners are not primary language speakers of English'?

1.2.1 Background to the study

1.2.2 The language situation in Botswana

Botswana became an independent state on September 30, 1966. In the former protectorate, the official language of the colonial administration was English. (See Tsonope and Janson 1991:75). After independence this did not change. English, with a number of key posts held by expatriates, mainly British, continued to be used in all official contexts. It was also used in business, both in writing and in oral communication. Today as stated in the National Development Plan (NDP) 8 (1997-89, 2001-03:10) the official languages are Setswana and English, the latter being the main language in Government.

This official language policy thus provides for two official languages, the non-indigenous English and the indigenous Setswana, with no mention of indigenous minority languages. English and Setswana are also the languages of education. Despite this, Nyathi-Ramahobo (1996:1) identifies at least twenty distinct languages spoken in the country. Batibo (1998:167) identifies thirty ethnic linguistic communities, repartitioned into three families, namely: Khoisan, Bantu and Indo-European.

The appointed national commissions on education have in the past carried out educational reforms. In 1996 the first commission was appointed to review the entire education system and make recommendations to address the aspirations of the democratic Botswana. Out of this commission came the 1997 National Commission

on Education, popularly known as 'Education for *Kagisano*'. This commission too, like the colonial policy, recommended only the two official languages to be the languages of education. Through transitional bilingual education the first language (Setswana) was to be used for the first four years of primary education as the language of instruction with an exit to English in standard five.

The 1977 commission was followed by another appointed in 1992, to review the entire education system with a view to developing a system that would see the country into the twenty-first century. [See Republic of Botswana (RNPE 1994:5)]. With the 1994 RNPE came the recommendation of implementing a policy of early exit to English at standard 2. It is my view that this recommendation could disadvantage the majority of learners for whom English is their second if not their third language. This study thus seeks to address the possible effects of this early exit to English on children who are not primary language speakers of English.

1.3 The Research Question

This leads me to my research question "What are some of the possible outcomes, in subject teaching and learning, of the use of English as a language of instruction in Botswana's Primary Education system at standard 2 and 5, where learners are not primary language speakers of English?"

1.4 Statement of the problem

There are many indigenous languages spoken in Botswana, yet only Setswana, as the national language, is given priority as a school subject and language of instruction at

lower levels of primary schooling. According to the 1994 Revised National Policy on Education Recommendation 18 [Para: 4.7.31 p. 59], with respect to the teaching of languages in primary school "the commission recommends that English be used as the medium of instruction from standard 1 by the year 2000". The recommendation has been amended to read 'English to be used as medium of instruction from standard 2 as soon as practicable'.

The reason given by the commission for introducing English at such an early stage is that "...there is concern about the poor performance of primary school children in English and part of the problem is that children do not get used to using English early enough in the learning process and yet they are required to write their examinations in the language", (RNPE 1994:60). It says using English, as a medium of instruction from standard two will improve the children's performance. At the end of primary school all subjects are examined in English except for Setswana language as a subject per se.

To a large extent as argued by Nyathi-Ramahobo (1996:10), past examinations have revealed that the pupils' performance in the two languages is poor, especially in the minority language dominated areas. This in the long run, the author says, affects the pupils' progress towards the world of work, possibly showing that the language of instruction plays a major role in the vocational and or academic achievement of the pupils. To all pupils in the country English is their second language and Setswana a second language to only about 20%. Setswana as stated by Janson and Tsonope

(1991) is first language to about 80% of the population of Botswana. (See also Batibo 1987).

Mother tongue/first language[1] instruction has long been ignored in Botswana's school curriculum; instead a second language(s) is given priority. The commission has failed to see first language as a resource that can be enhanced in the learning and acquisition of the second language. As stated by the 1993 Report on the National Commission on Education [henceforth NCE 1993:113) English in Botswana is learned for socio-economic advancement and Setswana for cultural identity. This in the end conveys a negative attitude towards the learners concerning their own language. It makes them devalue it and see no reason why they should take it as a core subject. [See 1993 NCE report p.183, the responses received from some of the students at senior secondary towards the learning of Setswana]. As such, this study seeks to find out how this negative attitude towards home language could be put aside and this language viewed as a resource to learning and acquisition of the second language.

1.5 Aims of the study

The aim of this dissertation is to find out whether the teaching and learning of primary/first language, in this case Setswana can,

- Encourage and promote the child's learning and competence of ESL at school
- Provide the concrete foundation for the child's future and effective learning of broader concepts at school

[1] Mother tongue in this dissertation will be described as 'first language'.

- Stimulate his cognitive and affective capacities to enable him to reason well in the second language.
- Help preserve his/her indigenous culture.

The study also seeks to find out how teachers encourage in non-English-speaking pupils to learn English in their lessons, and whether their methods of teaching and the materials used in language teaching at primary school (for both English and Setswana) help produce linguistically and proficient competent children.

1.6 Personal Motivation for this study

There has always been an urge in me to do something about the language situation in my country. It has been 33 years since independence and Botswana is still relying on the pre-independence set up, that of using English to determine the future of its citizens. As a language teacher I have observed at secondary school level how learners have a negative attitude towards the learning of Setswana. At times they get frustrated by their poor performance in English, which is the language that they have been made to believe will determine their futures in the society. I wondered if this problem emanating from primary school, where English is used to determine progression, does not infiltrate into secondary school.

To undertake this study I was motivated by some themes from the sociolinguistics course that I took during the course work component of my masters' programme.

These were themes like bilingual education, language attitudes and language planning. Thus I am undertaking this study with the assumption that primary language has a role to play in the child's development of the cognitive domain and in the learning and acquisition of a second language.

Botswana's nine-year basic education programme aims at providing the learners with tools and instruments in activities connected with later studies and out of school occupation, (Republic of Botswana, Primary School Syllabus for all Subjects, 1992:23). Language is such a tool, and the lack of proficiency in language could block positive engagement in such activities. As Skutnabb-Kangas (1981:3) says, "it (language) is a tool the individual uses when she handles her surroundings in-order to be able to bring the world to herself, to grasp it and to comprehend it". This tool needs to be fully developed so that the desired cognitive (intellectual skills) development can take place in learners. This has led me to try to find out some of the effects in subject learning and teaching through the medium of English to primary language speakers of Setswana.

1.7 Limitations of the study

There are always some limitations to various studies of this kind, but as Nyathi-Ramahobo (1999:22) mentions, the researcher is aware of such limitations and makes provision to accommodate them. The study is limited to only three primary schools. Two of these schools are in the town centre and one in the village. In school B the head of school and his deputy were not interviewed due to other commitments. In school C the standard two lessons were conducted outside due to shortages of

classrooms. It was also winter season and somehow this distracted the pupils' attention. The other limitation was with the members of the National Language Council. Only one member of the Setswana Language Council was interviewed and I learned from him that each language had its own council; and that the National Language Council is not yet in existence. It became difficult to follow the members of National Language Council since most of them are top civil servants and most of the time they are out of their offices. The subject officer for Setswana was not interviewed because she was on sick leave for two weeks.

With limited time available to me I couldn't stay in Botswana to find time to interview her. With only 11 teachers in three schools and 2 officers interviewed, it would be difficult to conclude that this study is a well representation of the language situation prevailing in the whole country. A larger population study needs to be conducted in-order to come up with more valid, convincing conclusions.

1.8 Definition of terms

"Outcomes": the foreseeable results of the teaching of English on the learners' academic performance.

Bilingualism: "a person's ability to process two languages", a definition by Williams and Snipper (1990:33). Cummings and Swain (1986:7) citing Macnamara, describe bilinguals as those who posses at least one of the language skills (listening, speaking, reading and writing) even to a minimal degree in their language.

Multilingualism: the use of more than two languages in society.

L1: First/home/primary language or mother tongue. "A language that is dominant in the immediate community", (Heugh and et al 1995:viii).

L2: A second language or any other language other than the first language learned by a given learner or a group of learners, (Smith, S. M. 1994). English as a 'second language' is used specifically and exclusively in this dissertation to denote the status of English in the Botswana Education System.

Subtractive bilingual programme: a bilingual programme where the home language is used in the early years of schooling as a language of instruction until it is felt that the child has mastered the concepts in the second language, then the second language is used as the medium of instruction. (See ELTIC Reporter 1997:34, Nyathi-Ramahobo 1999:33 and Apple and Muysken 1991:65 for the definitions).

"Inheritance situation": to carry on the logic of the former colonial masters (Bamgbose 1991)

Education for *Kagisano*: Education for the well being/peace

1.9 The Synopsis

Subsequent chapters in this dissertation deal with the following: Chapter two is the literature review, which examines major texts for readings relating to the motive behind using L1 as the foundation for learning L2. This chapter also explores the relation between language and culture, language attitudes, language in education policies in Southern Africa as well as some of the outcomes of bilingual programmes in some other parts of the world.

Chapter three outlines the research methodology that has been used to answer the research question posed in this chapter. The rationale for using qualitative methods is given. Chapter four deals with the analysis of the data gathered in the three schools observed. It analyses the interviews and the observation conducted in seven weeks of data collection.

Chapter five interprets the data suggested by different themes that emerged during the analysis. These, together with the literature review are discussed with relevance to how the outcomes could be utilized in Botswana's education system as well as other countries of Southern Africa. Chapter six presents the summary, conclusions, and recommendations.

Chapter 2

The literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The literature review for this study is based on a sociolinguistic perspective of bilingual education and multilingual education. My main focus will be on bilingual education and first language (L1) instruction as the most appropriate foundation to the learning of second language (SL) and acquiring new knowledge at school. I will briefly discuss language as a means of cultural awareness as well as language attitudes as one of the interrelated areas usually explored in the study of societal bilingualism. Some aspects of language policy literature will also be reviewed since this study focuses on the language in education policy for Botswana primary education system. An overview of some of the research findings by different researchers on bilingual education in and outside Africa will also be considered in this chapter.

2.2 Language and Culture

Language is described as the distinguishing characteristic of the human being. Hartshorne (1995:307) says language is at the heart of the culture of the people. Apple and Muysken (1990) are of the view that language and culture are inter-twined in the healthy functioning of the body. Culture according to Mogapi (1994:1-2) is what the person is, his ways of life, his beliefs and his ways of thinking about life. He says it is through culture that humankind expresses itself, becomes aware of it, recognises its achievements and creates work through which it transcends its limitations.

Hartshorne (1987:83) is of the view that language is a repository and means of articulation of values, beliefs, prejudices, traditions, past achievements and history. This view is also shared by Kaschula (1995:15), who says beliefs and values as well as needs of a particular society are reflected in language. McGroarty (1996:13) claims that ethnic identity is a twin of linguistic identity and language is an intimate part of social identity. Through language, one is more accustomed to the above values and can freely and easily expresses them. Delores (1996:45) argues that education should therefore seek to make individuals aware of their roots so as to give them points of reference that enable them to determine their place in the world around them.

Mogapi (1994: 79-80) further writes that "*puo ya batho ke sefalana sa ngwao ya bone. Ke modi o boleng jwa bone, le bogabone bo itsheegileng ka one*", (language is a fountain of the people's culture. It is the root of what they are). He argues if education is the upbringing of the child in a manner so approved by the society; if it is the inheritance and encouragement of culture; then the language and culture of that society should be the foundation of that society's education. He claims Setswana is an important constituent of the Tswana culture and the use of the language in schools should help sustain and reinforce a distinctive national identity.

It is important for Botswana children to learn English for upward social and economic mobility and higher learning as well as to get exposure to other cultures (non-Tswana). Important as it is for Batswana to learn the English culture, King (1998:2) argues that this should not be a take-over in which the original identity is submerged. The presenter argues children are adept users of their first language (or preferred

language) and can bring that language skill and knowledge to second language learning.

Both first and second language (L1 and L2) should be used in the education system, because as argued by Bamgbose, the use of both L1 and L2 as medium of instruction indicates a concern for both bilingualism and biculturalism. The learning of Setswana and English will equip the learners with the terminology or vocabulary suitable for both cultures. Being bicultural or biliterate in two languages Hornberger (1996:454) argue they could draw on their communicative repertoire (*of both Setswana and English - my emphasis)* to participate appropriately in any given context. Both Setswana and English in the context of Botswana are important for cross-cultural and inter-cultural communication. Learners should be made aware of the importance of language not only for its economic value but also for cultural awareness, communicative fluency as well as personal identity.

According to Carey (1993:31) minority transitional bilingual programmes should ideally permit the acquisition of the dominant second language without destroying the first language culture. He claims that a too rapid cultural transition can result in a loss of control, self-respect, loss of roots and meaningfulness of the social order with a consequent apathy and social unrest. Fishman (1972) cited in Natalie (1992:13) on the other hand argues that if a group's cultural and linguistic heritage is threatened then the group members will fight to resist forces threatening it, (one could site here the experience of Afrikaans in South Africa). On the other site if their languages are respected and valued the author says they have no reason to rise in revolt. Learners should be motivated to learn and learn through both Setswana and English so as to be able to respect the two languages seen as languages of higher status in their country.

2.3 Language attitudes

Attitudes, according to Gardner in Ryan and Giles (eds) (1982: 132), are a mental and neural state of readiness, organized through experiences, exerting a directive situation with which it is related. They point out that attitudes influence the individual's behaviour towards objects or situations, but do not determine it. Attitudes are inferences that one makes from behaviour of people. Once we know a person's attitude toward some attitude object then we have a better chance of understanding and predicting his/her behaviour toward that object.

Attitudes studies, following Myers–Scotton (1993:150), show that persons speaking different dialects or languages receive quite different evaluations along a number of scales. Citing Scachetema (1988), she states that studies on language attitudes in Zambia revealed that the role accorded English, that of being seen as a language of power and prestige inherent in the country's institutions, had an impact on the instrumental value and status of other languages in the country. The effects of all these factors, she says, had affected the people's concept of both English and other indigenous languages, giving rise to the formation of attitudes and values towards these languages and their use in society. The language of the majority or the language that holds the upper status in-order to gain socio-economic benefits is usually valued above and learned more than lesser-valued languages.

This is why in Botswana the learning of English is valued for socio-economic gains and Setswana is valued for "cultural identity and early concept formation". (See the Report on Commission of Education 1993:459). Thus the report says English has an economic value and opens opportunities for employment, Setswana does not. Batibo (1998:271)) in his research on *"the fate of the Khoesan Languages of Botswana"* comments that the Khoesan associates modernisation with Setswana, mainly because Setswana gives them access to the larger community and participation in national development affairs. He says that many parents in minority groups would like their children to learn Setswana, in preference to their mother tongue because it is the

lingua franca in all *dikgotla* (wards) and villages; and that it is a language that will give them access to urban living and paid jobs as well as securing a good future for their children in the wider Setswana-dominated society.

According to the NEPI report (1992:21) parents, learners and some teachers often seem to believe that English has almost magical powers. It says they tend to believe that if you know English well the desired things will follow. This is the status of English in Botswana. The negative attitudes towards Setswana as shown by Nyathi-Ramahobo (1999:139) are a result of the language policy that stresses the need for English over Setswana as implemented through a transitional model of education. As shown by Janson and Tsonope (1991:75), "for a person to become a success in the modern sector, good mastery of English is a prerequisite".

English following Schmied (1991:165) seems to enjoy international prestige as an idealized world language, hence it is learned as a subject and used as a language of learning in many parts of the world. On the other hand, as argued by Campbell and Qorro (1997:81), English creates a barrier because it makes students tongue-tied and therefore unable to participate actively in learning. They say, "It would be better to build on existing knowledge to develop new knowledge". It is a burden to Batswana children, who have to struggle to achieve a scholastic success in a language that is not more than a school language to learn, since it has little purchase in many homes, (adapted from Harlech-Jones 1995, arguing for the use of English in the Namibian Education system).

Minority language speaking children are made to feel ashamed of their mother tongue, their parents, their groups and their culture. Cummings and Skutnabb-Kangas (1998:18) point out that many of the minority children, especially in countries where racism is subtle, take over the negative views, which the majority of society has of the minority groups, their languages and cultures. These authors state that the minority shift identity voluntarily and want to become German, French, Australian or Dutch

etc. In Botswana they will want to be called *'Ngwato', 'Kwena', 'Ngwaketsi', 'Rolong'*, or one of the eight "main' Tswana tribes so defined by the constitution of Botswana. All the negative and defensive psychological mechanism Skutnabb-Kangas (1981:203) argue, could swim into operation when the minority finds the experience off-putting.

Exhibiting negative attitudes towards their own languages does not mean that speakers of minority languages do not attach any importance to them. Responses to the study on language attitudes amongst the Khoesan people in the Nata region in Botswana by Batibo (1998:272-273), showed that most parents want their children to speak Setswana at home, to become proficient in the language and therefore better able to integrate in the wider society. Most of them, he reports, did not want to remain culturally different from the other people in Botswana, however they still wanted to preserve their ethnonyms (identity) as Basarwa (San). The fact that their languages do not have any function in helping them gain upward social mobility makes the speakers look down upon them. Many Batswana would like to learn their indigenous languages, but they aren't eager to do so because they are not given a chance to use them in the first years of schooling, in government services nor to fulfil their dreams of someday attending a higher learning institute like the university or a technical college using their languages to learn in.

Adegbija (1994:106) comments that attitudes towards the use of African Languages are sometimes negatively influenced because as earlier indicated, policy makers are of the opinion or impression that their use will shut the proverbial window on the world; and make it impossible for children to participate in the mainstream culture. He argues that using a child's mother tongue in education does not, as earlier indicated, preclude the active and well-planned learning of relevant mainstream languages, but will instead facilitate their learning.

From these studies it is evident that values and status given to certain languages in the community can make them more prestigious than others and hence lead to favouring

or association with that particular language. As pointed by Carey (1993:28) "whether a minority language or a majority language will survive is determined by the political, cultural and economic power that that language represents". English in Southern Africa will continue to overshadow African Languages because of its status as an international and global language of trade and economy.

2.4 Language in Education Policy

The study of language policy embraces the study of policies related to language use in all social domains including education. According to Tollefson (1997:79) language policy is the all-conscious effort to affect the structure and function of a language variety. He says it is one mechanism for locating languages within social structures so as to use language to determine who has access to political power and economic resources. "Authority and power are manifested and perpetuated by the ways language is used and the purpose for which it is used", Auerbach (1995:10). Bamgbose (1991:109) maintains that the basis for language planning is the perception of the language problems requiring a solution. He says "Because of the need to workout strategies for solving language problems, language planning has been described as the organised pursuit of solutions to language problems".

In Sub-Saharan Africa, as explained in NEPI (1992:45), languages which have status as either national or official regional languages are taught as subjects at school, if not used as media of instruction. Despite the fact that the curriculum might be couched in scientific terms, Auerbach (ibid. p.14) claims the ends-means approach serves as a mechanism of social control, disempowering for both students and teachers. Delores (1996:65) argues that education policy must be sufficiently diversified and must be so designed as not to become another contributing cause of social exclusion. In other words it must be accommodative, not only of the majority language, but all other languages spoken in the community.

The problem with language in education policy in Africa, including Botswana is the adoption of what Bamgbose (1991:69) calls the 'inheritance situation'. This he says is evident in languages selected, the roles assigned them, the level at which languages are introduced and the difficulty of changing any of these. Thus the language policy in Botswana for example, English (former colonial language) is the official and language of education, and Setswana is the national language and is taken as a subject in schools, (see Janson and Tsonope (1991:75) (NDP6:8).

This notion has been adopted by other former British colonies like Namibia, Swaziland, Kenya and Zimbabwe, to mention only a few who have inherited English (the former colonial language) as their official language. In turn these countries as explained in NEPI (1992:52) opted for delayed immersion and gradual transition programmes in their education systems, where in the long run English takes over as a language of instruction. In Namibia, Harlech-Jones (1995) says English is associated with the promotion of unity and resistance. In pre 1994 South African language policy, English and Afrikaans were official languages and languages of education. The present language in education policy for South Africa has recognized that cultural diversity is a valuable asset and hence opted for the promotion of multilingualism and respect of all languages spoken in the country, so as to accommodate all in the education system (Language in Education Policy 1997:2).

English has also been seen as the most widely spoken international language. According to Young (1995:64) it has a high status as an international (second) language of communication in media, education, trade, science and technology, research and diplomacy. Knowledge of the foreign languages is necessary in the case of trade and negotiations about highly technical products, which clearly require personnel who are skilled both technologically and linguistically. Hence the adoption of English as an official language and language of education by Botswana and other Southern African states.

English as portrayed by Schmied (1991:103) has gained a unique status in the modern world and he says it would be foolish not to take advantage of this. True as this might be, Luckett (1995:75) points out that if English remains the language of power it will serve simply to reproduce a powerful speaking elite and the majority of the people will continue to be blocked from power and privileges because their English is not good enough. Efforts should be made to provide the people with the language skills currently in demand in the internal markets of their countries.

These countries do need English for communication and trade globally, but for internal and cross-cultural trade African languages should take preference. "We need as a matter of urgency to identify our most important languages of trade and to prioritise these... specifically we should examine the potential for trade of the languages of the subcontinent, as well as those further afield", (LANTAG 1996:106). This argument could first be introduced through education.

The language in education policy for Botswana specifically relates to the use of Setswana and English in education. The first national commission on education, "Education for Kagisano"(1977) which recommended that Setswana be the medium of instruction from standard one to standard four was of the view that mother tongue was neglected in the curriculum. It clearly states "the use of English as early as standard three (grade 5) and the amount of time allocated to English clearly discriminates against the national language" (NCE 1977:76). This commission according to Nyathi-Ramohobo in Nteta (1996:252) seemed to view mother tongue education for Setswana as a right and a resource, which could foster national unity.

The commission felt that the country ought to give prominent place to its own language in its education system hence the recommendation of a late transitional bilingual education. In this case Setswana was used as language of instruction up to the fourth year of primary schooling and replaced by English as MOI at year five. The language in education policy for primary education remained in this form until the

appointment of another National Commission on Education in 1993 (henceforth NCE 1993).

In contrast to the NCE 1997 which had advocated for the use of Setswana as a language of instruction for the first four years of primary schooling, the 1993 NCE reduced this to one. Its argument was that the first commission denied the child mastery of the main language (English) needed for better achievement in primary school, in further education and in the world of work. Thus, the present language in education for primary education is that English should be the medium of instruction from standard 1 (first year at primary) by the year 2000. This has been amended that English should be the MOI from the second year or standard 2 'as soon as practical' (Republic of Botswana RNPE 1994:59 Rec.18). It is surprising in the context of Botswana to find that further development, respect for readiness to work, human rights and civic responsibility are achieved in a foreign language, English, when there is an indigenous language which is understood by the majority of the population.

To date, the 1993 policy has not yet been implemented, or one could say it is not yet practicable, Setswana is still the medium of instruction from standard 1 to standard 4. English takes over as language of instruction "in principle", from standard 5 until standard 7, the end of primary education, and throughout the entire secondary education system, (see Tsonope and Janson (1991:80).

A similar situation on language in education policy prevails in Namibia, for example. Here even though the development of all Namibian languages is maintained, in practice English is the language of education from standard three and subsequently throughout the education system. More emphasis is on the use of English language at school. Mother tongue instruction, according to Harlech-Jones (1995:178) is used as the LOI in primary education from standard 1-3. The author argues this decision was taken primarily for the reason that literacy should first be acquired in a well-known language and that early learning is best facilitated in a primary language.

Gibbons (1991:6) points out that those children who arrive in school with a strong command of their first language are in a favourable position to learn English. The author says they are adding a second language to what they already have. Poor performance at PSLE could be that the students do not understand the questions as the commission so says, but in my view this could be because the pupils do not have a sufficiently good command of English to enable them express fully what the questions so demand. According to Cummings' transferability theory, their CALP level is not sufficiently developed to enable them transfer the knowledge they had acquired in their first language to the learning of a second language. As Luckett (1995:75) maintains, the level of competence a child may reach in his or her second language depends to some extent on the stage of development reached in his/her first language

Gibbons (1991:6) continues to point out that with less conceptual and linguistic development, pupils at the age of 7/8 have few pegs on which to hang new learning. This author claims that if one has sorted out the world in one language it becomes much easier to sort it out again in a second language, (further research on this argument of language transfer see Cummings (1984 and (1996), Hoffman (1991) and Skutnabb-Kangas (1981). According to Ure (1981:304) "it is via the mother tongue that the relevance of the child's experience can be brought out and relation between experience and ideas established". At this age is when the comparative fragility of the first language does not support learning of a second language; as such instruction through a foreign media could just be handicapping the learners academically.

The purpose of education policy according to Qorro and Campbell (1997:71) is to ensure access to equity in education for the majority of the school going population, and to create structures that provide quality education at all levels of the education system. As Norrish (1997:5) say, local language teaching policy would (apart from political issues) ideally take into account both teachers' and learners' abilities when determining the medium of instruction. This author maintains that

> The teacher will need to ask questions about who needs English for international purposes and when or to whom this variety needs to be

> taught. They can then concentrate on ensuring that learners can (a) develop the complex skills of language use in multilingual settings without the guilt which frequently seems to accompany this and (b) master the concepts needed for academic success in whatever language or variety of a language may suite their purposes. (Norrish 1997:6).

Thus this is what has been incorporated into South Africa's Language in Education Policy (1997). It says "the right to choose the language of learning is vested on the individual". This right however it says should be in line with the framework of the promotion of multilingualism. The language of education for Botswana primary schools should be the one understood by both by the learner and the teacher in order for their teaching and learning to be fulfilled. As argued by Campbell and Qorro (1997:79) it is really tough for one to learn in a language s/he find difficult to comprehend. They are saying that this is a violation of one's human rights.

There are attempts in Botswana to encourage pupils to use English both outside and inside the classroom. This, Nyathi-Ramohobo (1999:131) says, is not successful since teacher-teacher interactions are always in Setswana and so are student-student interactions. In the classroom, she says, teachers are conscious about the language policy but practical communication problems force them to switch to Setswana. "When the expected medium of instruction is Setswana a monolingual lesson is conducted, but when the expected medium of instruction is English, a bilingual lesson results", (ibid. p. 132). Why is this so? As Norrish (1997:8) argues "code switching ... also takes place in classrooms particularly where teachers find it difficult to adjust to the learners' level or where they are unclear as to which language to use as a medium of instruction". She further points out that decisions need to be made on the status of English and its use in classrooms, or teachers will continue to feel they are failing both linguistically and as far as the curriculum subjects are concerned.

Tollefson (1993:92) argues that the state can use language policy to determine its interests or as disciplinary power to purposefully exclude some groups. "In given social context, the meaning of languages are usually determined by those in power and of course language works to keep them in power" Luckett (1995:77). We need a

language policy that will take into account its role in the state and efforts to further the interests of the groups the state is representing.

Hartshorne (1995:317) writes that in a multilingual society there are no perfect solutions to language issues, whether these arise in society, in government or in education. Language issues, he further points out, should be approached with respect, tolerance and a deep sense of regard for the rights of the individuals in the society. Botswana language policy should be flexible enough to accommodate the needs and wishes of the country's diverse languages. For the four principles of the education for *Kagisano*: that of *democracy, unity, self-reliance and development*, to be made effective, the country's education policy should view language diversity as a resource and not as something that could militate against national unity.

2.5 The Role of Textbooks in the School Policy (Curriculum)

The availability of teaching materials, especially textbooks, could also enhance the success or failure of an educational policy, since the final word regarding the school curriculum lies with the bureaucratic system. Teachers do not know and do not have access to what goes into the curriculum hence the textbook and education policy documents interpret that for them. According to Apple and Christian-Smith (1991:1) the textbook is one particular artefact that plays a major role in defining whose culture is taught, yet very little attention is paid to this textbook role.

According to Castell and Luke (1989:vii) " ... of the many kinds of texts available to modern reader, the school textbook holds a unique and significant social function: to represent to each generation of students an official sanctioned, authorized version of human knowledge and culture...". It is not only important for learners. For elementary teachers, as pointed by Biermer (1992:18), textbooks become the curriculum, because to those teachers, not specialists in all of the four/five areas they are expected to teach find it expedient to use it. The textbook as the curriculum, the teacher and the educational system, Biermer says represents the prevailing norms of the community.

Despite these arguments, what is learnt and to get a chance to learn it is essentially a political question, and is governed by pressures of interest groups, the public and political parties.

Provision of textbooks in the third world is seen as a problem. In many schools as maintained by Altbach and Kelly (1993:3), children share books, in some schools they have none at all, and the teacher has to write daily lessons from a textbook onto the chalkboard. All possible efforts should be made to make teaching materials, especially textbooks, available in schools. "There is no reason why textbooks should not be in school seven days at the start of the school term", the words of Mandela, 12 February 1998, quoted by Czerniwich (1999:1). As thus the education policy should not just be there to put the teachers to difficult tasks, but the guiding materials (textbooks) should be readily available to enable them successfully implement these policies.

2.6 Bilingual education

2.6.1 What is bilingual education?

Many scholars have carried out research on bilingual education. For the discussion of this issue of bilingual education I will touch on some of the works of researchers and scholars like Skutabb-Kangas (1981), Luckett (1995), Williams and Snipper (1990), Baker (1993), Apple and Muysken (1991), Nyathi-Ramohobo (1997), Cummings and Skutnabb-Kangas (1998), Cummings and Swain (1986) and others. Their literature will again be used in discussing the role of mother tongue instruction in the learning environment.

According to Skutnabb-Kangas (1981:81) there are as many definitions of bilingual education as there are scholars investigating it, and she says every researcher uses the kind of definition which best suits his/her own field of enquiry and her research aims. Romaine (1995:11) using Bloomfield's explanation defines bilingualism as 'native like control of two languages'. According to McNamara (1976a) cited in Cummings

and Swain (1996:7), a bilingual is any one who possess a minimal competence in one of the four language skills, i.e. listening comprehension, speaking, reading and writing in a language other than his mother tongue.

Bilingual education, according to Baker (1993:151) is a blanket term that refers to education that uses and promotes two languages in education for minority children. In most bilingual communities Apple and Muysken (1991:64) point out that the two or more languages in existence in the community do not have equal status. The majority language, as in most African states like Botswana, is usually promoted by being assigned important status such as being the language of education. Thus is the status of English in most post Anglo-dominated-colonies.

The home language in most cases is of transitional and submersion models of bilingual education restricted to the first three or four years of primary schooling. In Botswana, the situation has been the transitional model since the 1977 Policy on Education. This has also been the situation in other parts of Southern Africa like in Namibia, Swaziland and South Africa. According to Harlech-Jones in Putz (1995:195) the Namibian language in education policy is based on the model of "transfer bilingualism", in which the early cultivation of skills and proficiency in the best known language serves as the basis of transfer to the attainment of proficiency in the second language (in this case English).

There are always some problems encountered in employing new programmes and none can have all the positives without the negatives. Though I argue for bilingual education (especially additive bilingual education) this is not to say that it does not have some disadvantages. One disadvantage of bilingualism, as outlined by Gibbons (1996:3) is that bilingual children could face a tough situation of having to learn in a foreign language after having come a long way in mastering their first language. Unlike the playground language, the language associated with school learning takes a long time to develop. Gibbons argues that learning a language is a long process, and

unless the development of English is supported in all areas of the curriculum these children will continue to be disadvantaged throughout their school life and beyond.

De Klerk (1995:75) argues that researchers say bilinguals have the advantage over monolinguals of seeing things from more than one point of view. She points out "the child is less bound by words and more elastic in thinking due to his or her proficiency in the two languages". She argues that skills related to critical and creative thinking, problem solving, flexibility and higher order thinking could be best achieved through bilingual education programmes.

2.6.2 Types of Bilingual Education

My focus here will mainly be on the two types of bilingual programmes, the maintenance and transitional, their effects on learning and how Botswana education system can use one of these programmes to improve the learning situation in the country. These bilingual education programmes could be described subtractive or additive.

An additive bilingual programme, according to ELTIC reporter (1997:34) "...is simply one which adds languages to a child's repertoire, instead of subtracting them". Thus under this programme we have models such as the maintenance or enrichment, (Baker 1993:152), or as Apple and Muysken (1990:65) call it, the "pluralistic model, as well as the dual bilingual or two-way immersion programme. Maintenance bilingual education, according to Baker (1993) attempts to foster the minority language in the child, strengthening their sense of cultural identity and affirming the rights of an ethnic minority group. The maintenance model is also known as the 'heritage model' because the child's native language is protected and developed alongside development in the majority language, (Baker ibid.p.162).

Maintenance bilingual education is the situation where language minority children use their native ethnic, home language or heritage language together with the majority

language in the school as mediums of instruction, the aim being to achieve full bilingualism. In the maintenance or pluralistic model, the minority language, Apple and Muysken (1991:65) say, has a value of its own and is as important as the majority language. It is therefore not just used as an initial medium of instruction for the minority group but also in later classes. These authors say this model is sometimes called a "language shelter model", since it is expected to contribute considerably to the maintenance of the minority languages by promoting more favourable attitudes towards it and higher oral and written proficiency.

One of the major educational implications of Cummings' threshold hypothesis is that if optimal development of minority language children's academic and cognitive potential is a goal, then the aim of the school programme must be to promote additive bilingualism. (See Cummings and Swain 1986:18). They argue the implication for bilingual education is that it is preferable initially to teach literacy related skills directly in only one language, whether it be the first or the second language, to avoid the interfering and setting up competing surface linguistic features. These features could cause confusion to the learner. This confusion they argue takes time to sort itself out. Their argument here is that once literacy-related skills are well established in one language these will transfer rapidly to the learning of other language (provided the first language is mastered) even possibly without explicit instruction.

The ELTIC Reporter (1997:35) argues that "access to linguistic skills is emphasised in an additive model; ... these skills can be acquired no matter what languages are used for learning". Thus, in the Botswana school system additive maintenance bilingual model could promote the teaching and learning of Setswana alongside English. Both languages could be mediums of learning. Botswana Education Research Association (hence BERA) in the report on the commission on education for Botswana (1993:454) argues that the maintenance model is appropriate for Botswana's education system in that it is the one that will "sustain the vigorous and long term use of an ethnic language". Setswana here, the Association says could be the initial medium of instruction with English added later so that both languages serve as instructional tools

throughout the education system. From additive maintenance bilingual education "the nation as a whole will benefit- in spirit and in economic terms – from recognition of multilingualism as one of our most powerful resources", (ibid ELTIC reporter p. 35).

Another form of additive bilingualism is the dual-medium or two-way bilingual education. This is a programme whereby approximately equal numbers of language minority and language majority students are in the same classroom. Both languages are used as languages of learning, (see Heugh et al 1995 chapter 12). Baker (1993:164) maintains that since both languages are used for instruction and learning the aim is to produce balanced bilinguals. In my view this is not that much of a good programme to start the learning programme through, especially at lower levels of primary school in Botswana where the other language is foreign to learners. As is the case language transferability theory, learners need a more familiar language to learn through in order to assist them acquire new concepts.

Then there is the subtractive bilingual model. Subtractive bilingualism subtracts the home language from the learning environment by replacing it with the target language as the MOI, (Apple and Muysken 1991). Thus here we have programmes like the transitional model, often called the assimilation model. In this model Apple and Muysken (1991:65) explain the minority language is used in the early grades, mainly to bridge the gap between the home and the school. These authors argue that, "in fact the minority language is only used in school to make it easier for the child to adjust to the existing educational demands", (ibid.p.65). Baker (1993:156) is of the view that "transitional bilingual education is a brief, temporary swim in one pool until the child is perceived as capable of using the four language strokes in the mainstream pool". The aim of the programme the author claims is to increase the use of the majority language in the classroom while proportionally decreasing the use of the home language.

According to Nyathi-Ramahobo (1999-34) the first language is used only as an interim means to master the second language and as soon as the students are

considered proficient enough to comprehend in the second language, then the second language becomes the MOI in all subjects. This model Harlech-Jones (1995) calls 'transfer bilingualism', obviously from the minority to the majority language that will be used throughout the rest of the school as the language of instruction. Putz (1995:170) says this is done to promote the languages and cultural identity of learners and the home languages are taught as subjects though at times optionally throughout the education system behind the escape clause "provided the necessary resources are available".

Literacy skills in the majority language Baker (1993:205) argues are encouraged and enhanced by prior literacy in the minority language. These skills can't be achieved through the model of transitional education that does not encourage bilingualism, but aims at monolingualism or assimilation into the mainstream. Criticizing the programme of subtractive education de Klerk in Heugh (1995) says it has been found to have a negative effect on the child's social and cognitive development. He argues according to Cummings' theory of cognitive development a successful bilingual programme will ensure that the learners achieve the communicative academic language proficiency (CALP) in both languages.

Critics of transitional bilingual programmes, according to Snipper and Williams, (1990:53) argue that these programmes, in replacing the native languages and displacing native cultures, function as a means of social control, because they produce a large number of drop-outs who go on to fill the lower ranks of the socio-economic ladder. In other words they are saying these programmes indirectly provide a large pool of cheap labour for jobs that other members of the society refuse to take.

This could be true of Botswana education system, though there aren't dropouts at primary education because of the process of automatic promotion to secondary school even if the child has not done well at PSLE (Primary School Leaving Examination). There are however a large number of dropouts at junior secondary schools. Overall, only about 34% of the PSLE leavers do well, 38% do fairly well and 30% completely

fail (see Nyathi-Ramohobo 1996:10 and 1993 NCE Report p.93). This 30% at the end of junior secondary school doubles since the senior phase does not have the capacity to admit all JC leavers. These are the very products of our early transitional bilingual education that end up filling low paying jobs otherwise rejected by the majority of the society.

One of the aims of basic education programme for Botswana's ten year basic education programme is that students upon completion of this programme should have "developed the ability to express themselves clearly in English, in Setswana and/or a third language both orally and in writing, using them as tools for further learning and employment, as well as develop a critical thinking, problem solving ability, individual initiative, interpersonal and inquiry skills", Republic of Botswana (1995: 5). Based on these arguments, one could say additive bilingual education could develop in the learners the ability to express themselves clearly and critically and in that way providing them with equal access to meaningful education through the use of both languages as means of instruction. Our education system needs a really advanced bilingual programme that can afford the learners the opportunity to develop critical and creative thinking for the world of work as well as a shared understanding of a common Botswana culture.

2.6.3 Mother Tongue Instruction and Second Language Learning

The mother tongue, it has been argued is the basis for learning a second language and hence a good foundation on the child's educational development. "Language teaching helps when it is the main source of low filter comprehensible input for beginners and foreign students who have no input outside the classroom," (Krashen 1987:33). Primary education is the first input of whatever form of education for all beginners and language is used to communicate all the relevant information to these learners and as such rich sources of language input should be available in the classroom.

Cummings' (1984:143) theory of linguistic interdependence states that first language skills are said to be interdependent, that there is a common underlying proficiency (CUP). Cumming posit "to the extent that Lx is effective in promoting proficiency in Lx, transfer of this proficiency to Ly will occur provided there is adequate exposure to Ly (either in the classroom or in the environment) and adequate motivation to learn Ly." Despite this, Danesi (1990:66) says the gap in the hypothesis is the absence of the word 'literacy'. Hence he modifies the hypothesis, as thus, "...promoting proficiency and literacy in Lx and literacy in Ly will occur..."

In other words, what Cummings is saying, is that in a Tswana-English bilingual programme, Tswana instruction that develops first language reading skills for Setswana speaking students is not just developing Tswana skills, but also developing a deeper conceptual and linguistic proficiency that is strongly related to English literacy and general academic skills. These skills students can transfer to all other academic skills, because Cummings claims the common underlying proficiency make possible the transfer of cognitive/academic or literacy related skills across languages.

Hoffman (1991:128) says "Cummings argue that surface fluency or 'BICS' can develop fairly easily in minority children if they attend classrooms where a good deal of contextual support for language learning is provided". He points that the kind of cognitive skills required for success in the more intellectually demanding tasks must be dependent on the relationship between L1 and L2, and that unlimited learning he explains can take place only if both languages are sufficiently well developed. Therefore both Setswana and English well developed could create a more profitable learning environment both culturally and academically.

Hall (1995:11) maintains that the child takes five to seven years to develop cognitive academic proficiency; and the best is to continue using the mother tongue until such a time that the child has the ability to transfer that knowledge to English. However Cummings and Swain (1986) argue that children should not remain dormant in their L1 because if they remain dormant in their home language could be at a disadvantage

in relation to unilingual children or verbal fluency and flexibility skills. English at this stage could be gradually added orally so as to equip the learner with the new terminology of the language but not as a language of learning. As such both languages need to be developed equally. Evidence from the research on bilingual programmes supports this theory of the common underlying proficiency. Some examples of those studies will be discussed below.

2.6.4 Research on bilingual programmes in other parts of the world

Research on bilingual education programmes has yielded rather different results in different parts of the world. Below I will give a few examples of such research and its results. Lastly I will pose some questions raised by some scholars on why such research shows different findings in different contexts.

a) Africa

Nigeria

Here I will show an example of an experimental project as summarized by Cziko and Troike (1984) cited in Apple and Muysken (1991:69) where Yoruba was used as the sole medium of instruction throughout primary. The evaluation carried out at the end of grade 3 and 4 they report, found that the pupils from the experimental Yoruba programme generally performed as well as or better than an English instructed comparison group. Further it showed that the proportions of students entering secondary school after the completion of primary school were the same in English competency as in the experimental and comparison group.

The Six Year Primary Project (Cited by NEPI 1992) in the same country, where instruction was in Yoruba for the first six years of primary before a change over to English, is reported encouraged the development of Yoruba as MOI. The report says it

also became a teacher development programme because prior to that teachers were not trained to teach through the medium of Yoruba.

South Africa

In the Molteno projects, Break Through and Bridge to English cited by Young (1995:67) has succeeded in concentrating on first language learning skills in first (African) languages as part of the transition process to achieving literacy and proficiency in English. He points out that in the Break Through project English is taught parallel to the African language, thereby bearing in mind Cummings' linguistic interdependence theory and findings. This theory emphasises the fact that the child's learning of L2 could be made easier by his/her competence of L1.

The Bridge to English concentrates on the switch of first language as MOI to English as MOI at the fourth year of primary school. The programme is said to emphasize vocabulary and concept development together with language-across-the-curriculum skills to enable the learners to cope with the heavily increased linguistic demands of the English language at standard 3 levels. The breakthrough method has been practised in Botswana primary education for second language learning and there has been no claim that it has led to a decline in the educational standard of the country. Developing the child's academic skills across languages could in a way enable the learner to be fully bilingual. Hence this programme provided an effective foundation for the child's learning of broader concepts.

b) The Bradford Punjabi mother tongue project

This example is cited in Cummings and Swaim (1986:85). The project was conducted in both mother tongue and English (hence MOTET project). It consisted of a one-year bilingual education programme for five-year old native speakers of Punjabi, who at the start of the project had little or no knowledge of English. It says approximately

seventy students were randomly assigned to either experimental (bilingual) or control (monolingual English) groups. In both groups their performance were assessed on nonverbal tasks after one academic year.

No group differences were observed on the nonverbal measures. On the verbal tasks, the bilingual group is reported to have ended up performing better in Punjabi than the control group. Their performance on English was, on balance, equivalent. The control group showed a slight superiority on the productive task while the bilingual group performed better on the receptive task. Cummings and Swain, citing Rees (1981:74), conclude that the provision of a bilingual education programme in the first year at school does not in practice necessarily constitute a danger to a child's progress. Given the fact that there are institutional and personal benefits and a positive effect on the mother tongue the author argues the provision of bilingual programme might be beneficial to some young children. No detrimental consequences for English language were shown because of using L1 as an initial instruction.

United States of America

c) Redwood City Project in Mexico

This report was by Cohen (1975) in Apple and Muysken (1991:67). The project began on September 1969 with a pilot of first grade group and ended up in 1971. The Mexican-American and Anglo children participated in the programme. The teaching was in Spanish and English, both as MOI and as subjects. The content of the curriculum, it is reported, varied from year to year and from group level to group level. The result of the study showed that the bilingually schooled Mexican children generally were as proficient in English as their comparable Mexican children from another school in Redwood City taught only in English, (the comparison group). However the Mexican children from the bilingual school, the report states, lagged behind in English vocabulary development, but were better in Spanish than students from the comparison group.

On non-language subjects the students from both groups, it is stated, performed the same. Further it asserts that the Mexico-American students who had been in the bilingual project for three years were more positive towards Mexican culture than their Mexican peers from monolingual school. This shows that bilingual programmes not only promote biliteracy but also biculturalism. They equip the child with two cultures as well as teaches him/her to respect and appreciate both of them.

One could ask whether all these researches could be trusted with their differing results and how desirable or necessary bilingual education programmes are? As de Klerk (1995:59) comments, it is important to know that no research is neutral and that often the results are linked with the attitudes of the researcher, as well as to the prevailing attitudes and sprit of times.

One other thing is that situations in countries do differ. Apple and Muysken (1991:70) point out that "the educational, social, linguistic and political situations in different countries are not comparable at all; as such it would be impossible to carry out methodologically flawless evaluation studies in this area". Pupils, parents and administrators may have positive attitudes towards the programme that could enable it to succeed, or they may have negative attitudes towards it and so yield poor results. These authors argue that research indicates that bilingual education for children from low status linguistic minorities can be profitable, "but no predictions can be derived from these results, because of many varying social constraints". They argue "bilingual programmes should not be organized to bring about a kind of 'splendid isolation' for minority groups, ... but should guarantee that students from minority groups gain better education and social opportunities, while at the same time maintenance of the minority language is fostered", (ibid. p. 71).

2.7 Conclusion

The literature review reveals that governments can use their language policies to determine in most cases those who have access to political power and economic resources. It is the state, which governs these policies, and it has the ultimate say in the decisions governing which language(s) as well as what teaching and learning materials to use in the education system. Hence in Botswana and other parts of Southern Africa, English as an international and more prestigious language than the local languages is used as the language of education.

Delayed transitional bilingual education, whereby at the third or fourth year of primary education the home language is abandoned and English used as LOI, has been the most common type of programme practised in these countries. Diverting from this type of bilingual education this study advocates for an advanced additive maintenance bilingual form of education. As indicated in the literature review maintenance bilingual education can help afford the learner to be full bilingual in at least two languages. They can be bicultural as well as biliterate in both the language of wider communication and the local language. Following this chapter is the chapter on methodology, which looks at how the data collected correlates with these arguments from the literature review.

Chapter 3

Research Design and Methodology

3.1 Introduction

As argued by Mouton (1996:146) "the quality of a research findings is directly dependent on the procedures followed in the study. For this reason the researchers should provide a complete account of the way in which their research has been planned, structured and executed". Bearing in mind this suggestion, this chapter describes the procedures that were followed in data collection. It outlines the sampling strategies, i.e. the target group and the location and lastly the methodology employed. The reason for choosing this methodological structure will be explained.

3.2 The Research Design

3.2.1 The target group

The participants for this study were standard 2, 4 and 5 pupils and their teachers from three primary schools. Even though the study focuses on grades 2 and 5, where the change over to English as medium of learning (MOL) takes place, grade 4 classes were also observed and the teachers interviewed because at the present moment grade 4 is the end of Setswana as MOL. In a way I was trying to establish how well at this particular stage could learners comprehend in their primary language before a change over to a second language as MOL.

These were the classes that were under observation. They were all mixed ability groups based on no merits. The classes consisted of both boys and girls of almost similar ages. Each of the three classes was observed twice. One observation was

when the instruction was in English and the other was when the instruction was in Setswana. This was to try and find out how well the learners could comprehend each of the two mediums of instruction. A total of 16 lessons were observed in the three schools visited. The deputy heads of the schools randomly selected these classes. A total of 9 teachers and 2 head of schools were interviewed. Other people interviewed were the subject officer for English and the executive secretary of the Setswana language council, who is also the senior education officer for Setswana at senior secondary education.

3.2.2 The location

Observations were conducted in three primary schools. Primary schools are the foundations for all subsequent learning levels, thus my choice of them. The three primary schools were of Tswana medium type; i.e. where learning is first carried in Setswana before exit to instruction through English. Two of these schools were in the town centre and one in the village. The two primary schools in the town centre are where the pupils are mainly primary language speakers of Setswana, with very minor exceptions. The village primary school is in the far Southern part of the country, in the Kgalagadi district. In this school about 70% of the pupils are not primary speakers of Setswana. They speak different minority languages especially Khoe and Afrikaans. The reason for choosing such different schools was to find out how the two groups are taught both Setswana and English and how the pupils communicate through the two mediums of instructions in the classroom. All the three schools are government schools, run by the same program (syllabus), prepared by the Department of Curriculum and Evaluation Unit under the Ministry of Education.

3.3 Methodology

3.3.1 Qualitative Methods

Strauss and Corbin (1990:17) describe qualitative research as any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification. Wilson (1997) cited in Tuckman (1994:336) says qualitative research is based on fundamental beliefs that events must be studied naturally in their natural settings, that is field-based. He says events cannot be understood unless one understands how they are perceived and interpreted by people who participate in them. Nunan (1992:53) also stresses this point. He says:"if we want to find out about behaviour we need to investigate it in the natural context in which it occurs...." Maxwell (1996:17) point that "in a qualitative study you are interested not only in the physical events and behaviour that is taking place, but also in how the participants in your study make sense of this and how their understanding influence their behaviour".

A small group of teachers and classes were chosen for observation and interviews so as to better my understanding of how events, actions and meanings of the intended investigations are shaped by the circumstances in which they occur. This was my reason for choosing the qualitative type of research since my aim was to describe and compare the events as they occurred in their natural settings and to get an in-depth understanding of what happened in the classroom situation. In that case I employed the two types of qualitative methods in my data collection, that of non-participant observation and semi-structured interviews. Looking at the small number of

of participants this study could not be generalised to be a full representation of the situation prevailing in the whole country.

3.3.2 Observation

Observation, following Simpson and Tuson (1995:16) gives direct access to social interaction. They are saying it could answer a variety of types of questions like "what makes the events happen the way they do happen? Are the people doing what actually they say they are doing"? I chose non-participant observation because I wanted to investigate about the behaviour of both the learners and the teachers towards the learning of both English and Setswana without being directly involved. A descriptive pre-categorized recording schedule was used during observation periods. The schedule was used to reflect the teaching methods used in both languages, the type of materials used, teacher pupil interaction and language use (the communicative aspect of it).

3.3.3 Interviews

Interviews, as Punch (1998:174-175) argues are a very good way of accessing people's perceptions, meanings, definitions of situations and constructions of reality. The overall aim of an interview as pointed by Hitchcock and Hughes (1989) is to create an atmosphere where the individual feels able to relate subjective and often highly personal materials to the researcher. As the author says to understand other persons' construction of reality, we would do well to ask them. Semi-structured interviews were administered. The semi-structured interview, as Hitchcock and Hughes outline (1989:83) is that type of interview that "...allows depth to be

achieved by providing opportunity on the part of the interviewer to probe and expand the interviewees' responses". They say some kind of balance can be met in this type of interview by providing room for negotiation, discussion, and expansion of the interviewees' responses.

The interviews were semi-structured in the sense that questions were loosely structured in-order that these can be altered to suite the situation at hand. In this kind of interview I was using a loose schedule or interview guide that I can alter during the process of interviewing to suit my respondents. In this type of interview "the interviewer could also determine the questioning process, clarify terms that seem unclear to the interviewee or if the wording is somehow ambiguous". (Hitchcock and Hughes p84.) The structured interviews are also seen as more reliable since they are supposedly 'context independent' and free from the influence of the researcher. For validity sake almost all the interviews were recorded to avoid loss of important primary data.

3.4 Documents

In addition to the two qualitative research methods described above, data were also collected from some documents. This included Botswana Government documents like the National Development Plan 8, Government White Paper no.2 of 1994 referred to in most parts of this study as RNPE 1994, the Reports on the Commission on Education 1977 and 1993, and the Primary School Syllabuses for all Subjects and a few others. Other unpublished presentation papers by different scholars and writers relevant to this study were also consulted.

3.5 Conclusions

This chapter explained the research rationale for opting for a qualitative approach in the collection of data for this study. The study in a way is of a descriptive comparative type trying to describe classroom discourse at lower levels of primary education as well as the methodology employed in this discourse. The study will compare what goes on in the classroom with what was gathered in the interviews as well as from different documents used. This description and comparisons will be highlighted in the next chapter on data analysis.

Chapter 4

Data Analysis

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the data collected in the three primary schools in Botswana. The data were collected qualitatively through interviews and non-participant classroom observations. In this chapter the background to the study will be outlined, the locations as well as a discussion of the processes I went through before venturing into data gathering. A discussion of the interview process under specified themes will be explained. This will be followed by a summary of the observations, which will be used mainly to triangulate the interviews, and for validity checks. The qualitative data will be analysed in conjunction with the literature review and other information from documents that were read during the collection of data.

Data analysis, as described by Strauss and Corbin (1990:57) is the operation by which data is broken down, conceptualised and put back together in new ways. These authors argue it is the actual process by which theories are built from data. There is variety and diversity in approaches to the analysis of qualitative data, but as Punch (1998:199) mentions, there is no single way to do qualitative analysis, no single methodological framework. Much he says depends on the purpose of the research.

The problem of analysing this data, as emphasised by Punch (1998:204) comes alive at the point of sitting down in front of the qualitative data or perhaps the interview scripts and/or field notes from observations and discussions and/or documents. With all these data on my desk I opted for open coding analysis. According to Strauss and

Corbin (1990:62) "Open coding is that part of analysis that pertains specifically to the naming and categorization of phenomenon through close examination of data". Coding, according to Punch, is the process of putting tags, labels or names (codes) against pieces of data. It is in this context that my data were given relevant labels.

4.2 Background to the Study Locations

Before venturing into my data collection, some procedures had to be followed to get me into the schools. I had to get permission from the office of the President in order to do the research in Botswana. I received this, but before I could get into the schools I had to go through the Regional Education Officer, who had to give me a go-ahead in the schools in her region. These are the schools I have labelled A and B. I followed the same procedure with school C, which is in a different region from schools A and B.

In each school the standard 2, 4 and 5 teachers were interviewed and their classes observed. In school A one of the standard 2 teachers, labelled teacher Y, is also the deputy head of the school, therefore instead of interviewing the school head I interviewed the deputy. In all in this school five teachers were interviewed. These are the teachers labelled M, N, O, Y, and X. Teacher P, although her lesson was observed, was not interviewed. This teacher was too busy organizing sports activities. Instead I interviewed teacher O who is also a standard 5 teacher specialising in Setswana (teachers in this school from standard five specialises in one subject).

In school B three teachers of the above-mentioned classes were interviewed. These are the teachers labelled A, B, and C. In school C only two teachers were interviewed. These were the standard 2 and 5 teachers labelled F and H. The head teacher of this school was also interviewed to get his views and attitudes towards the use of Setswana and English as MOI at primary education and also about the new language in education policy to be implemented.

I also interviewed the subject officer for the English language, Curriculum and Evaluation Unit. I did not interview the officer for Setswana because I was told she was on leave and I had no time to wait for her. These are the people responsible for seeing to the development of curricular materials relevant to education policies and to pass such developments to education officers and to the schools. Since the study is looking at the policy of using English as a language of instruction at lower levels of primary I wanted to get the views of these subject officers regarding this policy. Lastly one member of the language council was also interviewed. The intention was to get from him some more information regarding the language situation in the country.

In all the three schools I was given a warm welcome, except in school B where the head teacher and his deputy were too busy to assist me as they had to attend a meeting. School A is right in the centre of the city. It admits children mainly from the middle class working group who have gone through pre-schools, mainly English medium pre-schools. As such most of the pupils in this school are fluent at speaking the English language. School B in contrast to school A, even though both are in the

city of Gaborone, it is located in a different location of the city. The school is situated outside the city where mainly the low in-come groups reside. The majority of the pupils in this school, as reported by the three teachers I interviewed, had never been to pre-schools and the primary school is their first learning centre. As such the main language that they come competent to school with is their mother tongue(s).

School C, on the other hand, is in a village about 500 km from the city. It is the oldest of the four primary schools in this village. For the pupils here the primary school is their first learning institution since there is only one pre-school in the village, which accommodates not even half of those who go into primary schools in the whole village. They come mainly from minority groups of Khoe, Afrikaans and Tlharo speakers. They meet standard Tswana and English for the first time in the school or classroom, as MOL and subjects. With this kind of background one could expect all kinds of serious concerns regarding the language of learning with respect to the academic achievement of the learners in the three schools meant to be representative of the entire country.

4.3 Data Analysis

4.3.0 The Interview Process

First the data from the interviews were transcribed, read and understood so as to get a sense of coherence as a whole. I tried to apply the grounded theory rules (see Hitchcock and Hughes 1989:98). Interview notes were categorized under the

following codes: attitudes (to both Setswana and English), language use, methodology and pupils' performance.

Most of the interviews were conducted just after my lesson observations, except for two interviews which were conducted before, that is, one at school A with the deputy head of school and one at school C with the head of the school. The interview with the head of school for school C had its own time appointed a day after I had finished with the teachers. In all cases I was meeting the interviewees for the first time. Despite this, and in all instances I was given a warm welcome, especially at school A and school C. The interviewees were given a choice to decide in which language they wanted to be interviewed in. Some opted to be interviewed in Setswana. This in the end gave me a hectic time as I had to translate their transcriptions into English, but at least it put them more at ease as some did not want to be audio taped in a language that they could not freely express themselves in.

A slight problem that I had was with the subject officer from the Curriculum and Evaluation Unit who refused to be taped. I had to take down notes as she was speaking. Some teachers were a bit reluctant to be recorded, but after I had explained the motive behind the tape recording; that of saving time, and to analyse the whole discussion later without any distortion, they accepted it. The data from the interviews were categorized under relevant themes. Below I will give a brief interpretation and description of the data under each category.

4.3.1 Attitudes to Languages of Instructions

According to Gardner in Ryan and Giles (1982:132) (chapter 2 p.14) attitudes are a mental and neural state of readiness organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which is related. Attitudes, he points out, are an inference that one makes from behaviour. The hypothesis here is that once we know the individual's attitudes toward some attitude object we have a better chance of understanding and predicting his or her behaviour toward that object. Therefore one might have a negative attitude towards a language, but to predict that he would not speak that language would be wrong.

The most common response from among the three schools visited is that teachers said English and mathematics ought to be allocated more time on the school timetable. They had different attitudes towards the three subjects: English, Setswana and Mathematics. These were mainly of 'instrumental orientation', which is learning a subject or giving it more time because it is important for them to pass examinations or it is a requirement from the administration. Teacher X for example said English is a foreign language to pupils and they need more time to get exposed to the language because it is a language they are examined in. Mathematics, some, like the head teacher for school C for example said, "the subject needs more time because it is demanding and you might find that you have to cover many units and yet subjects, like music, are not as demanding", (p.24 transcription notes). The head teacher here generalized more and did not specify the subject taught in any MOI in particular.

The tables below show the amount of time allocated to different subjects in the three schools where data was collected.

Table 1
Number of periods per week per subject for Standard 2

Subject	Number of periods per week (time)		
	School A	School B	School C
Mathematics	5	5 (4hrs.)	5 (50mins.ea.)
Setswana	5	10 (5hrs.)	4 (40mins ea.)
English	5	5 (2hrs. 30mins)	5 (50mins.)
Science	3	2 (1hr)	2 (40mis ea.)
Social studies	2	2 (1hr.)	2 (40mins)

School B is teacher X's timetable, each teacher at standard 1 and 2 makes his/her own timetable.

Table 2
Standard 4 and 5

Subject	Number of periods per week (time)		
	School A	School B	School C
Mathematics	5	8	5 (40 mins.)
Science	3	4	4 (30 mins.)
English	8	8	5 (4 hrs.)
Setswana	5	5	5 (3hrs.30 mins)
Social studies	4	4	2 (2hrs)

The school timetables for the three schools did show the attitudes the schools had towards different subjects. More time in all cases was allocated to Mathematics, English and Setswana. These are the subjects that some teachers had said that they thought were the most important and that Mathematics is too demanding a subject. In the Standard 2 (in school A) timetable there were 5 periods per week for all the three subjects. For school C it is 5 periods, 50 minutes each period per week for English and Mathematics and 4 periods for Setswana, each forty minutes. For standard 4 and 5 school B has 8 periods per week for Mathematics and English and 5 for Setswana. School A has 8 periods for English, 5 for Setswana and 5 for Mathematics per week. School C has 5 periods for each of the three subjects per week. (Generally Mathematics at standard 2 to 4 is taught in Setswana and at standard 5 is taught in English).

Apart from the school timetables, attitudes towards the two languages emphasised for communication in the school were also shown. The teachers, with the exception of teacher M, encourage the pupils to speak English, even with their peers outside and inside the classroom, because she said it is a requirement of the school policy. Teacher N said he encourages his pupils to speak English because that is their second language. Secondly, he said all subjects are examined in English and the learners are expected to write their examinations in English. "Again, if a child continues without a good understanding of English he/she might have some problems", he said (p.11 transcription notes). Teachers and school heads end up having to follow the examination policy, which requires the use of English even if it means difficulties on the part of the learners.

Teacher O said despite the fact that she is a Tswana first speaker; she herself has a problem with Setswana. She said at times she cannot explain herself fully in Setswana, but still thinks that more time should be allocated to English. The subject officer for English was a bit different from the teachers. She said the question of one language being more important than the other should be put aside and instead one should look at how and why the subject is taught. Teacher H, too, said she thinks that both languages should be given more time in order to fully achieve the four language skills that the learners should be equipped with; that is speaking, writing, listening and reading. Teacher X, M, C, F and A mentioned that they try seriously to cover the syllabuses of Mathematics, English and Setswana if they could run short of time during their teaching, because to them these are the most important subjects.

The subject officer for English, even if she tried to be neutral, nevertheless places more emphasis on the learning of English for social communicative purposes but not necessarily for learning. At one point she did try to compare Tswana medium with English medium schools when it comes to competency in the spoken arena of the English language. When I said, "is that comparable?" she changed her stand and said, " please don't misinterpret me". She also said that the bilingual programme of late exit to English as MOI is more comfortable with the teachers than the learners. As explained by all the teachers (except for teacher O) the learners best understand them when they use Setswana. The officer here fails to realise that the teachers, by being more flexible with the Setswana language, find it easier to explain the concepts in a much more familiar medium to the learners. In that way making the learner comes to grips with the concept in an easier manner in a language they best understand before

they could transfer that to a second language. As argued by Ure (1981:304) "... if we want to guide our pupils to find their own solutions to problems, we must allow them to do so in the language which for them is the natural language for problem solving". That language will surely be the child's first language.

Pupils in school A, as identified by the deputy head, are good in English, because at home they converse with their parents in English. They are from middle class working families who for economic, prestige and employment reasons put more emphasis on the speaking of English and as such their children come to school with a good command of the English language. To these pupils English in a way is their first language and to them instruction in English, even from the onset could not be that much of a problem. In a way one could see the reason why this school has its own language policy where they start instruction in English at standard three and not at standard 5 as is the government bilingual policy for primary education.

The head of school C said he welcomed the new policy. He said " well I do welcome the idea because, you know when kids are exposed to learning English at an earlier age then I think when they reach a mature age they will be ready to speak the language" (p.25 transcription notes). The head teacher in a way was thinking about the child gaining fluency in speaking and not academic potential with all the four language skills, which is not fully equipped to face the learning environment. Children in this school come from diverse backgrounds and are meeting English for the first time in school; and being exposed to a foreign language the very first time they arrive in school could make the environment unbearable for them. As Gibbons

(cited on p. 20 chapter 2) says "... with less conceptual linguistic development they have few pegs on which to hang new knowledge". Such were the attitudes of teachers, school heads and subject officer towards English and Setswana as MOI and subjects in Botswana primary schools.

4.3.2 Methodology and Language Use

All the teachers interviewed said they had no problems with the teaching of either Setswana or English as subjects or using them as MOIs. Nine of them in all the three schools said they do code switch in English lessons mainly for various reasons.

Below are the main reasons the teachers gave for their code switching during English lessons.

Table 3 Reasons teachers gave for their code switching

Language use in the classroom	**Teachers**
Code switching instances	H, X, Y, C, M, A, F, B
Their reasons for code switching	
a. For clarifications and emphasis	H, X, Y, C
b. Just for emphasis of points	A, B, F
c. To involve pupils in class activities	X, M
d. Learners are not good in English	C, F, and M
e. Learners have reading and speaking problems with the English language	C, F, A, X, B, H, **HTC**

Alphabetical letters are labels to represent the names of the teachers.

HTC = Head Teacher for school C

From the above table four teachers: H, X, Y and C code switch for clarification of concepts and emphasis where the learners show some lack of understanding. Teachers M and X said they did that to activate the learners when they seem passive about what is going on in the classroom. Most commonly the teachers said the learners are not good in the language. They said learners have problems of communication, especially reading and speaking the English language. These in the end force the teachers 'to put in a bit of Setswana'. Teacher C said she did this to make the subject matter a bit easier for the learners.

One can see that at this level teachers are really faced with a tough situation when it comes to the language of instruction so as to involve the learners in class activities. Code switching might not be such a good thing when teaching a second language as it could delay the learners' competency in second language acquisition, but again it could be one of the strategies teachers could use to pass the message onto the learners, (this point is further elaborated in the next chapter).

Teachers B, C and F said their pupils have problems in communicating in English. Teacher C mentioned the background of the pupils in her school as one of the factors contributing to the pupils' poor academic performance. She said they come to school late, some miss school and lack parental support or assistance for English assignments. She said they best understand her when she uses Setswana: not that they

can write well in the language, but that at least they do show some form of life by responding positively to her questions. She said she too feels more confident when she teaches in Setswana because she really sees that she is communicating with the pupils.

In contrast to school C, teachers in school A (which are both in the urban centre), pointed out that their pupils are doing very well in English and that they have no problems communicating in that medium. They said the pupils rather have problems with Setswana. Teacher M said the pupils in her class are not familiar with the things that happen on the lands, at the cattle posts or in the villages. Having been brought up in town she says they are not familiar with traditional cultural norms, aspects and other practices. She said that this is bad because they are supposed to teach the pupils about Setswana culture and yet in school they are told to speak and use English at all times. "... How can we promote culture when we speak English ..."? (p. 6 transcription notes) she said. Language is a transmission of culture. As Hartshorne (1995:307) says, "...it is at the heart of the culture of the people", and for pupils to best express their culture they should be fluent in their language. In such cases they need to be exposed to the language as best as possible not only as a subject but also as a medium of learning so as best to express this culture.

Regarding their teaching methodologies, teachers emphasized that they did encourage learning by doing. That is, they said they tried to follow the communicative approach of the two languages syllabi.

The table below outlines some of the methods of teaching the teachers said they employed in their teaching.

Table 4

Methods of teaching teachers said they employed in their lessons:

Methods	**Teachers**
Group work and presentations	B, X, F, H, N, A
Individual work (writing/reading)	M, H, F
Role modelling-pupils helping one another	Y, O
Handy/practical work-creativity	B, A
Question and answer (elicitation)	N, O, F, C, Y

Evident from this table is that teachers did claim to encourage group work. This they said made it easier for learners to learn from their peers. Teacher Y for example said she encouraged pupils to help one another. Those who are able are made to move around assisting those who are unable, in that way, she said, children learn quickly from one another. They also did a lot of elicitation to try and find out how much the learners can remember about the subject matter.

Teacher N said he also relied much on elicitation, which is asking pupils questions to get some information from them. Elicitation methods according to Nunan (1995:195) are designed to extract form the students' information, which might otherwise have

been provided by the teacher. Teacher N for example said, "I ask them questions to find out how much they know about their subject and whether they do understand" (p.10 transcription notes). To encourage learning by doing the teacher also pointed out that he divides the pupils to read in groups, makes them write something concerning the topic at hand and then present their work to the rest of the class.

Teacher Y commented that problems do exist in language teaching. She explained that these are mixed ability groups and as such it is difficult to help each an every one of the learners. For this reason she said she makes them assist one another. Teacher N who specializes in Setswana for the upper classes mentioned that participation of pupils in classroom activities is good, their main problem is writing. Nunan (1989:35) writes that it has been argued that learning to write fluently and expressively is the most difficult of the macro skills for all language users regardless of whether the language is first or second language. Pupils in teacher N's class are supposed to be primary Setswana language speakers, but as pointed out, writing, unlike speaking is not a natural activity, one has to be taught how to write and that fluency at writing takes time.

Teacher A mentioned that pupils at a young age not only learn by doing but also by seeing. Therefore, she said for some topics they actually engage in practical work. For example, she said if it is a topic on building a hut, they actually give the pupils the materials and assist them to construct a simple structure of the hut. She argued this helps the pupils in many ways, like in writing a composition about a hut, because they

can easily remember the process of doing the project and so be able write to something sensible.

The major language problem in school C is that the pupils speak different languages. As the teachers and the school head mentioned, some are Afrikaners, others Khoe and some minority Setswana language speakers. Therefore neither Setswana nor English is their home language, and communicating in either of the two languages is a problem for them. This is the language situation in the three schools. Another issue that could contribute to progress or failure in the learning situation is the availability of teaching materials.

4.3.3 Teaching Materials

In all the three schools the teachers and even the head of schools complained about the lack of teaching and learning materials, especially textbooks. Textbooks, as pointed out by the teachers, are in poor supply. With school A and B the delay they said is with the city council and with school C the district council. Teacher M mentioned that they don't even have reference books and this makes teaching very difficult. She said that at times she has to rely on her knowledge and experience. Teacher N relied on the textbook "*Thutapuo ya Setswana*", which to me appears to be a bit advanced for learners at this stage, even though he said he uses it only as a reference book.

This book "*Thutapuo Ya Setswana*" is also an old type of textbook full of dull grammatical units with absolutely nothing to motivate the learning situation based on the communicative approach. In any case, it ends up with the lesson being dominated

by teacher-talk and chalk activity throughout the lesson. This is not to say that teacher talk is not necessary. It is good in certain parts of the lesson. As pointed out by Nunan (1989:7) "...the modifications which teachers make to their language, the questions they ask, the feedback they provide and the instructions and explanation they provide all have an importance ... on the acquisition by learners of the target language". My point is learners too must have a role to play in their acquiring of the new knowledge, and should be left to experiment with language in their own creative way.

Teacher F, even though she welcomed the new policy, nevertheless said, "But as I know the policy will come, teachers will be told there is the policy to follow, without any guidance or materials to use. In that case what are we going to say to the pupils?" (p.20 transcription notes). Allwright (1991:131) points out that there is need for materials to save learners from teachers' deficiencies, as they will ensure that the syllabus is covered. Without the teaching materials teachers are left to fumble and in the end it is the learners who suffer.

According to the subject officer for English in the Curriculum and Evaluation Unit, materials for the new policy are not yet available. The materials she said have to be in line with the new syllabus and that once everything is done there will be a way of guiding the teachers about the new syllabus (some sort of in-set program will be set-up). One wonders when this will take place when now it is only a year before the targeted date of implementation, which according to NDP 8 is 2002. But then this is not surprising because the implementation of the policy is shielded by the proviso "as soon as practicable".

4.3.4 Pupils Performance

Pupils' performance, as identified by school A teachers, is good, especially in English. Their main problem, they said, is with Setswana. Primary school leaving examination (PSLE) results, their deputy head said, showed low performances in Setswana. Part of the problem she mentioned is that the pupils do not take the subject seriously, not necessarily that the language is difficult for them. In school B and C the pupils' performance both in class and at PSLE is reported to be average. Teachers B and C in school B revealed that part of the problem in their schools lies with the pupils' background. They said most of them do not have proper care at home and come from lower income groups in which there is not much motivation at home to learn.

For school C the unsatisfactory pupils performance, teachers G and H said is mainly because of the language problems in both mediums (Tswana and English). Despite this the head of the school mentioned that the pupils' performance from PSLE for the past four years in the school has really improved. He said part of the good results is made possible by parents' involvement in their children's schoolwork. He nevertheless pointed out that English is a bit of problem to the pupils here. He said they tend to speak mostly in their mother tongues.

4.3.5 Language Policy

The teachers and school heads as well as the subject officer and the language council member were asked to give their views about the old language in education policy as well as present one. Teachers X, M, A and B showed ignorance of the new language

policy. Teacher Y however said the new policy is welcomed though the might be some problems. She mentioned that the main problem lies with the implementers. She said they had long mentioned the intention of starting the pilot project on the policy but up to now nothing has happened; they were just left in the dark. However the subject officer for English mentioned that the preparations for implementation are under way. She further stated that once the policy is about to be implemented there would be a way of guiding the teachers on how to go about it. There seemed to be some delays as mentioned earlier in the implementation of the policy; the materials to carry out the new curriculum are not yet developed; though she said there is a task force which is looking at that.

Despite the above delays, the head teacher for school C said he welcomed the new policy. One could see that at times it is tough for school administrators to dispute government policies. As the agents of the system they must see to it that government policies are carried out no matter how pressurizing the circumstances are. As mentioned by Ramahobo (1999:130) they have to make a choice, to stick to language policy and have poor results or alter it, by introducing English earlier. This is the case with school A, which has its own language policy.

One of the positive results of the 1994 RNPE, is the renaming and reconstitution of the former National Setswana Language Council into the Botswana Languages Council. One of the terms of reference for the Botswana Language Council was to develop a comprehensive language policy (Republic of Botswana, RNPE 1994:13). This development now seems to be failing.

An interview with the executive secretary of the Setswana language council revealed that the formation of the National Languages Council has not yet been effected. He pointed out that there has been a misunderstanding between the people carrying out such a decision and the Setswana language council. He said the Setswana Language Council refused to be resolved and instead a committee was elected, which was to see to the formation of the National Languages Council. He pointed out that some steps were undertaken. The elected committee wrote a letter to the permanent secretary of the ministry of education outlining the importance of such a council, which the minister had to present to parliament. But up to now there has been no response from the ministry, he said.

Another problem, he said was that the chairperson for the council had resigned from government and has not yet been replaced; therefore everything has come to a standstill. I couldn't get hold of the Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Education since I was running short of time and there had been so many problems in trying to get hold of him, it was just complicated to get hold of him. In a short period of time I couldn't get an appointment to see him. The secretary to the Setswana Council said in the meantime each language has its own council to overlook to its development while they are awaiting the formation of the National Languages Council, which will over look to the developments of all languages spoken in Botswana.

4.4 The observation Process

Classroom observations were mainly carried out for triangulation purposes or to correlate what the teachers said with what I saw taking place in the classrooms. Triangulation or 'multiple perspectives' as mentioned by Allwright and Bailey (1991:73) is putting two perspectives into effect if an accurate picture of a particular phenomenon is to be obtained. This method, as argued by Hitchcock and Hughes (1989:104) can add depth to analysis and potentially increase the validity of the data and consequently the analyses made of them. They mention one cannot however rule out the possibility of intentional error, as there is always something missed or overlooked.

As shown on the analysis the data was recorded in a pre-categorized observation schedule. It was then recorded under the themes: activity type, content, materials, language use, methodology and teacher pupil interaction. These are the categories used in the analysis and that is shown on table 5, appendix 5. Those categories will be briefly discussed in comparison with what took place in the interview process.

In most cases, in all the lessons observed the activities were mainly oral presentations dominated by teacher talk and less pupils involvement, despite the fact that teachers had stated that they do encourage learning by doing. This is not to say that teacher talk is not important. As mentioned by Nunan (1995: 190) it is important in providing the learners with the substantial live target language input they are likely to receive. Notwithstanding this argument, learners also need to be given a chance to be creative

and be left to use their acquired knowledge to analyse concepts in language classrooms.

The most common method of teaching in all the three schools was that of elicitation. In most cases the teacher introduced the topic and asked the pupils what they know about it. These were mainly factual questions, which mainly encouraged the learners to reflect on their knowledge and follow through a particular line of reasoning. For example in teacher Y's lesson about job descriptions the teacher handed out a picture. These are some examples of questions she asked:

- **Teacher:** what can you see from the picture?
- **Answer:** a nurse
- **Teacher:** what is she doing?
- **Answer:** she is standing next to a sick person.
- **Teacher:** what is the sick person called?
- **Answer**: *molwetsi* 'patient in English', the pupils did not know that in English.
- **Teacher:** what is the nurse doing to the patient?
- **Answer:** she is injecting the patient.

In contrast to teacher X, teacher F who for some reasons had the same lesson as teacher X, had some high order questions. She diverted a bit from pictures and to real life situations by asking the learners who they are, what they do at home, what their parents do and different roles of the members of their families. The pupils were able to bring in that knowledge they already possess into the classroom situation and the lesson here was even more communicative.

Teacher B also introduced different teaching strategies, like elicitation, group work and class presentation, which also encouraged pupils' participation and enjoyment of the learning situation. Questions were also evenly distributed to the class, even to the pupils who did not raise their hands, as raising a hand is not a sign of knowing the answer, in most cases it is just to make the teacher think you understand.

In some cases the lessons looked dull, like in the case of teacher P. This was a science lesson and the topic was 'Light'. It was conducted in English. The teacher was talking about the materials that can permit light to pass through and those that could not, and she brought nothing to class to use as teaching aids. She kept on referring to the window and the wall. Well in most cases there was lack of teaching materials but the improvisation that teacher O talked about could have been used. Materials as Nunun (1995: 214) say, provide comprehensive input, grammatical and communicative 'consciousness-raising' on the part of learners. The author says they also increase motivation and interest in learning. New vocabularies such as 'translucent', 'opaque', 'transparent' were introduced, but because there were no demonstrations or materials used to clarify such words the pupils looked puzzled.

The teachers code-switched a lot especially during English lessons. Teacher M for example introduced her lesson in Setswana and took the development in English. At first I thought it was a Setswana lesson because for the first fifteen minutes she was talking about Setswana noun classes. Later when I asked her why she did that she said she wanted the pupils to use their knowledge of the first language in the English

lesson. She said, had she started the lesson right away in English, there would have been some confusion. I was really confused myself until she explained this.

In all cases teacher pupil interaction was good. The teachers were sensitive to pupils' responses. Positive feedback or reinforcement techniques like 'good'; 'well done,' 'try again' were used. This in a way encouraged the pupils to take part in the learning activities, feeling that they have performed correctly. One could see that through praise learners really get motivated. In the situation of teacher F pupils had to clap hands together with the teacher after one had given an answer, this was really impressive.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter analysed the data gathered in three primary schools in Botswana. Two of these primary schools are in the urban area and are labelled school A and B. School C is in the village set up. The government runs all the three schools. In all the schools nine teachers were interviewed and their lessons observed twice. In addition the head of school C and the deputy head of school A were also interviewed, as well as the subject officer for English, Curriculum and Evaluation Unit and the secretary for the Setswana Language Council. The data have been fully explained, with reference remarks to the literature review, more of this will be fully interpreted in the next chapter. In the following chapter the different themes that emerged from the data will be discussed together with the literature review and any relevant documents related to the study.

Chapter 5

Interpretation of Data

5.1 Introduction

This dissertation aims, as stated on chapter 5 and 6, at exploring whether the teaching and learning of the primary language, in this case Setswana, can encourage and promote learning and proficiency in the second language (English). It also seeks to find whether such learning will help the learner preserve his/her culture. Thirdly it aims at finding out how L1 can provide a concrete foundation for the child's future and effective learning of broader concepts. In this chapter the issues arising from the data elicitation in Chapter 4 will be interpreted to try and meet these aims, by drawing on the literature review in Chapter 2.

The interpretation will provide the basis for my attempt to answer the research question: "what are some of the possible outcomes, in subject teaching and learning, of the use of English as a language of instruction in Botswana's Primary Education System at standard 2 and 5, where learners are not primary speakers of English?" This research it is also hoped, will be of value to our language in-education policy planners, teachers, language educators and government not only in Botswana but Southern Africa as a whole, in realizing the importance of language as a means of gaining access to and equipping the learners with the required curriculum knowledge.

One of the aims of the Ten Year Basic Education Programme for Botswana is that students, on completion of the programme, should have "developed the ability to express themselves clearly in English, in Setswana and/or a third language both orally

and in writing, using them as tools for further learning and employment". (Republic of Botswana, Circular Savingram (1995:6). Language is such an important tool in learning and a lack of academic skills in language could block any positive learning of such activities as self-expression and fluent writing. As Skutnubb-Kangas (1981) maintains, language is a tool the individual uses when she handles her surroundings in order to be able to take the world to herself, to grasp it and to comprehend it. This tool needs to be developed so that the desired cognitive (intellectual skills) development could take place in the learners. The findings of this study in a way reveal that this fundamental aim for languages in education is not fully achieved, or will need some further insights to be fully achieved.

5.2 Interpretation of the Data Elicited

5.2.1 Language in Education Policy (Botswana)

The language in education policy for Botswana and other Southern African countries, specifically relates to the use of a common language or the national language and English as languages of education with no or little mention of the minority languages. They do adhere to transitional bilingual education where in the long run the national language (L1) is somewhere along the line dropped and English (L2) used throughout the remainder of the education system as a MOI. (See chapter 2 pp17-18).

The present language in education policy for Botswana primary education is that instruction in Setswana is for the first four years, with the change over to English as MOI at the fifth year, (see chapter 2 pages18-19). We await a change in this policy in the near future. According to the National Development Plan 8 (1997/98-

2002/03:337) the target date for the implementation of the new policy is 2002. The 1993 Commission on Education felt that the first commission, that of 1977, denied the child mastery of the main language needed for better achievement in primary school, in further education and in the world of work. Thus it opted for the use of English as MOI in the first year of primary education, which has been amended to the use of English in the second year as soon as practicable, (Republic of Botswana, RNPE 1994:59).

On the basis of the data collected in Chapter 4, it is clear that teachers (those who they say they know something about the new policy) seem to welcome the policy of early exit to English as MOI. Four of these teachers, F, Y, N and the head of school C welcome the policy. Their argument is that if children are exposed to English at an earlier age they will be good in it when they reach a mature age. It might be true that children learn faster than adults, but one wonders whether it is really a good idea to pass on new knowledge to the other person in a language that s/he cannot communicate in. According to Schmied (1991:100) normally English should be taught as a subject for several years before it can be used as MOI, because in many African states no reasonably proficient English model for social communication is available outside the classroom. This is true even in the situation of Botswana. About 80% of the primary school going population is in the traditional villages where they mainly converse in their local languages, mainly Setswana.

Pupils in school C, as mentioned in the previous chapter speak different languages other than Setswana; and they do not have any contact with the English language

except in the classrooms. Even Setswana is not a first language to the majority of them. The policy of first instruction in English could be much of a problem in this area where the learners at the age of 6/7 are still learning to comprehend in Setswana. These children, as argued by Tsonope (1995:8), need increased opportunity to improve their level of proficiency in English through effective English language instruction, rather than to be confused through the use of English as a language of instruction at a level when they cannot assimilate information in English.

Three teachers, M, H and O, however, do not welcome the policy as such. Their argument is that the learners do not know Setswana and starting to instruct them in English from their second year of schooling would further handicap them in the first language. Teachers M and O also complained about the pupils' lack of understanding of some Tswana cultural concepts. This lack of knowledge they say is diminished by low value attached to Setswana in the schools.

Other teachers, like teachers A, X, B and C said they know nothing about the new language in education policy. I could deduce from teacher N's response that even though he welcomed the policy, from one of the questions that I asked him about the policy he did not know much about it. The question I asked him was "what are your views concerning the new language in education policy where instruction in English is to start at grade 2"? His response was "it is okay, maybe it will make the pupils do well in English even though they do not write that well in Setswana. Then I asked "what would you like to see happening in our education system concerning language use? The response was "language... if you can have a look at the objectives that we

have to follow and the type of materials that we should use, they don't go together", (p.10-11 transcription notes). The teacher, instead of commenting about the policy, started talking about the lack of teaching materials and the objectives of the syllabus. Lack of knowledge about government policies on the side of teachers can not just affect the success of the policy, but can also impact on the learners' progress. As such teachers need to be sensitised by all means on newly implemented policies so as to be able to meet the requirements of the school curricular.

The subject officer for English, Curriculum and Evaluation Unit commented that the present bilingual programme favours teachers and not the pupils, because the teachers are more comfortable using Setswana in the classroom. She said the pupils graduate from the Tswana medium primary schools without a fluency in spoken English. This might be true; teachers might be hiding their lack of good command of the English language behind Setswana, when they say the pupils best understand them when teaching through the medium of Setswana. However this might not be the case. They said they code-switch during English for clarification and explanation of concepts as well as to improve pupils involved in the lesson activities. The subject officer's argument does not endorse Cummings' theory of language transferability, which says languages are interdependent.

This theory of linguistic interdependence or common underlying proficiency (CUP) as explained in chapter 2, is that first language and second language skills are interdependent. According to this model, the extent that L1 is effective in promoting proficiency in L1, transfer in L2 will occur provided there is adequate exposure to L2,

and adequate motivation to learn it. That is, once the learners have developed the academic literacy skills in Setswana language they can transfer these to second language learning (English) provided there is adequate exposure and motivation to learn English. This exposure could be acquired through gradually introducing English as a subject until such a time that it is felt the pupils are competent enough to comprehend the language. This is what has been happening in the delayed transition bilingual education in the country. The new policy of early exit to English will just be a way of demoralising the learners to learn English, by scaring them with English before they can even comprehend their first language (Setswana).

In a way I observed this Cummings argument happening in teacher M's lesson. Here the lesson was introduced in Setswana and the development carried on English; this was an English medium lesson. The teacher later explained to me this she did that so that the pupils could use their knowledge of the first language into the second language situation. This, in a way, became a motivation to the learners because they were able to participate throughout the lesson, giving mainly correct effective answers. Using the child's first language is not that it is more of an advantage to the teachers only as the subject officer implied. As argued by Adegbija (cf chapter 2 supra p.15) it facilitates the learning of the mainstream languages, (see also p. 32 Rees comments on the Bradford Punjabi MOTET project).

Translation lessons observed in teachers' F, X and A classes were also instances where a suitable environment for learning L2 was provided. Although these were oral

Setswana lessons, pupils were able to translate simple Setswana sentences and words into English and vice versa (this were grade 2 classes).

Examples:

Teacher A' lesson

The learners were to translate the following Setswana words to English

'Lebati' - 'door'

'Fensetere' – 'window'

Then they were to orally translate the following sentences from English into Setswana and vice versa. Almost the same exercise was done in teacher F's and X's lessons.

'I am writing my name' - *'ke kwala leina lame'*

'My grandmother is at the lands' – *'mmemogolo o kwa masimo'*

'Gaborone ke motsemogolo' - 'Gaborone is the capital city', Etc.

In a sense good climate for communicative language learning and hence exposure to L2 was created. Leap and Mesthrie (2000:372) point out that according to Cummings, children could attain educational success in a second language provided that first language development is attended to. In other words, as argued by other writers like Skuttnabb-Kangas (1981), Hoffman (1991), Danesi (1990) (chapter 2), second language acquisition benefits from the development of first language skills. Their argument is that the child's first language must be first developed in school as a basis for successful acquisition of the L2 and hence for success in education. Hence a child's who can fully comprehend his/her L1, in this case Setswana, could easily transfer those skills to the learning of English.

Swain and Cummings (1986), cited in chapter 2, page 26, argue that if optimum development of the minority language children's academic and cognitive potential is a goal, then the school must aim at promoting additive bilingualism. Through the additive bilingual model both the child's native and second language can be maintained and development of full bilinguals in both languages of instruction and the world of work achieved. According to Hoffman (1991:129)

> Employing both languages will foster the bilinguals' think tank. However if forced to make use of the weaker one only, for instance in the classroom, the bilingual child will have problems in understanding whatever is being taught, in this way may hold back the development of the think tank and, consequently, lead to poor performance in tasks involving skills in both the home and the school language.

Young children at the age of six and seven as previously argued in the literature review have few pegs on which to hang new knowledge. As such starting instructing these children in English when they cannot even read and write in their L1 would be totally hampering their academic knowledge of both languages. All student language curricular containing both a language of wider communication and a regional lingua franca, as pointed by NEPI (1992:41) could contribute towards the building of national unity and development.

Teachers are expected to implement the government policies and yet little is done to sensitise them to these policies. In the end they fail, not because they do not have the potential, but because they lack in-service training about the policies implemented. Commonality of language, as mentioned by Tollefson (1997:92) is one of the major sources for the feeling of security through belonging that ties the individuals to nation

states. With lack of this security of which language to use as LOI and how to successfully implement it leaves teachers torn up between two worlds. That is their obligation to help the children to understand the concepts better and the government policy that requires the use of a certain language for economic benefits. This is often a language the children do not use effectively.

There seems to be a delay in the implementation of the policy. This delay is not surprising, as mentioned in chapter 2 the policy is shielded by the proviso 'as soon as practicable', and who knows when it will be practicable. The targeted date might come and pass before anything is done. However at the moment what is important is not implementation of this policy, but that the children acquire the required knowledge through the appropriate medium that could elicit and develop from the learners' skills to enable them to face the life challenges beyond the school. There is a lingua franca in the country that can be used to start instruction, rather than to go straight to English when children have no linguistic proficiency in that language. This in a way is what instils a negative attitude into people towards their native languages.

5.2.2 Attitudes Towards Languages of Instruction

What I understand from Gardner (1982) is that attitudes do influence individuals' responses to attitude objects or situations as well as to behaviours, but do not determine them. Based on this argument speakers, teachers, leaders and even learners will have certain attitudes towards the use of certain languages used in the community. Some will place more emphasis on one language, based on how that language is regarded and for the value it is given in the country.

The teachers said they do encourage the pupils to speak English in and outside the classroom, for various reasons. Their reasons are mainly for the development 'instrumental orientation' attitudes. These are the reasons which Gardner (ibid: p.134) said are for learning a language, in order to get a good job, to pass examinations or because it is a policy requirement. Because of the importance attached to English as an international language and a language of socio-economic advancement in the country, the teachers find themselves with no alternative but to encourage their pupils to speak it at all times. As they say it is a language of examinations, and for pupils to do well in these examinations they must have a good mastery of the English language.

Despite these arguments by the teachers, pupils as reported by teachers O and F, seem to fall behind in classroom participation during English lessons, especially in speaking and writing. This in the long run forces the teachers to code-switch in lessons where English is the medium of instruction. As pointed out earlier by Nyathi-Ramahobo (1999), teachers code-switch to accommodate the pupils in the learning process. The teachers in classroom, she further mentions, are conscious about the language policy, but communication problems force them to switch to Setswana. When instruction is in Setswana a monolingual lesson remains she says, but when the instruction is in English the lesson becomes bilingual. This lack of communication in the classroom is a difficult situation to the teachers when they find that they cannot adjust to the level of the learners, forcing them to code-switch.

This is borne out by what teacher Y said; that she does code-switch so as to not ignore the pupils, or when she sees that they do not understand her. Teacher B said she code-switches at times when the content seems too difficult for pupils to understand her, forcing her to use a bit of Setswana. Giles (1975) cited by Swan et al (eds) (2000:151) says people change the way they speak according to the person they are talking to, what he calls 'speech accommodation'. Teachers here are trying to reduce that social distance between themselves and the learners and they do this by using a language more familiar to the learners, a language that could accommodate all the learners. The Setswana language is the language more familiar to the child; and my argument is that through the model of additive maintenance bilingual education this familiar language to the children, used together with the a language foreign to them, could stimulate their cognitive and affective domains in the learning of English and other new concepts at school. As argued by Kings (1998) subjects more familiar to the home environment could be instructed through the media of Setswana.

The use of code-switching might have some positive effects but on the other hand the use of it for purely translation purposes, as pointed out by Mosito-Matheleli (1999:39-40) is regarded as different from the communicative approach to second language teaching, since it does not guarantee the students to express themselves in the new language. According to Nunan (1995:191) some studies have looked at the effect of simplified input in which the cognitive and linguistic load on the learner is reduced. Code switching could be such an example of simplified input to the learners, and could in a way affect their learning of L2 and result in poor performance in their studies. Despite this it is the most suitable alternative teachers could use to explain

difficult L2 concepts to the learners, especially if they cannot properly comprehend L2. This is not to say that it could be used every now and then, as this could affect the learners' comprehension of L2; but properly monitored could assist in the development of the child's cognitive abilities to learn through L2.

These linguistic simplifications, according to Nunan, do not have as significant an effect on L2 comprehension as elaborative modifications; these are 'input containing redundant information'. These are the kind of tasks that would require the learners to use their imaginative, creative and other cognitive academic abilities to workout the problem at hand. In that way they could not just always wait for the teacher to come with answers. Code switching could be practised but with caution, looking at some of the effects it could have on the learners' acquisition of L2.

The schools' attitudes towards the two languages are also revealed in the time they are allocated in the schools' timetables. Teachers in the three schools said they allocate more time to English. Teacher X said she allocates more time to English because it is a new subject to the pupils. Teacher M on the other hand said it is because all the subjects are taught in English and in her school they start instruction in English at standard 3 (standard 1 in South Africa) and so they are encouraged to give more time to English. The status given to English has an impact on the instrumental value and status given to other languages in the country. Setswana, for example, is mainly learned for cultural identity, as a national language and as a unifying force, whereas English is learned for economic advancement and higher learning (Report of the National Commission in Education 1993:113). As such it is

not surprising that the teachers and even parents will place more emphasis on their children acquiring more knowledge in English than any other language in the country for economic and better living.

5.2.3 Classroom Teaching Methodology and Language Use

One of the aims of the Setswana Primary school syllabus is that learners at the end of their primary school education will be able to use the four language skills: listening, reading, writing and speaking to communicate information about the environment, peers, adults and the mass media, (Republic of Botswana 1992:24). The English syllabi aims at developing the listening, speaking, reading and writing skills in English to help pupils to learn other subjects and to follow other interests. Therefore it says pupils should also use English to:

- Understand what other people are talking or writing about
- Make it clear what they are talking about
- Discover facts on their own and from other people
- Discover people's opinions and express their own
- Respond to and give instructions

(Republic of Botswana, Primary School Syllabuses for all Subjects 1992:71)

Language in primary education or in the foundation phase is used to communicate all the relevant information to the learners and as such rich sources of language input should be available in the classroom for the above aims to be achieved.

From my observations in all three schools, in most cases, lessons instructed in English were mainly full of teacher talk with less pupil participation and less

development of the four language skills discussed above. In only six out of the eleven lessons observed, were some of these skills promoted. These were in the classes of teachers B, O, F, A, Y and M respectively. In teacher B's class for example both speaking and writing skills were practiced. This was a Setswana lesson. The topic was '*Meila*" (cultural norms). The teacher introduced the topic then asked the pupils to tell the class the cultural norms that they know and explain what that means. They did that.

From a chart she had put up on the chalkboard with some norms written on it pupils were in turn chosen to read out the sentences (norms) to the rest of the class. Those who were listening were later to give the meaning of each norm after it was read, with the teacher assisting where the pupils showed some lack of knowledge. Later in-groups they wrote their own norms with explanations and thereafter presented this to the rest of the class. From my own point of view this was a good language communication lesson. It encouraged pupils' participation in group work as well as using their own initiatives in the learning environment. Presentation gives the pupils some opportunity to stand up in front of the others and give a talk, something that being trained to do right from the onset will give them courage to do when they face such situations in the world outside the school through either of the media.

In teacher O's lesson there was some demonstrations of how some of the norms were carried out. Demonstrated were norms showing greetings, handing of food to the elderly and how to receive things from the elderly. Both the teacher and the pupils demonstrated these. Otherwise the other lessons were mainly dominated by teacher talk, with the teacher at the centre of the activities. Teacher H for example, despite the

fact that during the interview she had said she does encourage pupils' involvement in the lesson by group work, reading and discussions, in fact none of these acts were shown. She introduced her lessons in the traditional manner, whereby she wrote the topic on the chalkboard and then said, 'today we are going to learn about the 'Present tenses'. Then what followed was a lecture with little pupil participation. At some point where she would pose a question and before the pupils could think about it and give an answer the teacher would give the answer.

The teacher, in my view, lacked the necessary in-service training in the communicative approach of the primary school syllabus. The teacher's failure to communicate with the pupils could hamper their learning not only of their second language, but all the other subjects as well, which in the long run could affect their progress. This also fails to achieve the aims of the two languages' syllabus discussed earlier. Teacher talk is good as earlier pointed since it provides the learners with substantial target language in-put. On the other hand the methods used in the learning situation should be the ones that at the end of the day could produce a self-expressing competent, creative, critical and analytic learner in all second language situations s/he can come across.

One of the aims of the Ten-year basic for the country is that students should develop critical thinking, problem solving ability, individual initiative, interpersonal and inquiry skills, (Republic of Botswana, 1995:5). With the failure of the proper language teaching methodologies in language classrooms it would be difficult to achieve this aim. Learners in communicative language teaching (CLT) in a way need

to be involved in tasks and activities so as to inculcate into them problem solving abilities and hence proper acquisition of broader new concepts. They have to use their own natural ability to interpret, express and negotiate meanings in tackling the concepts.

According to Ure (1981: 304) it is via the child's mother tongue that the relevance of the child's own experience can be brought out and the relations between experience and ideas established. This was exemplified in teacher M's lesson, where the children were able to use their knowledge of Tswana adverbs in the English lesson. Ure maintains that if we are to guide our pupils to find their own solutions to problems, we must allow them to do so in the language that for them is the natural language for problem solving. This is evident from a small project experimented at Ife in Southern Nigeria (see NEPI 1992:51). Some of the results of this project are briefly summarized in chapter two. The group was taught in Yoruba for six years before changing to English as MOI. The report says testing over the last three years of the experiment showed greater academic success in an English environment in the seventh year of those learners for whom the change to English medium had been delayed. This shows that L1 maintenance does not delay the child's acquisition of the L2. Instead it is a foundation to learning L2 and could stimulate the child's cognitive abilities to reason well in L2.

Learners should be active participants and generators of knowledge in the language classrooms. Teacher centred learning should decrease and learners should be encouraged to analyse and interpret knowledge in their own interactive process. This could be best achieved through L1 instruction, the language the learners could best

express themselves in, before transition to L2. The school curricular should provide the learner with the opportunity to identify the situation and apply the appropriate communication strategy form his/her experience. The learner could use his/her past experience of L1 into L2 situations.

5.2.4 Language and Culture

Education, as pointed out by Delors, (Chapter 2 page 12), should seek to make individuals aware of their roots so as to give them points of reference that enable them to determine their place in the world. The use of Setswana in Botswana schools helps to sustain and reinforce a distinctive national identity. The Report on the National Policy on Education (1977:76) points out that "a vigorous national culture can only flourish if the young are fully articulate in the language through which this culture finds expression". Setswana is such a language that Botswana children could use to express their culture.

Through bilingual programmes as in the case of Botswana, two different cultures are passed on to the learners. Here the two cultures are those underlying Setswana and English. By learning both cultures the learners are not just getting biliterate but also bicultural. Hornberger (1996) argues that being bicultural or bi-literate in two languages, enable learners to draw on their communicative repertoire (of both Setswana and English) to participate appropriately in any given context (see p.12 chapter 2).

In all the three schools, where data were collected, the two languages were promoted though not on the same scale. English culture, it seems, is promoted more than the Tswana culture. More time in the schools' timetable is allocated to English and Mathematics (which from grade 5 is instructed in English), then Setswana language follows. This is not to blame the teachers or the schools because they are following what the system demands of them. They are there to carry out the government policies, and to see to it that in practice this is adhered to.

In school A, for instance, English is introduced at standard 3 as the MOI. This, from what I gathered from the teachers I interviewed in this school, has an impact on the learners' performance of their L1 (Setswana). Teacher O for example mentioned that pupils do not know Setswana. The deputy head teacher stressed this when he alluded to the fact that at PSLE pupils' performance in Setswana is not good, but in other subjects it is quite pleasing. Totally ignoring the child's L1 or exiting it early in the school curriculum as the media of instruction could hamper its further development and demotivate the children's learning of it, hence its poor performance. No wonder the students at high school questioned the justification for having Setswana language as a core subject in school because they could not understand the importance of the language in socio-cultural aspects of the community. (See RNPE 1993:183).

Setswana might not be a first language for all the pupils in the country but it is the lingua franca or national language which the pupils' use in their everyday communication. It is the language nearer to their home experiences, and with it the pupils could best express themselves fluently or even critically in writing or speaking.

These are the experiences that they could even in the long run use in their second language situations, and in some subjects like social studies lesson or religious and moral education. This is not the case because they are not given that chance to use the language to learn any challenging concepts. Pupils from school C for example are not all-primary speakers of Setswana. They meet the written culture of this language for the first time in school, but better than English for at least they come with a bit of the spoken part of the Setswana language. As such Setswana, being their first MOI for a longer period, could lay a better foundation for their transition to English.

Both cultures should be equally encouraged, as Nyathi-Ramahobo (1996:11) points out "by learning each other's cultures children will learn to respect one another and their self-worth will be fostered, and their academic achievement enhanced". This author maintains that by so promoting cultural pluralism, unity in diversity will then be cultivated and fostered. Our policy makers should view language diversity as a resource and not as a problem. They should encourage achieving bilingualism/multilingualism in the learners in such a way that this could lead to respect for multiculturalism. Through respect of multiculturalism and bilingualism the nation could benefit spiritually as well as socio-economically.

Skutnabb-Kangas, cited in chapter 2, page 15, argues that pupils should not be made to feel ashamed of themselves or only want to associate with the mainstreams rather than with their own cultures. They should feel proud of what they are and what they can do with their languages. This can only be achieved if their languages are respected and not swept under the rag on arguments that they are incapable of

handling modern technology. Teacher M in school A for example had a concern regarding the pupils' failure and lack of good participation in Setswana lessons. She said they are told to encourage pupils to use English every now and then and yet told to promote the pupils' culture. The concern she raised was "how can we promote their culture when we speak English every now and then"? (p.6 transcription notes).

Both cultures should be promoted at the foundation level so that the pupils progress with their education knowing that both languages are important socio-culturally and economically, as well as knowing where and when to use each, and not to despise any. According to Wardhaugh (1998:219) language provides a screen or filter to reality, it determines how speakers perceive and organize the world around them, both the natural and the social world. The author says, consequently the language you speak helps you form your own worldview. Your own language could help you acquire a new language and hence a new culture. Language is important in not just learning, but in socialisation in some cultural concepts and we learn these through language. As such all possible ways of achieving this should be encouraged to assist in language development and cultural acquisition.

Culture, following Mogapi (1994:1) is what the person is, his ways of life, his beliefs, and his ways of thinking about life as well as being the proper life route one has chosen to follow. He further says, "It is through culture that man expresses himself, becomes aware of himself, recognizes his incompleteness, questions his own achievements ... and creates works through which he transcends his limitations"(ibd.p.2). It is through instruction in the child's home language (Setswana

language in the case of Botswana) that the child can fully express these values. Children as previously shown by King (1998) (page 12 chapter 2) are adept users of their first language and can bring their first language skills and knowledge into second language learning. As such instruction in their primary language could help the learners preserve and respect their culture as well as learn a second language.

Language in education policy must be diversified so as to accommodate all in their learning situation. People could have certain attitudes towards languages of education depending on how such languages are viewed by the society and the government. Despite these attitudes and the mere factor that language is a transmission of culture and as such the policy has to reflect that role, there are other factors which could determine the success and failures of the language in education policy. These are things like teaching and learning materials and especially textbooks. Hence below is a brief discussion of the availability of textbooks in the three schools where data were collected.

5.2.5 Teaching Materials

In all the three schools there was lack of teaching materials, especially textbooks, for both the two languages and other subjects. For many students, as observed by Apple and Christian-Smith (1991:5), textbooks are their first and sometimes the only exposure to books or reading. They say teachers rely on textbooks to organise and structure the subject matter. Despite this, textbooks arrive late in the schools or they do not arrive at all. In school C, teacher F's lesson for example, we had to wait for about ten minutes for the textbooks that the teacher was supposed to use which were

still being used by the other teacher. The teacher said they do share the books and that at times she skips the English lesson because the other teacher will still be using the same textbooks at the same time that she has to use them. This is not just a problem to the teacher, but to the learners as well because it is a drawback on their learning. English is the language that they are examined in at the end of their primary schooling and lack of teaching materials in the language could affect their performance in content subjects.

Teaching materials (especially textbooks) are important in the learning situation. As mentioned earlier in the previous chapter, they protect the learners from their teachers' deficiencies, as they should ensure that the syllabus is covered. Without them teachers could face difficulties in trying to implement the government policies. According to Nunan (1995: 208) materials can put flesh on the goals and objectives of the syllabus. The author argues "they give guidance to teachers on both the intensity of coverage and the amount of attention demanded by particular content or pedagogical tasks". Teaching aids properly used support the teacher, or compensate for the poorly trained or the incompetent teacher, as such their availability is a necessity.

Teacher N complained about outdated textbooks. He mentioned that some of those prescribed do not even meet the objectives of the syllabus. Well-planned and up to date textbooks, which meet the objectives of the syllabi, can encourage and facilitate improvisation and adaptation and the choosing of different learning materials. Poorly planned texts, such as '*Thutapuo Ya Setswana*' and '*Morongwa*', the ones teacher N

complained about, that they do not have any cultural concepts, could fail the teachers' tasks of learning materials selection difficult. Textbook theorists, as pointed out by Reynolds (1997), claim texts should aim to provide a visible framework or 'map' for the years of work, address the broad principles of the curriculum as well as to the requirements of specific subject curricular, or learning programmes. They should not be dull, forcing teachers to improvise every now and then.

Textbooks guide learning. One such good guiding textbook that I saw used was "MAPEP", year two pupils' English book, by Macmillan. It is a very good textbook with colourful pictures and expressions that could motivate the learners; and reduce improvisation and too much code switching. It is one such textbook that could lighten the teacher's tasks and make it easier for her/him diversify his classroom activities.

Textbooks, as argued by Apple and Christian-Smith (1991:3), signify through their context and form a particular construction of reality, particular ways of selecting and organizing that vast universe of possible knowledge. These authors argue that, "Texts are really messages to and about the future. As part of the curriculum they participate in no less than the organized knowledge system of the society. They participate in creating what the society has recognized as legitimate and truthful", (ibid p. 4). It might not be the wider society that recommends the selection of textbooks used in schools, but the fact that this is usually done under the pronoun 'we' implies a universal agreement between the society at large and those in educational power. This selection should be cautiously done bearing in mind that the aim is not just saving the

government's money or the making of profit by the textbook production companies, but for the educational achievement of the learner.

The local suppliers might have problems in supplying large numbers of schools, but efforts should be made to get the books to schools in time, before the learners arrive. As pointed out by Czerniewicz (1997:10) "If booksellers are to compete in an unprotected market they will have to massively improve the quality of their service which is generally poor in South Africa". The author might be writing about the situation of 'Book Procurement' in South African schools, but her comment is even applicable to the situation in Botswana. The schools in Botswana, as was revealed by the head of school C, and the deputy head of school A, are either supplied late with textbooks or the textbooks never arrive in the schools. Something must be done to improve book procurement in the schools if educational policies are to succeed.

5.3 Conclusion

It is evident from this interpretation that seven out of the ten teachers interviewed are aware of the new language in education policy for primary schools. Four teachers F, Y, N and head of school C, welcome the policy of early exit to English as the MOI. Generally school A policy supports this notion. This school has its own language policy where instruction in English starts at grade three. The main argument for the teachers who support this policy is that once children get exposed to the language at an earlier age they would be competent in it as they grow. Teachers M, H, and O however, do not welcome the policy. Their argument is that the learners are not that competent in Setswana, and that by doing away with Setswana language at such an

earlier stage could further hamper their knowledge of the language, and continue performing badly in Setswana. They are saying this might also encourage the learners to despise their culture.

On balance, both arguments could be of positive significance. It could be that learners exposed to the second language at an earlier age could acquire it very quickly. This could be so, provided, as shown by research, there is adequate exposure to learn L2 both in and outside the learning environment. Schools B and C as pointed out earlier do not have enough exposure to L2 (English) outside the classroom. At home these learners, not having any motivation to learn English, could find it difficult to adjust to the classroom situation with a foreign language, especially at the age of 6 or 7. In most cases their interaction is in L1 (Setswana). Even pupil-to-pupil interaction on school premises is highlighted mostly in Setswana. Not having language texts could also hamper the pupils' education. Texts are a way of seeing to it that the curriculum, the education policy and the syllabi are adhered to, and not having them could contribute towards failure of educational goals.

Not totally disputing these teachers' (those who support the policy), I would rather advocate additive bilingual programmes, whereby the child's L1 is not displaced too early from the learning situation, but wherein L2 is introduced side by side with L1. This will make the learner appreciate both languages as learning instruments. Bearing in mind the language transferability theory, the child could use his knowledge of L1 to acquire concepts in L2. There is evidence from research that basic concepts and initial literacy and numeracy are most easily learned in the home language. This could

also contribute towards the development of L1 as well as reducing the danger of children losing their sense of identity and respect for the Botswana culture.

As stated earlier the data for this study is limited to a very small population. That is, the data were collected in only three schools and from two officers in the education department. As such the wider value and generalisability of my interpretations are severely limited by this small data sample base. This is a qualitative research which therefore cannot claim generalisability. All that it can claim is that it records accurately, research observations of elicited data, which may be used to test the validity and reliability of my observations and interpretation. As such this pilot study will call for a study with a much wider statistically representative sample population of teachers and learners that could prove more valid and reliable interpretation.

Chapter 6

Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

6.1 Introduction

Language, as viewed by Mogapi (1994), Hartshorne (1995:308) and Kaschula (1995) is the transmitter of knowledge. Lack of communication between two individuals could lead to communication breakdown and ignorance about what is going in the world around them. This is a post-modern world where technology is developing at a rapid pace, a lack in language proficiency could prove an obstacle to this technological change and this could be a negative development. Learners need to be equipped with language knowledge that could enable them to handle the demands of the post-modern world, to shape those for their own use and benefit to the society. All this could be achieved through effective communication, which can only come about via effective language of instruction, proper teaching methodology as well as good instructional and learning materials.

6.2 Summary

This dissertation considered the relationship between language policy and the medium of instruction. Its main focus has been examining some possible effects of using English as a language of instruction in primary education in Botswana with non-native speakers of English. This is the language so described by the Botswana education policy as the language needed for future learning and development. The dissertation discussed the different themes related to language policy. These are themes like attitudes towards language, language and culture, language teaching methodologies and teaching materials. Out of these themes it should be realized that

each language has a role to play in the society, depending on how it is valued by that society.

The main theoretical base of this study is bilingual education. Botswana, like most Southern African countries, is a multilingual country with English as its official language as well as being the language of education. African languages in these countries, especially the common language or lingua franca, are mainly used as languages of instruction for the first few years, usually the first three or four years of primary education through transitional bilingual educational programmes. It is argued the first language is mainly used as an interim means to master the second language. As soon as it is felt that students are proficient enough to comprehend and work academically in the second language, then the second language becomes the language of instruction in all subjects. (See Nyati-Ramahobo 1999:34, Harlech-Jones 1990). In the cases of Botswana, Setswana is such a national language and English the second language.

This status of English and the mere factor that it is a developed international language of wider communication has created certain attitudes towards the language and other languages used in these countries. In Botswana for example English is the determining factor to passing at primary and secondary education. The Report on Commission for Education (1993:113) describes it as the main tool needed in further education and in working life. The National Language (Setswana) is mainly learned for cultural identity, and as a unifying force. Other minority languages are just swept under the carpet, they don't appear anywhere in the educational set-up. Linguistic

heterogeneity, as explained by Tsonope (1988:10), in Botswana is seen as likely to breed tribalism and other forms of civil strife associated with ethnic-linguistic diversity.

These factors in the end make people look down upon their own languages and instead give preference to a foreign language. It is wise to have English, a global language, in our education system so that we can interact with the rest of the world, but as stated on LANGTAG (1996:106) "we need as a matter of urgency to identify our most important languages of trade and to prioritise those. We should examine the potential for trade of these languages of the subcontinent, as well as those further a field". These languages could be developed through their use in the education system, not only as subjects, but also as languages of learning.

From the interpretation of the data of this study it is evident that teachers are faced with tough situations in their learning environments; that of putting into effect the government policies and lack of guidance on how to go about implementing these policies. They also complained of lack of proper instructional materials, especially textbooks. In most cases their lessons are dominated by teacher talk with less student participation yet they are supposed to be following a communicative language approach syllabi. It is evident that they need more in-service on how to go about administering the demands of the education policy, as well as how to approach the communicative language syllabi. Without enough guidance to teachers the

consequences come to the learners who graduate out of the primary school with poor language communication skills.

Most pupils, like those in school B and C, come to school with a poor command of English language. Yet the new language policy expects them to be first instructed in English the very first time they enter primary school. This makes it more difficult for them having to face the learning environment with a language that they cannot communicate in. At the primary age 7/8 is what Gibbon (1996) (chapter 2) argues is when the pupils' comparative fragility of the first language does not support learning of a second language and as such instruction through a foreign media could just be handicapping the learners academically. Research cited on bilingual education programmes and what is elicited form data showed that indeed first instruction via L1 has a role to play in ensuring that learners acquire L2 and other new concepts more easily. This study also argued that this also could foster cultural plurality in them as well as respect of all cultures in their country.

Language shapes our world. It is one's identity and one has to be proud of what s/he becomes through his/her own language. Proper language teaching methods and teaching materials, the study argue, could foster positive achievements in language learning if properly administered. People, to express their feelings, ideas and to make or clarify a point, use language and as such languages should be treated with utter most respect in all situations. As stated earlier, language has to be treated with caution to avoid any misconception and mismanagement, especially in multilingual set-ups.

Language diversity in these set-ups should be respected, for out of that unity and respect as well as the well being of the society could be achieved.

6.3 Limitations of the study

As mentioned in chapter one the study had some limitations. The data was collected in only three primary schools, that it is hoped will give some indication of what the language situation prevailing in all the schools country wide. School C in the village is supposed to represent all the others in the villages, especially those in remote villages, where the majority of the learners are not primary Tswana language speakers. The other two schools, (schools A and B), represent the schools in the town centres in different town locations. These are areas where the majority of the learners are primary Tswana language speakers and second language speakers of English. A total of 9 teachers and two heads of schools were interviewed, which their views are hoped to represent those of other teachers in the whole country. The government views are those represented by the education officer for the English language and the executive secretary to the National Language Council, who is also the senior education officer for Setswana at secondary level.

Looking at the small scale of the data of this study. That is the number of schools visited and the teachers and officers interviewed, as well classes observed, this study, might not be a fully representative of the true picture of what is happening in the schools regarding the languages of instructions in the country as a whole. Thus a wider scale research needs to be undertaken so as to come up with a more valid representation of what is truly happening in the whole country.

6.3 Recommendations

From my interpretation of the data collected, a reading of the literature on bilingual education and a consideration of language policy issues, I make the following recommendations:

a) Additive Maintenance Bilingualism.

According to Cummings' theory of language interdependence, L1 is said to be the basis for learning L2. The new Botswana policy of quick exit to English as a language of instruction at the second year of primary education I suggest be modified, and I propose instead a maintenance model of bilingual education. As argued by Hall (1995), citing the ideas of Cummings and Krashen (1982), the child takes 5 to 7 years to develop cognitive academic proficiency and the best is to continue using her/his mother tongue until such a time that s/he has the ability to transfer that knowledge to English. If possible instruction in the primary language could be carried throughout the seven years primary education on subjects that are more familiar to the home environment. These could be subjects like Social Studies, Music, and Religious and Moral Education. These subjects could be instructed in the first language and be examined in the language. Science and Mathematics subjects could then be instructed in English looking at the technicalities of these subjects.

Maintenance bilingual education also known as the "language shelter model" (Apple and Muysken 1991) as suggested by BERA on the Commission on Education 1993, is the model appropriate for Botswana education system as it will sustain the vigorous and long term use of the an indigenous language. In this model both Setswana and English could function as LOIs and the minority languages taken as subjects on the

relevant locations. In this way the literacy related skill in the learner could be maintained through the use of the first language and later transferred to second language learning. Additive bilingual programmes could also afford the learners the opportunity to develop a shared understanding of common Batswana culture, since it could represent all the languages spoken in the country. "The pluralistic traditions, cultures and languages are neglected resources which Botswana can yet draw on in order to respond creatively-as is shaping in its neighbouring state, South Africa, to the challenge of providing for all its children", Jo Arthur (1998:223). With all these arguments in view, I strongly propose this type of bilingual education model to be applied in our education system. Setswana being the medium of instruction could also assist in further development of the language and its further use at tertiary levels.

b) Redeployment of Teachers

In considering the cost of teacher training and the reasons given by the Report on National Commission for Education (1993) for not developing of minority languages, teachers, upon completion of their training programme, I propose, be deployed to their areas of origins. This could make it easier for them to assist the learners with their L1, the language both the teacher and learner understand. Some minority languages, which have undergone some corpus development in the country: like Ikalanga, Afrikaans and Ngologa could be used at first grades to prepare the learners for change to Setswana and later to English as LOIs.

C) Awareness Campaign on the Importance of African Languages in Education

I also recommend that an awareness campaign, not only in Botswana or South Africa, but Southern Africa as a whole, about the importance of African Languages in the school curriculum be carried out. Parents and learners need to know why they have to study these languages and not to equate them with further uprooting of apartheid or disunity and tribalism. These languages should be seen as tools in creative thinking in all areas where their knowledge is accessible.

d) Language Teaching materials

Language teaching methodology, according to Nunan (1995:15) needs to be placed on a more secure empirical footing. The author points out that materials, learning tasks and pedagogical exercises need to be based not only on ideology, but also on evidence and insights into what constitutes effective language teaching. In most instances from evidence gathered from this study language classrooms in the lessons observed are mainly full of teacher talk with less pupils' participation. Not having enough teaching materials could be a serious drawback in the learning environment. This also ends up causing teachers to fumble and come up with teaching aids (books) that are of too high a standard for the learners.

Therefore, my proposal is that the policy makers, before implementing their policies should ensure that the instructional materials, especially textbooks, have been developed. It might not be an easy task, but the publishers need to be told about the changes in curriculum and about the requisitions in advance so that they have time to

produce the required materials in good time. Blueprints from the English textbooks could be used to improve the quality of Setswana texts.

e) In-service Training to Teachers on Educational Policies

My other proposal is that more in-service training be provided to teachers in language teaching methodologies to enable them to meet the demands of the communicative approach language syllabi. Teachers seem to be struggling with this and end up still following the old type of teaching where the teacher is the "expert".

6.4 Possible Recommendations for Further Research

Further research is still needed on language teaching and learning in Southern African countries. Both learners and teachers in Botswana are still in a dilemma of not knowing which language to emphasize for what particular reason, especially the home languages. If little is done about the role and status of African languages, their development could lead to their linguistic death. Thus I propose the following for further research:

- An expansion on this pilot study with a much larger statistically representative sample population of teachers and learners to test the validity and reliability of this ethnographic data.
- Do teachers fulfil the demands of the communicative approach language syllabi?
- Which language teaching methodologies and approaches are appropriate to the teaching of English to second language English

learners in bilingual programmes as well as to non-native teachers of English?

- What language in Education Policies best suits the African child in Botswana to enable him/her to advance into post-modernity?
- What constitute good textbooks in language education and how do these influence the processes of change?

6.5 Conclusions

The role of African Languages in education needs to be clearly defined by African states. These languages need to be more functional in their places as regional or local languages in education, administration and government. Bilingualism/multilingualism should not be seen in Africa as the ability to use the linking, the common language and other language, or as a bridge to second language learning, but as tools that the learner can use to shape his/her life internally as well as externally. There could be no perfect solutions to multilingual set ups, but efforts should be made to fight the deficiencies that do exists in our educational planning. Negative attitudes to mother tongue instructions and other misconceptions about regional or local languages, as well as about which language best function in education should be dealt with.

Maintenance bilingual programmes should be encouraged in Southern Africa so as to instil into our societies the pride of being bilingual, biliterate as well as bi-cultural. The maintenance model could enrich cultural pluralism by providing wider knowledge through both a language of wider communication and internal languages.

We need to address language as a resource, just like diamonds in Botswana or gold in South Africa- that needs to be harnessed and managed for the economic benefits of our countries. Southern African states need a language policy that could take into account its role in states to further the interests of the groups that these states represent and not for conflict of power.

Bibliography

The Harvard method of citation will be adopted.

Adegbija, E. (1994) *Language Attitudes in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Sociolinguistic Overview*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters

Altbach, P. G. and Kelly, G. P. (1993) *Textbooks in the Third World: Policy Content and Context*. New York and London; Garland Publishing, Inc.

Allwright, D and Bailey K. M. (1991) *Focus on the Language Classroom: An Introduction to Classroom Research for Language Teachers*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Apple, M.W. and Christian-Smith, L.K. (Eds) (1991) *The Politics of the Textbook*. New York: Routledge.

Apple, R and Muysken, P. (1991) *Language Contact and Bilingualism*. London: Arnold Publishers.

Auerbach, E. R. (1995) "The Politics of ESL classrooms: Issues of power in pedagogical choices" in **Tollefson, J. W.** (ed) (1995) *Power and Inequality in Language Education*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Baker, C. (1993) *Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Bamgbose, A. (1991) *Language and the Nation: The Language Question in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Batibo, H.M. (1998) "The fate of the Khoesan Languages in Botswana", in Brenzinger, M. (ed) (1998) *Endangered Languages in Africa*. Cologne: Rudiger K`oppe.

Biermer, B. L. (1992) "The Textbook Controversy: The Role of Content" in **Herlihy, J.H.** (ed) *The Textbook Controversy: Issues, Aspects, and Perspectives*. New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation.

Carey, S. (1993) "Implications from Transitional Bilingual and Immersion Programmes for Transitional ESL Programmes in a Post Apartheid South Africa", *Southern African Journal of Applied Language Studies*. Vol.3 No.1 Pp. 27-37.

Corbin, J and Strauss, A. (1990) *Basics of Qualitative Research*. London: SAGE Publications.

Cummings, J (1984) *Bilingualism and Special Education: Issues in Assessment Pedagogy.* England: Multilingual Matters.

Cummings, J. and Swain, M. (1986) *Bilingualism in Education.* London and New York: Longman Group.

Czerniewicz, L. (1997) *Book Procurement: Some Implications and Issues Raised by South African Schools.* Unpublished Paper.

Czerniewicz, L. (1999) *Why South African Schools are not Getting Books.* Article for Education in Africa Forum, March 1999.

Danesi, M. (1990) "Mother Tongue Literacy and the 'Shaping of Knowledge: The experience of the Italian Children", in **Byram, M and Leman, J** (eds) (1990) *Bicultural and Trilingual Education.* Clevedon-Philandelphia: Multilingual Matters.

De Castel, S. Luke, A. and Luke, C. (eds) (1989) *Language Authority and Criticism: Readings on the School Textbooks.* London: The Falmer Press.

Delores, J. (1996) *Learning the Treasure Within.* Report on the UNESCO of the International Commission fro the Twenty-first Century. France.

De Klerk, G. (1995) "Bilingualism, the devil and the big world", in Heugh, K. and et al. 1995. *Multilingual Education for South Africa.* Johannesburg: Heinemann.

Department of Education (July 1997) "Language in Education Policy", Pretoria.

ELTIC Reporter, (1997) *Multilingual Learning.* Johannesburg: Maskew miller Longman.

Gardner, R.C. (1982) "Language Attitudes and Language Learning" in Ryan, E. B. and Giles, H. (1982) *Attitudes Towards Language Variation: Social and Applied Contexts.* London: Edward Arnold.

Gibbons, P. (2nd print) (1996) *Learning to Learn in a Second Language.* Newton (Australia): Primary English Teaching Association.

Hall, D. (1996) *Assessing the Needs of Bilingual Pupils: Living in Two Languages.* London: David Faulton.

Harlech-Jones, B. 'Language Policy and Language Planning in Namibia', in Putz, M. (Ed.) (1995) *Discrimination Through Language in Africa? Prospectives on the Namibian Experience.* Berlin: Mouton de Grater.

Hartshorne, B. (1995) "Language policy in African education: a Background to the future" in **Mesthrie, R.** (ed) *Language and Social History.* Cape Town and Johannesburg: David Phillips.

Hartshorne B, (1987) *Language Planning and Medium in Education.* In **Young, D. N.** (ed) Papers presented at 5th Annual Conference of SAALA (Southern African Applied Linguistics Association) University of Cape Town.9-11th October 1986.

Heugh, K. et al (eds) (1995) *Multilingual Education for South Africa.* Johannesburg: Heinemann.

Herlihy, J. G. (ed) (1992) *The Textbook Controversy: Issues, Aspects and Perspectives.* New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation.

Hitchcock, G. and Hughes, D. (1989) *Research and the teacher: A Qualitative Introduction to School Based Research.* London and New York: Routledge.

Hoffman, C. (1991) *An Introduction to Bilingualism.* Harlow, England: Longman Group.

Hornberger, N.H. (1996) "Language and Education" in **Hornberger N.H. and McKay, S.L.** (eds) (1996) *Sociolinguistics and Language learning.* Australia: Cambridge University Press.

Janson, T and Tsonope J, (1991) *Birth of a National Language: The History of Setswana.* Gaborone: Heinennman Botswana.

Jo Arthur, (1998) "Institutional practices and cultural construction of primary school teaching in Botswana", *Comparative Education.* Vol.34 pp.320-326.

Kaschula, R. H. and Anthonissen, C. (1995) *Communication Across Cultures in South Africa: Toward a Critical Language Awareness.* Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Krashen, S. D. (1987) *Principles and Practices in Second Language Acquisition.* London: Prentice Hall international.

King, A. (1998) "*Some Implications of Teaching English as a Subject and Using English as the Medium of Instruction at lower Primary Level Within the New Curriculum*", A Paper Presented at Primary English Materials-Evaluation Seminar. 24-25 September 1998. Tlokweng (Botswana).

Language Plan Task Group (1996) *Towards a National Language Plan for South Africa.* Pretoria: Department of Arts, Culture. Science and Technology.

Luckett, K. (1995) "National Additive Bilingualism: Towards a Language Plan for South Africa", in **Heugh, K and et al.** (Op.cit).

Maxwell, J. A. (1996) *Qualitative Research Design: An interactive Approach.* London: SAGE Publications.

McGroaty, T. (1996) "Language attitudes Motivation and Standards" in **Hornberger, N. and McKay, S. L.** (eds) Op.cit.

Mogapi, K. (1994) 4th Impression. *Ngwao Ya Setswana.* Mabopane (S.A.): Sikwane Publishers.

Mosito-Matheleli, P. (1999) *An Exploration of the Learning-Teaching of English as* a *Second Language by Non-Native Speakers.* Masters Dissertation March, 1999. University of Cape Town.

Mouton, J. (1996) *Understanding Social Research.* Pretoria: J.L.Van Schaik.

Mysers-Scotten, C. "Elite Closure as a Powerful Language Strategy: The African Case", *International Journal of the Sociology of Language.* Eastman, A. (ed.) 1993. Vol. 103 pp.49-163.

NEPI (1992) *Language: Report of the NEPI Language Research Group* Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Norrish, J. (2000) "english or English? Attitudes, Local Varieties and English Lan*guage* Teaching", *TESL-EJ Teaching English as a Second or Foreign Language.* Vol 3, No. 1. Internet Search, Hotmail: http:/www.writing. /berkeley.edu/tesl-ej 09:22 03-30-00.

Nyathi-Ramohobo, L. (1996) *Language Policy in Botswana.* Paper presented at the PTTC tutors' workshop at Lobatse College of Education: Botswana.

Nyathi-Ramohobo, L. (1996) "Language in Education and the Quality of life in Botswana", in Nteta, D. and Hermans, J. (eds,) (1996) *Poverty and Plenty: The Botswana Experience.* Gaborone: The Botswana Society.

Nyathi-Ramohobo, L. (1999) *The National Language a Resource or a Problem.* Gaborone: Pula Press.

Nunan, D. (1992) *Research Methods in Language Learning.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Nunan, D. (1995) *Language Teaching Methodology: A Textbook for Teachers.* London: International Book Distributors.

Nunan, D. (1989) *Designing Tasks for Communicative Classroom.* Australia: Cambridge University Press.

Oyatade, S.O. 1996 "Bilingualism and Language Use in the Nupe Settlement in Ibadan", *International Journal of the Sociology of Language.* Vol.116 pp.61-77

Putz, M. (ed) (1995) *Discrimination Through Languages in Africa: Perspectives on the Namibian Experience.* Berlin: Mouton de Grater.

Punch, K. F. (1998) *Introduction to Social Research and Qualitative Approaches.* London: SAGE Publications.

Republic of Botswana (1994) *Government Paper no. 2 of 1994: The Revised National Policy on Education.* Gaborone: Government Printer

Republic of Botswana (1997) *National Policy on Education: Education for Kagisano.* Gaborone: Government Printer.

Republic of Botswana (1993) *Report on National Commission on Education.* Gaborone: Government Printer.

Republic of Botswana (1992) *Primary School Syllabuses for all Subjects: Standard one to four.* Gaborone: Curriculum Development Unit, Ministry of Education.

Republic of Botswana (1995) *Circular Savingram Curriculum Blueprint: Ten Years Basic Education Programme.* 4 May 1995, Gaborone: Curriculum Development and Evaluation, Ministry of Education.

Republic of Botswana (1997/98-2001/03) National Development Plan 8. Gaborone: Government Printer. August 1997.

Romaine, S. (1995) *Bilingualism.* 2nd Edition. Oxford: Cambridge University Press.

Roy-Campbell, Z.M. and Qorro, M.A. (1997) *Language Crisis in Tanzania: The myth of English Versus Education.* Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers.

Reynolds, M. 1997 *School Textbooks and Teachers' Choices: A Contextualizing and Ethnographic Study.* A dissertation presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Masters of Philosophy. University of Cape Town, March 1997.

Schmied, J. (1991) *English in Africa: An Introduction.* London and New York: Longman.

Skuttnabb-Kangas, T. (1981) *Bilingualism or not: The Education of The Minority.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Skuttnabb-Kangas, T and Cummings, J. (1988) *Minority Education: From Shame to Struggle.* Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters.

Simpson, M. and Tuson, J. (1995). *Using Observation in small-Scale Research: A Beginners' Guide.* Glasgow: The Scottish Council for Research in Education.

Smith, M. S. (1994). *Second Language Learning: Theoretical Foundations.* London and New York: Longman.

Swann, J. et al. (eds) (2000) *Introducing Sociolinguistics.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Tollefson, J. W. (1997) *Planning Language Planning Inequality: Language Policy in the Community.* New York: Longman.

Tollefson, J. W. (1993) 'Language policy and power: Yugoslavia, the Phillipines and Southern Asian refugees in the United States", *International Journal of the Sociology of Language.* Vol. 103, pp 73-95.

Tsonope, J. (1995) " Prospects for the indigenous Languages of Botswana: Implications of the Government White Paper No.2 of 1994", *Mosenodi*, vol. 3, Nos. 1 & 2, 1995, pp.5-13.

Tsonope, J. (1998) "Development, national unity, and language: the fate of the languages of Botswana", in *Mmegi wa Dikgang*, vol.5 No. 41, 29 October to 4 November 1998, page 10.

Tuckman, B.W. (1994), 4th edition. *Conducting Educational Research.* Florida U.S.A.: Harcourt Brace & Company.

Ure, J. "Mother Tongue Education and Minority Languages: A question of Values and Costs", *Journal of multilingual and Multicultural Development.* 1981. Vol.2, No. 4 Pp.259-263.

Wardhaugh, R. (1998) 3rd Edition. *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics.* Massachusetts-USA: Blackwell Publishers.

William, J.D. and Snipper, J. 1990. *Literacy and Bilingualism.* London: Longman.

Young, D.N. (1995) "The Role of First Language", in Heugh, K. et al (1995) *Multilingualism for South Africa.* Johannesburg: Heinemann.

Appendix 1

Interview Guide

Teachers (T) and Head teachers (HT)

a. Class Schedule

1a) In primary school you teach all the subjects, am I correct? (T)

1b) How do you cope with the load? (T)

2a) In your school you do have a school timetable that you do follow everyday, am I correct? (T/TH)

2b) Who makes the school timetable? (T/TH)

3a) Are all the subjects allocated the same amount of time in the school timetable? (T/TH)

3b) Why do you think some subjects are allocated more time than the others? (T/TH)

4a) Which subjects do you think need more time? (T/TH)

4b) Why? (T/TH)

5a) Do you manage to cover all the subjects planned for during the day? (T/TH)

5b) If you run out of time, which subjects could you skip, maybe to teach the other day? (T/TH)

6a) What is the total number of periods allocated Setswana and English in the school time table?(T/TH)

6b) How many periods for each language per week? (T/TH)

6c) Why is there a difference in the allocation? (T/TH)

b. Methodology

7) How do you cope with the teaching of Setswana and English or teaching through either of the medium? (T/TH)

8a) Through which of the two languages when you use as a language of instruction do you think the pupils best understands? (T/TH)

8b) Why do think so? (T/TH)

9a) What about you; which medium do you feel more comfortable teaching with? (T/TH)

9b) Why? (T/TH)

10a) Using either of the two mediums at the end of the day through which do you think you do fully achieve your intended objectives? (T/TH)

10b) Why do you think so? (T/TH)

10c) How do you think this could be improved? (T/TH)

11a) In you following the communicative approach syllabus how do you involve your learners in classroom activities? (T/TH)

11b) Do you think that helps the learners understand the subject matter better? (T/TH)

12a) Are there any instances in your teaching where you would use both languages when the instruction is in either English or Setswana? (T/TH)

12b) What makes you code-switch during the course of your lessons (if the answer to 12a was yes)? (T/TH)

13a) In which of the two languages can your pupils best read and write in? (T/TH)

13b) What do you think makes them perform better in one rather than in the other? (T/TH)

13c) How do you try to help them where they seem to lag behind? (T/TH)

14a) How do your pupils' perform in other subjects other than Setswana and English? (T/TH)

14b) What do you think may them perform in that manner? (T/TH)

15) Which subjects do you think could be best instructed in English or Setswana? Why? (T/TH)

16) Do you have any other problems in the teaching of Setswana/English? (T/TH)

17) What is happening in your school in terms of language policy and practice? (T/TH)

18a) As a standard two teacher are you aware of the language in education policy whereby the instruction through English is to begin at standard two? (T)

18b) What are your views regarding this policy? (T)

c. Teaching materials (both teachers and school heads)

19) Do you have enough teaching materials for both Setswana and English? (T/TH)

20a) Do you ever run short of teaching materials, like, for example the prescribed text? (T/TH)

20b) If you do what do you do to cover up while you are still waiting? (T/TH)

21) How effective are the prescribed books? (are they of good quality to enhance learning, the lay out good, visuals etc.)? (T/TH)

22) Do you have supplementary reading materials? (T/TH)

22b) When and how do you use them? (T/TH)

23) Which method of teaching do you encourage in class? Why? (T/TH)

d. Other Questions

24) How have pupils performed in your school at PSLE for the past three years? (TH)

25) What do you think could have contributed to such performance? (T/TH)

26a) What about the pupils' performance in both Setswana and English, how has they been performing? (T/TH)

26b) Why do you think they performed better in one language than the other? (T/TH)

27a) What is the main language of most of the learners in your school? (T/TH)

27b) Bearing that in mind how do you encourage their learning of English or Setswana and may be other subjects? (T/TH)

28) As the school-head what measures do you take to encourage the learning of both languages of instruction here in your school? (TH)

29a). Which of the two languages do you think pupils should be encouraged to speak? (T/TH)

29b) Why? (T/TH)

e. The Language Council Member (LCM) and Subject officers (SO)

30) This council used to be called the National Setswana Language Council, What made it to be changed to National Language Council? (LCM)

31) What is the role of the National Language Council? (LCM)

32) So far what are some of its contributions towards the development of the languages spoken in this country? (LCM)

33) How do you rate both Setswana and English in our education system? (LC/SO)

34) How do you think the teaching and learning of Setswana and hence of the Batswana culture could be encouraged in this country? (LC/SO)

35) As the subject officer how do you encourage the learning of Setswana and English at primary education? (SO)

36a) Are there any in-services provided to the teachers especially regarding the to be implemented 1994 language in education policy? (SO)

36b) How are these carried out in the schools? (SO)

37) How do you ensure that the schools receive the proper learning and teachers' guiding materials in time? (SO)

38a) How has the general performance of the learners been at PSLE especially on the two languages? (SO)

38b) What do you think could be contributing to such performances? (SO)

38c) What measures do you think could be taken to improve the situation? (SO)

39) What is your view concerning the advocated language in education policy by the 1994 RNPE? (LC/SO)

40a) Do you think the arguments given by the 1993 Commission on Education for advocating for this policy valid? (LC/SO)

40b) What are you views regarding those arguments? (LC/SO)

41a) Do you have any plans of developing the minority languages and the needs of the ethnic groups in this country (or in the school curriculum)? (LC/SO)

41b) What are those plans (if there are any)? (LC/SO)

42) What are your views concerning the type of bilingual education in this country? (LC/SO)

43) Do you think it is productive enough in equipping the learners with the required communicative skills in language learning and hence efficiency in education? (LC/SO)

44) What would you like to see happening in language in education in Botswana? (LC/SO)

f. Profile and Teaching /working experience

Could you please tell me about yourself? Your name, if you don't mind; your age, home village, home language, teaching/working experience, and position held as well as qualifications?

1. What do you like most about your profession/ what don't you like?

Thank you very much Mr/Ms..... I really appreciate your valuable time that you sacrificed to assist me with my research. I hope this is really going to benefit not just myself and you, but our government as well, in carrying out its language in education plans.

Appendix 2

Transcriptions notes from tape recorded interviews

(Most of the interviews translated from Setswana into English)
Abbreviations used: **Int.** = Interviewer **Resp.** = Response from the interviewee

School A (Lesedi Primary School)

Date of interviews 06-08/06/00

Interview 1

Teacher X

Standard 2

Sex: Female

Int. Can we get started?

Resp. *Ee mma* (Yes we can)

Int. Which language can we use in our interviewing?

Resp. Any, English or Setswana.

Int. In primary you teach all the subjects, am I correct?

Resp. Yes

Int. How do you cope with the load?

Resp. I just cope! I have been doing this for yes and it goes on well.

Int. Are all the subjects allocated the same time in the school timetable?

Resp. No. Maths takes 1hour 30minutes, English oral 30 minutes, English written language 30minutes, Setswana 1hour (She elaborated but did not specify whether she meant on daily basis and I had to look at her timetable and found out that the three, English, Setswana and mathematics are taught on daily basis. Mathemahtics 1hour twice and 30 minutes thrice a week, English oral 30 minutes, English written 30 minutes and Setswana 30 minutes per period each day)

Int. Why do think some subjects are allocated more time than others?

Resp. Because some like maths are too demanding to explain and English to

them at standard two is a new subject and that's why it is divided into two.

Int. How many periods each week per subject?

Resp. Is... how many periods or subjects?

Int. Okay, subjects?

Resp. Seven.

Int. Do you manage to cover all subjects planned for the day?

Resp. No! mmm sometimes I manage to cover only 3 subjects.

Int. So which subjects do you really try to cover?

Resp. Each day... Setswana, Maths and English.

Int. Why those three?

Resp. (a laugh) Because they are... I don't know what to say. They are the most important subjects.

Int. How do you cope with the teaching of English and Setswana at standard 2?

Resp. At standard 2? a bit difficult, because at standard one they only do English oral, we start to do written English at standard two. So it is difficult for them to cope. Even in Setswana they have problems with spelling.

Int. Which of the two languages do you think is the best to use as a medium of learning at this stage?

Resp. Is Setswana.

Int. Why do you think so?

Resp. Because they speak Setswana most of the time.

Int. How do you encourage them to write and speak English?

Resp. I usually write some English words on the board and they read them. After reading them I cover them and tell the pupils to spell them. I call out the words first for them and they spell them.

Int. Are there any instances, lets' say when you teach in English, of using Setswana.

Resp. Yes when I find that they don't understand the words in English, I translate to Setswana.

Int. In which of the two languages can they best read and write in?

Resp. In Setswana.

Int. How do you try to help them, especially those showing to be slow learners?

Resp. In all languages?

Int. Yes.

Resp. I try to help them when they come back for studies (in the afternoon-prep), by making some.. eh what is it called, remedial work (something missed here from the tape).

Int. In which of the two languages do they perform better?

Resp. Well, some of them do manage to cope in both languages.

Int. Do you have any problems in the teaching of the two languages?

Resp. I don't have any problems because I have been a standard one teacher for eight years in Break Through.

Int. Do you have enough teaching materials for all subjects?

Resp. No we don't have enough teaching materials. The pupils' books we do not have, especially for Setswana and English.

Int. What does the school do with such shortages?

Resp. You find that they will say they have ordered the books, but they are not yet in.

Int. Now what do you know about this new language in education policy where instruction in English is to start at standard two?

Resp. The language...

Int. Yes the new language in education policy.

Resp. No I don't know anything about it.

Int. Now which method of teaching do you normally encourage in classroom?

Resp. (Response not clear because of the noise coming from outside)

Int. Which of the two languages do you encourage the pupils to speak in class?

Resp. I encourage them to speak English.

Int. Why?

Resp. Because as they go on with their education they are expected to use English in all subjects, except for Setswana.

Profile

Int. If you don't mind can you tell me about your teaching experience and qualifications?

Resp. I have been teaching since 1982, 18years. I have a Diploma in Primary Teaching, from Serowe College of Education.

I am teacher grade two.

Int. *Ee mma ke itumetse fela thata, le ka moso!* (I thank very much madam, and Tomorrow).

Teacher M

Standard 4 teacher

Sex: Female

Date interviewed 05-06-00 at 11:00 a.m.

Int. This is standard 4

Resp. Yes.

Int. In standard 4 which language do you use as the language of instruction?

Resp. English.

Int. Do you teach all the subjects?

Resp. Yes.

Int. Are all the subjects allocated the same amount of time in your class timetable?

Resp. No.

Int. How are they allocated the time?

Resp. We have 30 minutes allocated each period of English and then .., can I Show you the timetable?

Int. Yes please. (The timetable was produced).

That is how it looks like:

- English oral everyday 7:30 to 8:00 a.m.
- Setswana everyday 30minutes each period, 1 hour on Thursday
- English written 30minutes every day

- Mathematics I hour Mondays, Tuesdays and Fridays and 1hour 30 minutes on Thursday
- Religious education 30minutes each period twice a week
- Art 30minutes each period twice a week
- Agriculture 1 hour, Tuesdays and Wednesday 1 hour each
- Home economics twice a week, 1 hour each period.

Int. Why do you have English everyday with more periods than other subjects? I mean why so much emphasis on English?

Resp. I think it is because we do all subjects in English. Here unlike in other schools we start teaching in English at standard 3 not at standard 5. We are encouraged to give more time to English.

Int. During the day do you manage to cover all the subjects?

Resp. It is not possible. They are slow. Especially when they are writing.

Int. Which subjects do you try to cover?

Resp. English, Maths and Setswana.

Int. Why?

Resp. Like I have said we are encouraged to give English more time because it is the language we teach in, and Setswana is difficult to them.

Int. Do you have any problems in the teaching of either English or Setswana?

Resp. We have problems because we don't have references; we only have the syllabus, and no references. Like our English syllabus is so difficult, from standard 1 to 4 is the same thing.

Int. You don't have enough guidance?

Resp. Nothing. We were told that these texts books are just supplementary books we don't have to rely too much on them. That means we just have to look here and there and make our own work.

Int. Through which of the two languages when you use for teaching do the pupils best understand you better?

Resp. I think in both languages. We don't have any problems, is just that we have some foreigners who don't understand Setswana. Standard 4 tests are

written in Setswana, Social studies is written in Setswana, Science is written in Setswana, and Agriculture, so we have a problem.

Int. So otherwise you don't have any problems in teaching in both languages?

Resp. I don't have any problems.

Int. Are there any instances, say during the teaching of English or teaching through English that you can use Setswana.

Resp. Yes. Like when I teach nouns. I try to teach in Setswana so that when I teach in English I can refer back to their Setswana lesson.

Int. Do you know anything about the new language in education policy whereby instruction in English should start at standard 2.

Resp. No.

Int. Hasn't that been introduced here in this school?

Resp. No.

Int. In the classroom which method of teaching do you encourage?

Resp. Learner centered method. I do the teaching, then I give them the work to do on their own after introducing the lesson.

Int. How is the general performance of the pupils in your class?

Resp. Most of them do not know Setswana. Like for example things that happen at the village, cattle post or the lands. You really have to teach them all these things.

Int. But most of them what is their firs language?

Resp. Is Setswana. Except for the foreigners.

Int. Which of the two languages are they encouraged to speak in school?

Resp. English. But we are also told to promote their culture, how can we promote their culture when we speak English? So I encourage at least both.

(A bit of laugh form both the interviewee and the interviewer)

The Teacher's Profile

Int. Can you please tell me about your teaching professional and experiences if you don't mind.

Resp. I taught standard 3 for five years.

1991 I went to Tlokweng College of Education

1992 I came here and I have been a teacher here ever since.

I was trained for the upper classes, but when I came here I was told to teach standard one and I had no idea of teaching Standard one. Then I went for Break Through course. 1997 I taught standard three.1998-99 standard four.

Int. What is you home language?

Resp. Setswana, I come from Mochudi.

Int. Thank you very much I am really pleased for your assistance.

Teacher Y (also deputy head teacher)

Standard 2

Sex: Female

Int. Mrs Y who makes the school timetable?

Resp. We have a school committee which prepares it. We have school time table for each class, it depends on which classes.

Int. How are the subjects allocated times in the school timetable?

Resp. Subjects?

Int. Yes, do they have the same time slots?

Resp. No! no we don't have the same time. In fact standard one and two their time is flexible. They don't have what is called 30 minutes or 45 minutes. The longer times are for mathematics and English. But since the time is so flexible we at times make English periods to be longer than maths because it is an introduction to them. At times we do switch English with Setswana and make Setswana longer.

Int. Why a longer time on some subjects?

Resp. At times it is the pupils been too slow and you extend that to 45 minutes.

Int. How do you cope with the teaching of both Setswana and English?

Resp. Problems are there, is only that problems are made by us. Lets me say if you had a class of your own it would be much better because you would allocate them time according to their ability. But teaching a very big

group is difficult you can't make it easy.

Int. In which of the two languages do your children best understand you?

Resp. I wouldn't say yes, such language like Setswana one would say children understand more freely and adequately. Now I sort of think, maybe because of times we are in, children would tend to understand more English easier than the other one. Why children are catching the English language easier is because our children play with foreign children, this make them speak English much better.

Int. How do you try to involve them in the lessons?

Resp. One would involve them, like in this class children who are able will move around like the teacher assisting the others.

Int. During teaching, lets say in teaching through English are there any instances of using Setswana?

Resp. You, you, infect saw what I did by using Setswana in an English language lesson, what I did. Some of them they are sort of not understand, and not to sort of ignore them, that's when one would put in a question in Setswana or a Setswana sentence so that they could answer. Or where maybe you feel that they don't understand what you are asking, you feel no let me put in a Setswana word so that they understand my, my question.

Int. In which of the two languages can they best read or write in?

Resp. In Setswana.

Int. What are you views concerning the new language in education policy for primary school?

Resp. Language policy is not yet implemented. But they feel they really want to to do it. But they have a problem. At times they had tried to choose one school for the pilot project but it stuck somewhere on their side, on the people implementing the policy. Now we don't know what is what. We, from the Setswana too have a problem; the pupils need to be taught in Setswana because we take it to be their foundation.

Int. Now what about the teaching materials, do you have enough of them here?

Resp. No we don't have... in fact it is the problem with the council. You order

materials and they take a long time to deliver them, up to now the materials are not yet available. We are just relying on very old materials. We do try to get some supplementary materials to keep in the library for pupils to read, but generally the books are a problem.

Int. About the standard seven results, for the past three years how has the school been performing, especially in the languages?

Resp. They have been performing very well. But as for Setswana it is a problem. These kids they don't study, you give them some piece of work to do at home they don't. But as for English they have been performing very well and with the rest of the subjects since they are written in English they have been doing well.

Int. What is the main language of the learners in your school?

Resp. Most of them are Setswana speakers except for the foreigners. Most of them their language is Setswana.

Int. As the school head what measures do you take to encourage the learning of both languages of instruction here in your school?

Resp. In fact the encouragement here we sort of encourage the children to speak English, so as to try to make them more fluent in the language and have knowledge of the language, so that if questions are asked they should be prepared to answer them.

Teahcer,s Profile

The teacher started teaching in 1961

Qualifications: Primary Teachers' Certificate.

Deputy head teacher.

She is about to retire before the end of this year.

Teacher N

Standard five

Teaches Setswana only

Sex: Male

Int. Yes sir, can we get started?

Resp. *Ee mma* (yes madam)

Int. How many Setswana periods do you have per week?

Resp. At times we have doubles at times single but five in a week.

Int. Do you think the time is quite enough for the subject?

Resp. Yaa, well it is okay.. at first it used to be not enough but this days is a bit better.

Int. How is the pupils performance just generally, reading, writing etc?

Resp. Well reading they can read. Oral lessons they are okay. Their main problem is writing? When it comes to writing they really struggle for perfection.

Int. What methods of teaching do you encourage in your teaching?

Resp. I ask them questions to get to know how much they understand.

Int. Apart from using the question and answer method in classroom what other methods of teaching do you encourage?

Resp. Apart from asking them questions?

Int. Yes.

Resp. You can involve pupils in many ways, like in teaching punctuation marks they can write them down and then divide them into groups then they can present their work.

Int. Do you have problems in the teaching of Setswana?

Resp. No.

Int. You don't have any? What about the teaching materials, do you have enough and maybe some supplementary materials?

Resp. not that. The pupils that the pupils use are very old, and they don't meet the Standard of the new syllabus. They don't meet some of its objectives.

Int. But the pupils do have some pupils' books?

Resp. Yes *tsone di teng* (they are there), but as I am saying they are not up to the standard, they do not satisfy me, me alone.

Int. (a bit of laugh) You alone!

Resp. If you take a book like Morongwa wa *bobedi*, it does not even have some proverbs or any figures of speech. The very thing that we are supposed to teach when we talk about the Setswana culture. Most of the time I rely on *Thutapuo ya Setswana* as a refrence.

Int. What about the language policy in the school what language is been encouraged?

Resp. To tell you the truth we do have pupils from different backgrounds in that way we do encourage them to speak English.

Int. Why so much emphasis when the majority of them are Setswana language speakers?

Resp. *Sekgoa* (English) That's their second language, we encourage them to speak it. Secondly all subjects are examined in English, they are expected to write their examinations in English. Again if the pupil continue without a good understanding of English s/he might have some problems.

Int. Lastly what would you like to see in our education system concerning language use?

Resp. Language ..if you can have a look at the objectives that we have to follow and the type of materials that we should use, they don't go together. (He did really get to my question)

Teacher's Profile

4 years of teaching

Diploma in Primary Education, Tlokweng College of Education

Home language: Setswana.

Teacher O

Standard 4

Sex: Female

Int. Do you teach them all subjects?

Resp. Yes, I do.

Int. How is their performance in all of them?

Resp. They don't know Setswana. Some even if I speak they can just laugh not knowing what I am talking about.

Int. What about their performance in English?

Resp. No in English they are quite okay, and there are those who feel like not doing Setswana at all.

Int. How about their performance in other subjects, how is it?

Resp. I think it is also okay though I am not that sure.

Int. So in the classroom which language do you encourage them to speak?

Resp. Setswana, even myself I am not good in the subject, especially in a Setswana lessons I really want them to speak Setswana.

Int. What about if it is the other subjects, which language do you encourage?

Resp. They really do well in other subjects, as for language it just depends on the content.

Int. So in school in general which language are the pupils encouraged to speak?

Resp. In fact when I first arrived in this school the pupils here were really speaking English, but their use of English is really declining.

Int. Do you have enough teaching materials?

Resp. We don't have. We are really struggling. We don't have any teachers' guide. Like today I just had to rely on my own knowledge. I don't have books to rely on.

Int. What about the pupils' textbooks do you have enough of them?

Resp. Same thing, they too don't have any books.

Int. Mme bone bana wa re ba siame fela mo dithutong tsotlhe, (but you are saying the learners are just okay in all the subjects)?

Resp. *Ee bone ba a kgotatsa* (yes they are really encouraging).

Int. They do not have any problems with English, speaking, writing and reading?

Resp. No, *ga ba na mathata. Le gompieno fela jaana fa nka go biletsa mongwe wa bone o ka go balela sentle, ba a kgothatsa tota* (they do not have any problems, even right now I can just call one of them and will read so fluently to you. They are really encouraging).

(This interview was short, I could tell that the teacher was taking some short cuts and was somehow unsettled so I just cut it short).

Teacher's profile

Diploma in Primary Education

Tlokweng College of Education

Six years of teaching experience

Home language: Tswana- Tlokwa.

School B (Tshwaragano Primary School)

Date of interviews 12-15/06/00

Teacher A

Standard 2 teacher

Int. You teach all the subjects, am I right?

Resp. Yes I do.

Int. Your school time table who makes it for you?

Resp. We make it ourselves. *Barutabana ba maone le two re a e itirela* (as standard one and two teachers we each draws one for ourselves).

Int. Do you allocate the same time to all the subjects?

Resp. No they do differ?

Int. Which subjects do you allocate more time?

Resp. *Dipalo, Sekgoa le Setswna.* (Mathematics, English and Setswana).

Int. *Ka go reng* (Why)?

Resp. Well (abit of laugh), *di botlhokwa, gape dipalo le sekgoa di disa mo go bone.* (they are important and as the beginners Mathematics and English are difficult on them.

Int. How many periods do you allocate Setswana and English?

Resp. Setswana we have 10 periods per week and English 5. Like I said we make our own time tables.

Int. What about other subjects, how much time do you allocate them?

Resp. *Le tsone* they do differ. Social studies and science 2 periods of 1 hour each per week and and Mathematics 5 periods in a week. I do teach all these subjects in Setswana so that is why I give more time to Setswana.

Int. *Bone bana* (pupils) how is their general performance?

Resp. *Bone ba a leka mathata fela ke gore ba tswa mo malwapeng a ba senang tlhokomelo ee rileng.* (they do try, the problem is they come from families where they do not have proper encouragement to learn). Otherwise they do try.

Int. *Ba kgona go bala le go kwala le sone sekgoa tota?* (can they read and write well even in English)

Resp. *Sekgoa ke mathata. Ga ba se kgone. But ba taatla fa re ntse re ba rotloeta go se bua.* (English is a problem to them, but with encouragement they will catch up.

Int. *Dibuka tsone di teng go ba rotloetsa go di bala?* (do you have enough books to encourage them to read)

Resp. *Ee mma di teng le fa di le dikgologolo.* (yes we do have them even if they are old). We try to keep them for them in school, *go direla gone gore ba se di latlhe kana ba di kgagole.* (so that they do not loose or tear them).

Int. *Jaanong wa reng fela ka moono o mosa wa go ba rutuntsh ka sekgoa go tswa go standard 2 jaaka morutabana wa standard 2?* (Now what can you say about the new language in education policy where you have to start instruction in English at standart 2)?

Resp. *Ga keitse. Gongwe go ka ba rotloetsa go bua sekgoa.* (I do not know.

Maybe it might encourage them to speak English). Really we are going to have a problem, because they cannot even read and write in Setswana. But it is a government policy and we will have to follow it.

Int. Are there instances when you teach, lets say Setswana you do use English, or in English lesson use Setswana.

Resp. Yes.

Int. Why would you do that?

Resp. I do especially in English lessons, forced by the content being too difficult for them. Like I say they are not that good in the language.

Int. How do you encourage them in class activities?

Resp. I do encourage group work and presentations. They also demonstrate with teaching aids, like what you saw in the maths lesson.

Teacher's profile

Taught for 22 years.

Qualifications: Primary Teachers' Certificate.

Home language: Ikalanga.

Teacher B

Standard 5 teacher

Sex: F

Int. In primary school you teach all subjects or I am wrong?

Resp. Yes.

Int. Who makes the school timetable?

Resp. We make it ourselves, coping from the master timetable.

Int. Do you allocate the same time to all subjects on the timetable?

Resp. No. Subjects do differ. You will find that per week some have 4 hours, others 5 hours, and so on. Languages have their own time.

Int. Per week English and Setswana have how many periods?

Resp. English I have nine periods and Setswana ten.

Int. How do you cope with the teaching of Setswana and English or teaching? either of the medium?

Resp. Well I wouldn't have any problem had I have the books to use. The other problem is the pupils; they don't have a proper background. Like in reading had they a proper foundation it could be better.

Int. How is their performance in both languages?

Resp. They are average. There are some who are really good, but generally they are average.

Int. Trough which media do the pupils best understand you when teaching?

Resp. Who, me?

Int. The learners.

Resp. Setswana.

Int. What about you, which media do you feel confident teaching in?

Resp. The pupils best understand when I use Setswana, so even myself I feel more confident when I use Setswana, because I could really see that they do understand me.

Int. How do you encourage and try to involve the learners in classroom activities?

Resp. Sometimes they, lets say it is reading or composition writing. We had taught them how to construct a Setswana hut, so that they might understand what we mean by the foundation, roofing and so on. We do try by all means to show them what we are talking about.

Int. Are there any instances in your teaching where you would use both languages when the instruction is in English or Setswana?

Resp. Yes.

Int. Why?

Resp. Sometimes is just a must. They are not very good in English. At times is just that the content will be difficult for them to understand, in such cases forcing you to use a bit of Setswana.

Int. Do you have enough teaching materials?

Resp. No. At times you don't have even a chalk, red pen or manila. I am new in this school, so what I can tell you is that I brought my own scheme book form the school I was teaching at or else we have a lot of shortages in this school.

Int. What action does the school administration take in such situations?

Resp. They just say we don't have them, we have long placed an order. But they never take any serious action.

Int. Apart from lack of materials do you have any other problems in your teaching?

Resp. The other problem is the pupils themselves. They come late to school. Many of them do not have proper care at home, even to eat properly. They really need a lot of counseling.

Int. How and when do you encourage the pupils to speak English?

Resp. I do encourage them to speak English when they are with their peers. Before I start the lesson I do encourage them to tell short stories of what they might have seen or read from the magazines/news papers. In this way they become more familiar with speaking the language.

Int. In the school generally which language is encouraged?

Resp. They are encouraged to speak English.

Teachers' Profile

Taught for 13 years

Qualifications: Primary Teachers Certificate (PTC)

Home language Setswana.

Teacher C

(This teacher was not tape recorded because she was not feling well. So I took some notes taken as she was been interviewed)

Standard 4 teacher

Sex: F

Int. Who makes your school timetable?

Resp. We have a master timetable where we all copy from it and slot our own subjects.

Int. Are all subjects allocated the same amount of time?

Resp. No, some have more the others less depending on which subject.

Int. Which subjects are allocated more time?

Resp. It is usually Mathematics and English, well sometimes Setswana.

Int. Why those?

Resp. Well, I don't know, maybe because they are important and pupils have to know them in order to pass.

Int. Do you have any problems in the teaching of either Setswana or English?

Resp. Teaching Setswana or English, no problems.

Int. Through which language when you use as a language of instruction do Pupils best understand you?

Resp. Setswana.

Int. What about you, which medium are you comfortable with?

Resp. English, but I do use Setswana for clarifications and for emphasis.

Int. In you following the communicative approach syllabus how do you encourage the learners in the learning activities in your lessons?

Resp. They read, write and sometimes do presantations.

School C (Tsabong Primary School)

Teacher F

Standard 2 Teacher

Sex: F

Date of interview 20-27-6-00

Int. In primary school you teach all subjects am I correct?

Resp. Yes, I teach all the subjects.

Int. Who makes the school timetable?

Resp. There is master timetable and from it we, each class teacher draws his/her own.

Int. Are all the subjects allocated the same time on the timetable?

Resp. No they differ in time allocation. Most time is allocated English and Mathematics, followed by Setswana.

Int. Why do you think some subjects are allocated more time than others?

Resp. English because pupils are meeting it for the first time in the school. Setswana is better because even if some are meeting it for the first time it is their second language and they do speak the language with the other pupils in the school areas. I think mathematics need more time because it is a difficult subject.

Int. Do all your pupils speak Setswana as their first or second language?

Resp. Yes, I have one foreigner in my class, but since she plays with them she learns the language from her colleagues.

Int. Do you manage to cover all the subjects planned for during the day?

Resp. No, especially when the lesson is conducted outside. The chalkboard outside is too small and the pupils are using their laps for writing. Even if I am supposed to cover up five subjects at times I cover only three. They are very slow.

Int. Which subjects do you try to cover up?

Resp. English, Setswana and Mathematics.

Int. Why these three?

Resp. Well, as I said because they are too demanding and difficult for pupils.

Int. What is the total number of periods allocated each subject?

Resp. We have each language everyday, then religious education, physical education mathematics and science alternatively.

Int. How are pupils' performances in both languages?

Resp. They are just okay. They have difficulties just like any other pupil elsewhere. I encourage them to speak English even if they don't pronounce

some words properly. I just tell them to speak it, in that way hoping they will become perfect.

Int. Do you have enough teaching materials for both English and Setswana?

Resp. No. As you can see that I had to go and borrow the books form another class. We do share the books. There are no teaching materials. At times I just have to improvise. At times the lesson fails because the other teacher will be using the books. The problem lies with the supplier, the district council, we are always told that they have been notified and why the materials are not arriving is another story.

Int. What measures are taken to encourage the use of the two languages in the school?

Resp. They do try, but we do have a language problem in the school. Some pupils are Afrikaners, some Khoe, they even meet Setswana in the classroom for the first time. Some even in my classroom they can't communicate effectively even in Setswana and most of them they look so quiet.

Int. As a standard 2 teacher are you aware of the language in education policy whereby instruction through English should start at standard 2?

Resp. Yes.

Int. What are your views regarding the policy?

Resp. I like it very much. But as I said I know the policy will come, teachers will be told there is a policy without any guidance or materials to use. In that case what are we going to do?

Int. Thank you Miss F it seems like is break time and the noise is really going to disturb us, *le ka moso* (and tomorrow).

Teacher' Profile

New in the field. It's her first year of teaching, started this year January (2000).

Qualifications: Diploma in Primary Education, Lobatse College of Education.

Home language: Setswana.

Teacher H

Standard 5

Sex: F

(Teacher's voice too low some words missed, was not that comfortable with the recording).

Int. In this standard you teach all subjects or I am wrong?

Resp. Yes I do.

Int. You do have a timetable that your follow everyday?

Resp. Yes.

Int. Who makes the timetable?

Resp. We do have a master timetable that we do follow and form that each teacher slots his/her subjects.

Int. Are all the subjects allocated the same amount of time on the timetable?

Resp. No, some have more time than the others.

Int. Which subjects do you think needs more time?

Resp. I think languages need more time and then practical subjects like agriculture and science.

Int. Why mainly the languages?

Resp. Because languages you have to teach the pupils a lot of things like listening, speaking, and writing, sometimes reading.

Int. How many periods do you have for English and Setswana per week?

Resp. How many periods?

Int. Yes.

Resp. English and Setswana we teach them daily, sometimes for 1 hour at times for 30 minutes.

Int. How do you cope with the teaching of both Setswana and English or teaching through either of the media?

Resp. It is difficult especially that they don't speak the languages most of the time but I do try to help them.

Int. Do you teach all the other subjects in English except Setswana?

Resp. Yes.

Int. How is their performance in other subjects?

Resp. Students normally, I don't know, because they react differently. But when you teach in English at times you are even forced to put in Setswana. So you have to train them before they can really respond in English.

Int. So through which language of instruction do they understand better?

Resp. They understand better when I use Setswana.

Int. And how do you try to involve them in the learning activities?

Resp. When I use English?

Int. Yes when you teach any subject through the medium of English?

Resp. I.... Just involve them. Sometimes I just involve them in speaking or just making a play, or in writing, if they could make three sentences a day. This make them better in English.

Int. You said sometimes you are forced to use Setswana when teaching English, What really forces you do that?

Resp. Sometimes is just that, maybe you think that what you are saying is not understood correctly. Sometimes you don't get any response, then you say let me just try in Setswana.

Int. So how is their performance in other subjects like science, social studies and the others?

Resp. They are performing very lowly because.... as I say sometimes it is the questions, sometimes it is the English. So some of them would not understand the question, or know what it demands.

Int. And what do you do to help them?

Resp. Sometimes I do use the other languages, (this teacher is Afrikaner and it is easier for her to assist the Afrikaner speakers in her class) or you can help them by reading the instructions for them.

Int. Do you have enough teaching materials in school?

Resp. We don't have enough teaching materials. Sometimes you find that we only have few books for both English and Setswana, which you should share.

Int. Which method of teaching do you encourage in class?

Resp. Eh... I encourage pupils' involvement in the lessons.

Int. How, in group work or just how?

Resp. Maybe in class discussion or (something missed here)

Int. What about the language policy here in school, which language do you encourage the pupils to speak?

Resp. Mostly they speak Setswana. Well we do encourage them to speak English, especially when they are in the classroom. Or maybe when they are outside that is when they can speak Setswana, but their performance in speaking English is low.

Int. What is their main home language?

Resp. They speak different languages, but mostly Setlharo (one of the Tswana Dilects) some Afrikaans, some Sekgothu (Khoe), they speak different languages.

Int. Can you tell me something about your teaching experience if you do not Mind?

Resp. Teahcing is a life job. But as I say not all teachers are good in all the subject. Sometimes you are not good in one subject but you are just forced to teach it.

Teacher's profile

Taught for seven years.

Qualifications: Junior Certificate plus Primary Teacher's Certificate, from Lobatse Teachers Training College (now College of Education Primary). Still hopes to go for a Diploma.

The Head Teacher School C

Date of interview 22-06-00

Int. In your school you do have a school timetable that is followed everyday, am I correct?

Resp. Yes.

Int. Who makes the school timetable?

Resp. The school management team. In the absence of the school management team it is made by the school timetable committee.

Int. Are all the subjects allocated the same amount of time in the school timetable?

Resp. No subjects like maths takes 40 minutes, subjects like music takes 30 minutes.

Int. Why are some subjects allocated more time?

Resp. It is because some subjects are demanding. Subjects like maths you find that you have to cover many units. While subjects like music and all those are less demanding.

Int. Which subjects do think needs more time?

Resp. Well in our case we allocate more time to maths.

Int. What about other subjects like the languages, Setswana and English?

Resp. Setswana and English, well, they have more time than others. They have 30 minutes. You find that they have 8 periods per week.

Int. Do you have enough teaching materials in your school?

Resp. No we don't.

Int. What do you do in times of shortages?

Resp. We do talk to the council. It is just that the local supplier, sometimes they do not supply the books in time.

Int. How effective are the prescribed books?

Resp. Well what I can say is that they are quiet effective. There are shortages here and there.

Int. What about supplementary materials , do you have enough?

Resp. Not enough. We do have some, but I am afraid they are not enough.

Int. How has the pupils' performance at standard seven be like in your school for the last three years?

Resp. Well for the four years that I have been here they have been improving. 1997 it was 61%, 98 was 61%, 99 we got 65%.Which means we are improving.

Int. How have they been performing in English and Setswana?

Resp. Well, there is... parents were rather reluctant to come to the meetings, but we encouraged them to join hand with us; and that has really helped.

Int. How have they been performing in Setswana and English?

Resp. Well English is rather a problem, they tend to speak their mother tongues a lot, but they are trying.

Int. What is their main language here?

Resp. Mostly they do speak Setlharo, (one Setswana dialect).

Int. As the school head what language do you encourage in the school, especially in the learning of English?

Resp. Well in the learning of English we have this method of doing, in fact we encourage teaching aids, because children learn more by doing than by just listening. We also encourage them to read on their own, that is what we call child centered method. As well as visiting the library and so on.

Int. About this new language in education policy where the instruction in English is to start at standard 2, what are you saying about it, especially here?

Resp. Especially here, well I do welcome the idea, because, you know when kids are exposed to learning at an earlier age then I think when they reach mature age they will be ready.

Int. What would you like to see happening in language in education policy in Botswana?

Resp. Well language policy, I would like some of our libraries, the local one, we do have a library here but it is not up to date with books. I think if it can be supplied with books that cover all ages, yaa.

Int. In the school you do not have a school library?

Resp. We do have one. There are some... sometimes they provide us with a big box.

Int. Thank you mogokgo (head teacher).

Head Teacher's Profile

Int. Well if you don't mind can you tell me about yourself. For how long have you been teaching?

Resp. Well I have been teaching for twenty-seven years.

Int. What about the position of responsibility, for how long have you been the head of the school?

Resp. I have been a deputy head teacher for five years, and nine months as acting head teacher.

Int. What about your qualifications?

Resp. I have Primary Low Certificate. That's it.

Int. *Ke itumetsa thata Rre.... Le ka moso* (thank you very much Mr...and tomorrow).

The Language Council Member (Executive secretary to the Setswana National language Council)

Date of interview 05-07-00

(The interview is in Setswana. The interviewee refused to be interviewed in English, not that he does not know English, but he said in the council since their aim is to promote the Setswana language therefore they use Setswana in all their discussions)

Int. Lekgotlana le go ya ka ditumalano tsa thuto tsa 1994 (Revised National Policy Education) e ne e tshwanelwa ke go bitswa lekotla la dipuo ka kakaretso mo Botswana. Go lebega go ise go nne jola, matsapa e ka ne e le eng?

Resp. Nkare ke gore go ne ga nna le phoso mo go ba ba neng be tshwere tiro ya go rulaganyetsa thuto ya Botswana gore e tla nna e e ntseng jang. Ba ne ba seka tota ba tla kwa go rona ba re botsa gore khansele ya rona e dira eng? Jaanong e rile bone ba tsena koo fela ba bo ba ikgopolela gore Khansele e e tshwanelwa ke gore e fetolwe e nne National Language Council. Go ne ga nna le komiti e e neng ya tshwanelwa ke gore e e fetole. Rona re ne ra ba tlhalosetsa gore ga go kake ga nna jalo, ga re kake ra fetola khansele ya rona ya Setswana.

Ga bo go dumalanwa gore dikhansele di eme di ntse jalo, ra tswelela ka ya rona, Bakalaka le bone ba tswalela ka ya bone. Dipuo tse dingwe le tsone ga di kganelwe go dira tsa tsone. Jaanong e e tla a bong e dirwa e e bo e nna mmaatsone, e id okame tsotlhe. Jaanong ka e go ne ga nna le diphuthego tse di ntsi, komiti e ne ya tlhopiwa. Komiti e e ne ya leka ka bojotlhe gore khansele e e nne teng. E ne ya kwala lokwalo lo lo neng lwa tshwanelwa ke go isiwa kwa go tona ya thuto. Tona ya thuto ene a bo a le tsaya a le isa kwa palamenteng. Jaanong e sale go eme jalo. Ke ne ke ntse ke botabota kwa go modulasetilo wa lekgotla le ke mmotsa gore go eme fa kae. Jaanong rre yo o setse a dule le mo tirong ya ga goromente. Jaanong go didimetse ka yone, ga ke itse le gore go tsamaya fa kae.

Int. Tota yone Khansele e ya Setswana tiro ya yone ke eng?

Resp. Ya rona tota ya Setswana; re lebile dilo di le dintsi. Sa ntlha re lebile dikole, go bona gore a di ruta Setswana ka fa tswhanelong, a mokwalo o di o dirang a ke one. Ebile ka mokwalo re setse re tsene mo tirong ya one. Re na le bukana ya one, e e setseng e gatisitswe. Re e thusantse le ba Unibesithi ya Botswana gore e gatisiwe re bo re ka e neela Batswana gore re batla Setswana sa rona se kwalwa jang. Jaanong fa re tswa mo mokwalong o se sengwe se re batlang go se dira ke go leka go rotloetsa batho go gore ba rate setswana, ba rate ngwao ya bone, ba seka ba se tlhabelwa ke ditlhong.

Jaanong re setse re lemogile gore Batswana ba nyenya segabone, mme e le gore re itse gore ba dirwa ke eng. Ke gore e rile mo tshimologong ya thuto ya rona, makgoa ke bone ba dira gore re ipeye kwa tlase, e bone segabone e le sone konokono mo botshelong. Jaanong yo o neng tshoma o ne a le morutegi tota, fa o bua sekgoa o ne o tsewa gore ga o rutega. Jaanong re batla gore Batswana ba lemoge gore puo e tshwere se o leng sone. Fa o theolela puo ya gago kwa tlase o le motho le wena o itheolela kwa ntle, ga o ithate.

Jaanong go tsweng foo yone Khansele e ya rona e, e rotloetsa puo ya

rona gore e gole ka go e senkela mafoko a e senang noa. A ke re jaaanong re tshela le merafe e mengwe, fa ba tla ka dilo dingwe tse rona re neng re sena natso pele, jaaanong re di senkela maina. Jaanong fa re na le leina la Setswana le le ka se keng la tlhakatlhakanyetsa batho re a le tsenya. Fa le seyo re tsaya la puo eo, e lefoko leo le le mo go yone re le dire la Setswana. Mme thata thata re batla gore Batswana ba rate puo ya bone, ka re a lemoga gore tota e tlhakatlhakanye, e tlhakatlhakanye le dipuo tse dingwe.

Int. Lona lo le ba lekgotla le la Setswana polisi e ya gore bana ba simolodisiwe go rutwa ka puo ya Sekgoa lo e tsaya e ntse jang?

Resp. Tota re le ba Khansele e ka re batho ba e bua fela kwa le kwa, ga re ise re lebagane nayo. Ga ke itse gore letsatsi le re tla kopanang re le Khansele re tla e bua jang.

Int. A go raya gore Khansele e e itebagantse le Setswana fela ga e a lebelela dipuo tse dingwe?

Resp. Ee.

Int. Yone mme thuto ya Setswana mo dikolong e tsamaya jang?

Resp. E kare malatsi a na e a tokafala. Bana, re na le bana ba ba setseng ba lemoga gore go molemo gore ba ithute puo ya bone, ba a se kgatlhegela. Re setse re na le ba bontsinyana jo bo setseng bo kgatlhegela go kwala, (Interruption bo kwala Setswana?) bo kwala ka Setswana. Ba kwala dipolelo ba bangwe ba kwala maboko, le metshameko re a e bona mo dikolong e e lebaganyeng le Setswana. Mme le gone mo dikolong ba a re bitsa mme re bone gore ba na le kgatlhego mo Setswaneng. E ka re fa re ka tshwara ka natla re tla tloga re nna le batho fela ba ba ka itseng tiro, ba rutilwe ka segabone go ya go tsena kwa Unibesiting.

Int. Jaanong keletso ya lona tota ke go bona go diragala eng fela ka puo ya Setswana?

Resp. Dilo tse dintsi. Ka na sone se re se eletsang ke gore e nne puo e re e tlotlegang, re e bue, re e dirise mo dilong tsotlhe. Mme jaaka ke bua jaana keletso ya rona o kare e ntse e a tla, le mmuso go a supega gore ke puo ya batho ba Botswana. Jaaka re bona gore le kwa palamenteng e a buiwa ga go

busetse tiro kwa morago. Re ba tla gore batho ba itlotle ka sone, o itse gore o se amule, se o se amuleng kana e nna wena. Go nthuta gore ke rate mmele wa me, mme jaanong loleme la ka ke le kgala, e tla nna jaaka e kare ke setseno.

Int. Ke itumetse rre Ntsabane. Ke ne ke rile gongwe National Council e setse e le teng.

Resp. Ga e ise e nne teng.

Int. Ke a leboga, le ka moso.

Resp. Go itumetse nna, o pase.

The Subject Officer for English, Curriculum and Evaluation Unit

This officer refused to be tape recorded, so I had to take down some notes as she was speaking.

Int. How do you rate both Setswana and English language in our education system?

Resp. The question of one language being important than the other should not be raised. It depends on why they are taught or learned.

Int. As the subject officer how do you encourage the learning of English at primary education?

Resp. At standard one, English is taken as a subject. According to the new language in education policy English will be the medium of instruction as from standard two. (second year at primary, which is grade two in South Africa). This I think will be a god idea of making the learners more competent in the language. Even right now if you could compare the students from Tswana medium with those from the English medium you would find that they as not as competent as the English medium when it comes to speaking the language.

Int. Are they to be compared, looking at the fact that English mediums are not government run schools? Aren't you comparing the incomparable?

Resp. Please do no misinterpret me. I did not mean to be somehow irrational.

Int. Okay. (I did not want to take the matter too far because I could see that the lady was not that comfortable with the interview, I just prayed we could carry on). Are there any in-service training provided to the teachers, especially about this new policy to be implemented?

Resp. When the policy is to be implemented there will be a way of guiding the teachers on how to go about it.

Int. How do you ensure that the schools receive the proper learning and guiding materials in time?

Resp. So far no materials for this policy are yet developed, but that has been given to the task group to look into.

Int. What is your view regarding this new language in education policy?

Resp. The policy is just clear, it is the people who are misinterpreting it. This is in-fact advantageous to the learners who at the end of their education they cannot speak the language fluently. They will probably leave primary with a good command of the language. After-al they are expected to have a good pass in English to proceed in their education. I think at standard 5 it is too late to start instruction in English.

Int. What are your views concerning the type of bilingual education in this country?

Resp. It is more comfortable with the teachers than with the students. They know they could speak Setswana throughout with the learners and less effort put in the learning of English.

Int. What do you want to see happening in the education system of this country (Botswana)?

Resp. Vigorous training of teachers and the attitudes towards languages dealt with.

Appendix 3

Table 2
Interview Analysis

Teacher		Attitudes	Methodology and language	Teaching Materials	Pupils performance
S C H O O L	X	Subjects allocated different times. Mathematics and English have more periods, it takes time to ex plain the two. Tries by all-means to cover M, Eng. And Sets. because they are important subjects.	No problem with the teaching of both languages. Best language to use as a MOI is Setswana. I encourage reading and writing in English. I do CS if Pupils don't understand.	Not enough teaching materials.	Some do perform well in all subjects. They do cope.
	Y	M and Eng. Have more periods English is an introduction for them. Best understand her in English, they Speak English language more often even at home.	Teaching problems do exists. These are mixed ability groups so it is difficult to help the all at the same time. Pupils who are more able I do ask them to move around and assist the less gifted.	Don't have enough enough teaching materials. Problem lies with the supplier, the town council.	Can best read and in Setswana. PSLE results for the past three years have been very good. been very good. Though we do have problems with Setswana.
	M	More time for Eng. and mathematics. English because it examines all PSLE examinations	Both languages as MOI pupils understand better except for a few foreigners who don't understand Sets. I do encourage group Work.	Not enough teaching materials. No reference books this makes teaching difficult.	Pupils do perform well though most of them do not know Setswana.
	N	Teacher N special-ises in Sets. only. Its worthwhile to teach the subject. I do encourage the pupils to speak Eng. Outside the Classroom. It's	Encourages group work and class presentations. Don't have any problems with the teaching of Setswana. Pupils' participation in class discourse is good.	Don't have enough teaching materials. Rely on very old texts. Need materials that will agree with the objectives of the present syllabus	Pupils do perform well, the problem is with writing. Their grammar is poor.

		their L2 and it examines all the subjects.			
	O	Sets. Is difficult to the pupils. Even myself I am not good in the language.	I encourage learning by doing, acting, role play and others. Also ask them to talk about their experiences and we discuss that.	Not enough materials At times have to rely on my own knowledge and experience.	Generally they perform well in all subjects. They problems with Setswana.
S C H	A	Subjects more demanding like Eng. needs more time so that pupils have more time to learn them.	I encourage them to handy work, drawing and constructing. Then they write short essays or sentences about their work. I do CS at times forced by the content being too difficult for the pupils.	Not enough we do struggle.	Average in all subjects.
O O L	B	Subjects like Maths and science needs more time.	I do encourage group-work and presentations. They have problems of communication especially with Eng. The environment, also does contribute to them not keen to learn.	Not enough we are always told they are arriving but nothing happens.	Average, some perform very poorly.
B	C	I encourage them to speak Eng. this is the language examined at PSLE.	Group work and presentations. Understand better in group work. I do CS for emphasis and explanations.	Materials are not enough we just have to improvise at times.	Average.
S	F	Subjects differ in time allocation. More time allocated Maths and English because pupils	I do encourage learning by doing Improvisation, role modeling and individual participation.		

C H		Meeting them for The first time	Generally they do have language Problems, some are Khoi. They can't Communicate fluently in Sets. New policy welcomed provided teachers are in-serviced about its demands.	Not enough teaching materials. We share books between two classes. Problem is with District council.	Not bad in both languages. Some are really good.
O	H	Thinks languages needs more time because you teach pupils a lot of things like reading writing and speaking.	CS in between the lessons to make pupils participate. They understand better when I use Setswana	Not enough teaching materials.	Average. Pupils do differ some may Perform low others high. It depends on their understanding of the question and the language.
O L C	H e a d t e a c h e r	**School Timetable** Is made by the school timetable committee or the school management team. Subjects like maths have more time in the school timetable because demanding.	**Language Policy** Welcomes the new language policy. If kids gets exposed to learning Eng. so early enough would would make it easier for them to learn the language.	Don't have enough teaching materials. Local supplier at times don't bring in the order in time. Said would like to see their library packed with enough English language reading materials for primary school kids.	For the past three years the pupils' performance at PSLE has greatly improved. 1997 pass rate 61%, 89 was 61 99 65%. This improvement has partly to do with parents involvement in school activities.

Abbreviations used in the table

CS = Code switching
M/Maths = Mathematics
Eng. = English
Sets. = Setswana
PSEL= Primary School Leaving Examination
MOI = Medium of instruction

Alphabetical letters X, Y, M, N, O, P, A, B, C, F, and H represents names of teachers.

Real names are not used for confidentiality. Letters were randomly chosen.

Appendix 4

Observation Schedule
Field-notes

Date: .....
Time: .....
Teacher: .....
Class: .....
School: .....
Subject of observation: Classroom management, activities, materials and the methodology.

Feature	Questions	Notes
a. Activity type	What is the activity type, for example is it a drill, a role-play, dictation, group work etc?	
b. Content Topic	Who selects the topic? Is content accurate and to the level of the pupils? Does it link with the objectives? Is it accurately presented? Is the range of topics broad? or narrow?	

Feature	Questions	Notes
c. Teaching Materials	Are the materials available? Are they of good quality? relevant, and the layouts illegible? Do they show evidence of the teacher's resourcefulness? How controlled is their use? What is the purpose of the materials?	

Feature	Questions	Field notes
d. Classroom Language	To what extend is the target language used in classroom activities? Which of the two languages are the respondents expected to use at that particular instruction? Are there any code switching instances? When? Why? Does the teacher expect a specific form or there is no expectation of a particular linguistic form? Do learners have opportunities to initiate discourse?	

Feature	Questions	Field notes
e. Methodology	What type of questions are asked? How are the students responses elicited? Does the teacher encourage learning by doing or is the teaching more teacher centered? How are individual differences dealt with? Is there any group work and how is it controlled? How are the learners' cognitive development stimulated?	

Feature	Questions	Field notes
f. Teacher student Relationship	Is the teacher's voice level appropriate, clear, and well expressed? Is teacher sensitive to pupils' responses? Does he/she use any reinforcement techniques to encourage the learners, or is she too negative and rebukes? Does s/he promote pupils'? involvement?	

Source: Adapted from Nunan, D. (1992 :99), with some modifications and additions of some features.

Appendix 5

Data analysis
Classroom Observations

Table 5 An Analysis of classroom discourse at the time of observations

Teacher Interaction		Activity	Content	Materials	Classroom	Methodology language	T/P
S C H O O L	X	English Oral Pictures.	Topic: Job description looking at pictures. Content: A, WP,to LP.	Available chart with pictures of people-engaged in differ-ent activities No teac-her input.	TL used thro-out the lesson. ELR: TL TL = English. CS: most of the time, for clarification, emphasis and elaboration. Pupils' parti-cipation: very positive.	Open-ended questions. e.g. what can you see from the picture? what is the person's job?	Teacher's voice clear and appop-riate. Individual deferences realized. Corrects and ask them to correct each other. Reinforcement techniques: good', 'try again
	Y	Setswana Oral	Topic: Thanolo (Translation) Content: A, WP and LP Translation of simple Setswana sentences and words to English.	No teachi-ng aids. Only teac-her's scheme book	TL and SL throughout the lesson. Commnunica -tion flow good. Pupils' participation very good. Constructed their own Sentences and others translate.	Question and answer. Open-e nded questions. LCD stimulated Pupils in groups construct their own sentences, say them out for others to translate.	Teacher's voice clear and well Expressed. SPR positive. Pupils encouraged to use loan words only where Setswana words don't exists e.g. '*tafole*' for table.
A	M	Diction	Topic: Noun Classes	No teach-ing aids. all writing done on chalkboard	Both TL and SL used. Lesson intro-duced in Setswana and developed in English. CS plenty. Pupils' participation	Telling. Too much emphasis on orthography with little application to real life situation	Teacher's voice clear and well expressed. A bit impatient with slow learners.

				moderate. some could denote nouns from sentences written.		
N	Diction And Writing	Topic: Matswao a mokwalo (punctuation marks) .'Khutlo' ? 'potso' ! kgakgamalo' Content: A And to LP	None displayed. On the scheme of work the teacher had written that he will use the textbook *Thuta puo ya Setswana*	TL throughout The lesson. Pupils' participation high and very positive. LCD stimulated. Pupils used their experiences from the previous standards to answer the teacher's questions. No CD	Open high order questions. Question and answer.	Teacher's voice clear and Appropriate. SPR positive. Involves all Pupils in class activities.
O	Discussion And Role play	Topic: 'Meila" (Cultural norms) Content A and to LP Topic seem be revision to pupils, did it when teacher was sick.	No teaching materials used.	TL= Setswana. Used throughout the lesson. ELR =TL Pupils' participation positive. No instances of CS. Pupils initiated part of the discourse, came up with some norms that even the teacher did not know and explained them.	Question and answer. Whole class discussion. Demonstration High order open-ended questions.	Teacher's voice clear and appropriate. Though a bit stammering pupils seemed to be used to that. SPR positive. Involves all pupils in classroom discourse.
P	Listening to teacher lecturing	Topic: Light (a science lesson)	No teaching materials yet this could have been a successful lesson with some objects for some demonstra-	TL = English ELR = TL Instances of CS present for clarifications. The lesson a bit teacher centered. Pupils just listeners. New vocabulary	Lecture method High-order questions with negative responses from pupils.	Teacher's voice clear and well expressed. A bit impatient with the learners. Teacher too much in control of all discourse.

				tions	which pupils seemed not understand introduced. 'opaque' 'illuminant' 'translucent'		
S C H O O L	A	Oral Reading . . Lesson 2 'Thanolo' Translation	Maths lesson Addition meter sitck subtraction Content A and to PL Translation of simple Setswana sentences English.	Teaching aids available the lesson bottle tops, pupils' text books	Both TL and SL used throughout ELR: Setswana PP moderate and their responses fair. Some in the group were slow learners.	Question and answer method Demonstrations	Teacher's clear and appropriate. SPR positive PPI. Make pupils demonstrate with bottle tops to add and subtract
	B	Listening and Writing	Topic: Listening comprehen- sion. Content seemed a bit too high for the pupils.	Cards with letters written on them.	TL = English EXP = TL Pupils' respo- nses fair. Some failing get correct copied from their texts while the teacher was helping the slow learners.	Telling Question and answer. The questions well all on the chalkboard for pupils to answer. Group work for the slow learner group.	Teacher's voice too low, she had a throat problem. PP positive. Slow learners group given some cards wit letters to read. The of words explained, later had to hide the words write them down.
B	C	Listening Writing Discussion Presentation	Meila (cultural norms)	Manila charts on written some norms Content A WP and to the level of	TL Setswana ELR = TL Good responses from pupils. Communication flow well. In group work pupils able to come up with	Lecture Question and answer Group work discussion involved in the Learning by doing really encouraged.	Teacher's voice clear, good and appropriate. SPR very positive. All learning activities. Pupils had

				the pupils.	their own norms and fully outline them on charts, then present them to rest of the group.		chance of initiating discourse. They chose group secretary and the presenter.
S **C** **H** **O** **O** **L** **C**	**F**	Reading Role Play Description Writing Topic Thanolo (translation)	English Topic Job from Pictutres Setswana	Pupils' textbook MAPEP Cards on them written some words for pupils to translate.	TL English EXP = TL CS instances plenty Communication breakdown some pupils could not fully express themselves in English nor in Setswana. some tried, could initiate discourse, Taking from the teacher cold tell who they were and where come from.	Question and answer Group work Presentations	Teacher's voice a bit lower yet lesson conducted outside. SPR positive Encourage all to participate. Pupils come from different backgrounds, some Khoe, others Afrikaners.
	G	Diction Writing	Topic Present tenses Content difficult to pupils. Lesson 2 Setswana *Lokwalo Lwa kopo tiro*	None displayed	TL English EXP = TL No proper communication. Subject matter a bit difficult to pupils. Communication better than in lesson one.	Lecture Question and answer	Teacher's voice clear. Lesson more teacher centred. Teacher a bit nervous maybe it was Because of the presence of the interviewer. Lesson two things observed.

Abbreviations

WP = Well presented A = Accurate LP = Level of pupils
TL = Target language ELR = Expected language of response
SL = Source language LCD = Learners' cognitive development
CS = Code switching SPR = Sensitivity to pupils' responses
PPI = Promote pupils' involvement PP = Pupils participation

Alphabetical letters X, Y, M, N, O, P, A, B, C, F, H represent names of teachers.

Real names not used for confidentiality. Letters were randomly chosen.

A Table showing the number of pupils in each class observed in all the three schools visited

School	Teacher	Standard	Number of Pupils
	X	2	34
	Y	2	34
A	M	4	34
	N	4	35
	O	5	35
	P	5	35
	A	2	29
B	B	5	32
	C	4	31
C	F	2	32
	H	5	28

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

CALSSA

Centre for Applied Language Studies and Services in Africa
Iziko Lezifundo Ngokusetyenziswa Kolwimi Nezinye Iinkonzo eAfrika
Sentrum vir Toegepaste Taalstudies en Dienste in Afrika

Arts Block
Private Bag · Rondebosch 7701 · South Africa
Telephone (27+21) (021) 650-2939
Fax (27+21) (021) 650-2939
E-mail: calssa@beattie.uct.ac.za

25 May 2000

Granted permission to collect data from your School. Please assist Mr. GT Mlaudzi, SEO – Gaborone

The Permanent Secretary
Office of the President
Private Bag 001
Gaborone.

Re: Confirmation that Ms Boingotlo A. Moses is a student at UCT.

This is to confirm that Ms Moses is a student at UCT in CALSSA (Centre for Applied Language Studies and Services in Africa). She is studying for her masters in Applied Language Studies, [part two of the program]. I, Professor Douglas Young is her supervisor.

I ask that you give her permission to collect data in Botswana for her Masters Degree dissertation. Her thesis deals with the field of mother tongue instruction and second language learning. She is looking at some of possible effects of using English language as a language of instruction in Botswana's primary education system where learners are not primary speakers of English.

I request that you will give this request serious consideration and allow her to undertake research in Botswana by observing what goes on in the classroom situations when both languages are taught or learned. She also intends to interview some teachers, school heads and curriculum developers about the language in education issue at the primary level.

Your co-operation will be highly appreciated in this regard.

Yours faithfully

SENIOR EDUCATION OFFICE
2000-05-31
P/BAG 0071
GABORONE

Prof. D. Young
Director of CALSSA and Professor of Education

TELEGRAMS: PULA
TELEPHONE: 350800
TELEX: 2655 BD

REPUBLIC OF BOTSWANA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
PRIVATE BAG 001
GABORONE

OP 46/1 LXXXI (8)

18th May 2000

Ms Boingotlo A. Moses
631 Liesbeeck Gardens
50 Durban Road
Mowbray 7700
CAPE TOWN
Republic of South Africa

Dear Madam

RE: GRANT OF A RESEARCH PERMIT: MS B.A. MOSES

Your application for a research permit refers.

We are pleased to inform you that you have been granted permission to conduct a study entitled "A Qualitative Study of Some of the Effects of Using English as a Language of Instruction in Botswana's Primary Education System where Learners are not Primary Speakers of English". The study will be carried out in Gaborone and Tsabong.

The permit is valid for a period not exceeding six (6) months effective June 5, 2000. The permit is granted subject to the following conditions:

1. Copies of any papers written as a result of the study are directly deposited with the Office of the President, National Assembly, Ministry of Education, National Archives, National Library Service, National Conservation Strategy Agency, National Institute for Research and University of Botswana Library.

2. You conduct the study according to the particulars furnished in the application.

The permit does not give authority to enter any premises, private establishment or protected area. Permission for such entry should be negotiated with those concerned.

Yours faithfully

for/PERMANENT SECRETARY TO THE PRESIDENT

c.: Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Education
Clerk of the National Assembly
Director, National Archives
Director, National Library Service
Executive Secretary, National Conservation Strategy Agency
Director, National Institute for Research
Librarian, University of Botswana
District Commissioner, Gaborone, Tsabong
Council Secretary, Gaborone, Tsabong
City Clerk, Gaborone, Tsabong
Land Board Secretary, Tsabong

JM/om