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**Language Practices and Pupil
Performance in Rural and Urban Grade 1 Primary
Classrooms in Swaziland.**

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**Thesis Presented for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the Department of Education in the Faculty of
Humanities**

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

October 2002

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my sincere appreciation for the impeccable help, time and advice given by my supervisor Professor Douglas Young, Director of the Centre for Applied Language and Literacy Studies and Services in Africa (CALLSSA) at the University of Cape Town. He led me to believe that I could indeed write a Doctoral study. I am extremely grateful to him, considering my background and kinds of fears and my own uncertainty about my capabilities. Professor Young engaged me very critically in academic discourse and consistently challenged me to produce a fine thesis.

Perhaps the greatest sufferers through the production of a Doctoral Thesis are members of the author's family. In very sincere appreciation of this, I would like to express my gratitude to the members of my family for the patience, support and forbearance of my children Bongiwe, Khaya and Nonkululeko, brothers, sisters, sister-in-law, nieces and nephews throughout this extended period. Regardless of what we do and what decisions we take, life tends to go on with its good and bad times. Bongiwe did not live to see the completion of this thesis. She will live in my heart forever.

Special thanks are extended to the Centre for Applied Language and Literacy Studies and Services in Africa (CALLSSA) for its considerable financial and academic support, as well as to the University Scholarships Committee, the Spencer Foundation Fellowship committee and the Department of Education at UCT for financial assistance. In addition, I would like to sincerely thank Julie van der Vlugt of CALLSSA for her untiring support during the entire course of my studies, particularly with editing the final draft. Furthermore, I would like to thank the Swedish Institute and the Centre for Research for Bilingualism, Stockholm University in Sweden for a Guest Scholarship during 2000 for facilitating my studies in Sweden. I also thank Professor Kenneth Hyltenstam and Dr Carolyn Benson both at the Centre for Research on Bilingualism at Stockholm University. It is impossible to list all those who assisted me without omitting others. However, I would like to thank the many friends and colleagues from the world over whom I met at conferences and in seminars. I also thank Dr Neville Alexander and the entire PRAESA staff at UCT for making my stay in Cape Town very rewarding by allowing me to participate in their research work and making me one of them.

Lastly, I would like to thank the Government of Swaziland through the Ministries of Education and Labour and Public Service for funding the beginning of my studies at UCT. The educators, learners and parents in Swaziland who agreed to be my informants, I thank them very sincerely. Without them I would not have completed this study. I am also grateful to the University of Cape Town, South Africa for providing me with the opportunity to pursue my doctoral studies in a conducive learning environment.

Dedication

I am dedicating this product to my parents Mr S. J. Mbatha and Mrs D.K. Mbatha, both deceased. To them I say, "Thank you very much for bringing me up the way you did." I often referred to the family teachings, and always remembered my mom when she said, "Never leave unfinished jobs." I thank you for that. *"Ngiyabonga boMageba! Mthiya Ka Ndaba."*

Abstract

This study of language practices and pupil performance in Grade 1 urban and rural classrooms in Swaziland attempts to analyse and evaluate the Swaziland Language-in-Education Policy in Grade 1 classrooms. It is derived from an observation that within the Swaziland Education System there are two approaches to teaching that operate side by side within one schooling system in primary schools. On one hand there are schools that offer an "Early English" immersion approach and on the other hand there are schools that offer a "Delayed English" immersion approach. The study identifies and problematises the existence of the Early English and Delayed English immersion approaches in the Swaziland Education System, where in fact the performances of pupils are assessed using a unitary testing system known as Continuous Assessment Testing and the standard Swaziland Primary Certificate Examination at the end of Grade 7. The study aims to characterise the two approaches and attempt to identify some factors in both approaches that impinge on learners' performance. It also aims to show how the pedagogical practices used in schools under each approach differ from each other respectively, and significantly impact on pupils' performances. The disparities that exist between schools using the two approaches are highlighted in terms of textbooks and learning materials, quality of teachers, pupils' exposure to English, facilities and the implications of the Language-in-Education Policy in providing good quality education. Teachers' and parents' perceptions concerning their beliefs and attitudes towards the two approaches are also evaluated.

An ethnographic "case study" was conducted among 898 Grade 1 pupils and 20 Grade 1 teachers in rural and urban classrooms using the Early English and Delayed English approaches of the English medium of instruction policy adopted by the Swaziland Education System. Ethnographic methods of data elicitation employed in the study were non-participant classroom observations conducted in the year 2000 and a criterion-referenced English Language test written by the pupils after observing several English lessons being taught. A 39-item questionnaire was also administered to the Grade 1 teachers in the study to elicit their knowledge, attitudes, beliefs and perceptions about language teaching practices they used in their classrooms. 26 SiSwati and English teachers were further interviewed on their understanding of the role and extent to which SiSwati and English textbooks meet the requirements of the curriculum and the Language-in-Education Policy. Furthermore, 23 parents were interviewed in 2002 about their choice of schools to which they send their children and the qualities that guide their selection. Results from the data collected were analysed using qualitative and some quantitative methods.

Conclusions from this study are that the Early English and the Delayed English approaches are not equitable because the education system does not attempt to standardise all the variables affecting these schools. Therefore, learners taught using these two approaches should not be expected to attain similar performances in the Continuous Assessment tests and the Swaziland Primary Certificate examination. This research also found that the ambiguity in the Language-in-Education Policy and lack of

effective learning materials led to an unsystematic implementation of the policy, which in turn results in the varied performances of learners in English-medium schools and those in mixed English and SiSwati schools.

This study recommends, *inter alia*, that the Ministry of Education adopts Additive Biligualism as a strategy for achieving its Language-in-Education Policy in Grades 1 to 4 and ensures that it is implemented. Furthermore, the study recommends to the Ministry of Education to ensure that better and consistent strategies, such as developing appropriate and effective learning materials, textbooks and other measures of implementing the policy in teacher training programmes and at the National Curriculum Centre are in place than they are at present. Finally, it is recommended that a universal system of education that can provide equal opportunities to all learners be developed, based on the findings of this and other studies. Such a system should provide pupils with the opportunity to learn English effectively and proficiently, but should also permit teachers and learners to use their mother tongue more widely and comprehensively as a subject and as a language of learning and instruction.

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List of acronyms

Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills	BICS
Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency	CALP
Continuous Assessment	CA
Criterion-Referenced Test	CR Test
Delayed English	DE
Delayed English Rural	DER
Delayed English Urban	DEU
Department of Education	DoE
Department for International Development	DFID
Early English	EE
Early English Rural	EER
Early English Urban	EEU
English as a second language	ESL
English language teaching	ELT
English Medium	EM
Ex-Department of Education and Training	Ex-DET
First Language	L1
International Development Research Centre	IDRC
Language Literacy and Communication	LLC
Language Policy	LP
Language-in-Education Policy*	LiEP
Learning support materials	LSM
Medium of Instruction	MoI
Ministry of Education	MoE
Mother Tongue	MT
National Curriculum Centre	NCC
National Education Review Commission	NERCOM
Outcomes Based Education	OBE
Pan South African Language Board	PANSALB
President's Education Initiative	PEI
Second Language	L2
Swaziland Primary Certificate	SPC
Transitional Bilingual Education	TBE

*LiEP has been used to refer to the Language-in-Education Policy in Swaziland. LiEP has also been used more generally to refer to language-in-education policies elsewhere, particularly those in Africa.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

The main aim of this research is to investigate what language teaching practices and methods exist in the Swaziland primary classrooms against a background where two parallel pedagogical approaches appear to exist side by side. Preliminary findings from my Masters in Education study in 1998 and earlier pilot research indicate that in the “Early English” approach, pupils are taught all subjects of the curriculum (except SiSwati) using the English language medium right from the start of their education in Grade 1. In the “Delayed English” approach, pupils may be taught all subjects using the mother tongue (SiSwati) with English only as the official medium of instruction from Grade 3 onwards. A number of factors complicate the background described above. One is that despite the differences implied by the “Early English” approach as opposed to the “Delayed English” approach, pupils in the Swaziland primary education system are assessed using unitary Continuous Assessment (CA) Tests, also referred to as Criterion-Referenced (CR) Tests, and the terminal Grade 7 Swaziland Primary Certificate (SPC) examination.

A second interesting aspect is that both Swazi parents and teachers generally seem to have a high opinion of the Early English approach. It is perceived as more effective and superior to the Delayed English approach. Part of the aims of this study is to unravel the reasons behind this common perception¹. At the same time, what is happening on the ground in terms of language education policy is at odds with the official policies set down by the Swaziland Ministry of Education (MoE). The *de jure* policy of the ministry is that all schools in Swaziland must adhere to the Delayed English policy and start using English as a medium of instruction in Grade 3. But the *de facto* policy is that a large

¹ Observational and questionnaire data and interviews will be provided to substantiate these assertions in the subsequent chapters.

number of schools have adopted the Early English approach, with the approval of most stakeholders, especially the parents. The apparent success story of the Early English approach has probably contributed to the ministry's silence on the issue with the Early English approach seen as a positive violation of the official policy. At the same time, because Swazi society (with the quiet backing of the Ministry of Education) perceives the Delayed English approach as inferior, most affluent parents send their children to Early English schools. English medium schools are equipped with reading materials and resources (laboratories, libraries, desks and textbooks), and highly trained teachers tend to be appointed more readily to Early English schools than to Delayed English schools.

1.2 Motivation for the study

My motivation for the study is to inform my own practice as a SiSwati and English teacher at primary school and a teacher trainer in Swaziland. I am a SiSwati first language speaker and my job entails teaching primary school children and college students who are not English first language speakers who have to receive their education through English. My motivation is to improve the quality of teaching and learning of SiSwati and English. I strongly support that teachers have the responsibility to teach English effectively. Therefore, I see the need for all teachers to understand the values of learning English in a two-way approach that does not devalue the mother tongue. I see my study as pioneering research into the area of language teaching and learning in a country that is impoverished with resources for teaching English. As I show in Chapters 2 to 7, the teachers and the MoE need to understand the advantages and disadvantages of each approach. I suggest that the Ministry takes features of both approaches, but applies one language policy for everybody - a policy where everyone has equal opportunities, equal access and an equal share of resources not defined by wealth but in terms of rights to education.

1.3 The rationale of the study

Key issues emerging from the background given above are that:

- i) The Swaziland Education system uses two pedagogical approaches in primary schools, viz. the Early English (EE) approach commonly adopted by English medium schools and the Delayed English (DE) approach commonly adopted by schools, which usually have a lower reputation for teaching English effectively when compared with the Early English schools.
- ii) The Swaziland Education system puts the two approaches on par despite the observation that conditions in the two types of schools are very different.
- iii) Textbooks and teaching materials produced at the National Curriculum Centre (NCC) seem ineffective in making pupils attain the required levels of proficiency in English because their quality and standard is unsuitable for students learning English as a second language and using English as a medium of instruction.
- iv) The Ministry of Education, in terms of my research reported herein, seems to equate the two approaches, which are not necessarily equitable, by expecting students to obtain similar performances in the unitary Grade 7 (SPC) examination and Criterion-Referenced (CR) Tests.
- v) By administering one examination system, the Ministry of Education inculcates an understanding that the two approaches can be viewed as equitable alternatives.

1.4 Statement of the problem

The problem flows from my observation that the Swaziland Education system puts two pedagogical approaches on the same level, although the conditions and contexts in which the two approaches operate are very different. Textbooks and teaching materials produced at the NCC add to the complexity of the problem because they do not necessarily enable pupils to attain the required levels of proficiency in English. There is a unitary exit examination, implying that the two approaches can be understood as having

similar outcomes. The results of pupils' performances in the SPC examination and in CR Tests create an understanding among parents and teachers that they can choose between the two approaches according to which one they think is better. This understanding is shown through parents' choices of schools to which they send their children. There are no provisions made for pupils to write alternative examinations suitable to the learning approach used when teaching them. The Education Ministry's policy, parents, teachers and materials all make an assumption that the two approaches are capable of achieving similar results as if they are equitable. Reports of the Swaziland National Examinations Council over a number of years continually indicate that the majority of students do not pass the SPC, Junior Certificate (JC) and Cambridge Ordinary Level Examinations (O'Level). It is mainly students from schools using the Early English approach that seem to succeed in the above-mentioned examinations. The disparities between the two approaches will be carefully analysed in the data examined in this study in the forthcoming chapters.

This study asserts that the MoE erroneously allows such a system to thrive by regularly producing learning materials that meet the requirements of neither of the two approaches, the Language-in-Education Policy (LiEP) nor the curriculum. As a result, the two approaches use different sets of learning materials and teaching facilities, which further disadvantages them. By default these two approaches result in creating two groups of learners, namely, those who succeed in education, and those who do not succeed because they are taught using an approach that is not compatible with the examination system and because they begin from different starting points.

Through this research I attempt to analyse and evaluate the LiEP in Swaziland. I will characterise the two approaches and attempt to identify some factors that affect learners' performance and what each approach attempts to offer learners. These characteristics should reveal both similarities and differences in the two approaches, and learners' and teachers' profiles in order to gain a fuller picture of what seems to happen in the schools. Furthermore, there will be a survey of how teachers evaluate the role and extent to which textbooks and learning materials meet the requirements of the LiEP. From a study of the

detailed operations of the two approaches, one may then stand aside and comment on what the education system seems to offer.

It is important to understand what the Swaziland education system communicates to parents, learners and teachers. Hence, my research seeks to show whether or not the two approaches are fairly comparable and if there are significant differences between them. My research also seeks to identify and characterise the conditions that mark the major differences between the two approaches. The evolution of the two approaches seems not to be based on a clear understanding of the theories of bilingualism nor of systematic research into the advantages or disadvantages of Early Immersion or Delayed Immersion English as a medium of instruction. There is therefore a need for research that can reveal what is actually happening in Swaziland primary schools. Such research should also explain the basis of popular opinions and sentiments, and reveal how they have been formulated.

1.5 Aims of the research

Given the above background and the problems that arise from the unscientific and arbitrary evolution of that background, the aims of my study are as follows:

1. To characterise teaching and learning in Grade 1 rural and urban classrooms using the EE and DE approaches in the Swaziland Education system, by developing teachers' and learners' profiles based on the teachers' beliefs, perceptions, attitudes and what teachers do and say they do in Grade 1 classrooms.
2. To identify similarities and differences in the teachers' and learners' profiles in schools using the EE and DE approaches in Grade 1 classrooms.
3. To examine the pedagogical and wider educational implications of the use of these two approaches in the Swaziland Education system, for example, what they respectively offer teachers and learners in terms of the optimal learning of SiSwati and English in both rural and urban schools.

4. To determine the impact that each of the two approaches has on pupils' performance on the common CR Test.
5. To elicit Swazi parents' beliefs, opinions, perceptions and expectations of the quality and standard of education offered in mixed SiSwati and English medium of instruction schools and English medium only schools within the Swaziland Education system.
6. To analyse the role the prescribed SiSwati and English textbooks have on language learning and teaching, and the extent to which these learning materials and textbooks reflect/ enact or define the Swaziland LiEP.

1.6 Research Questions

The concerns and issues advanced in the background and rationale of the study have led me to explore the crucial issue of the role of language in the Swazi context and to articulate my curiosity through the following major research questions:

1. On the basis of what teachers do and say they do, what are the characteristics, similarities, differences and profiles of teachers and learners in schools using the EE and DE approaches of the medium of instruction policy in Grade 1 classrooms?
2. What are the pedagogical and wider educational implications of the use of these two approaches in the Swaziland Education system, for example, what do they respectively offer teachers and learners in terms of the optimal learning of SiSwati and English in both rural and urban schools?
3. Given what the two approaches respectively offer teachers, learners and the Swazi society, does each approach offer equitable opportunities to learners in order to perform equivalently in the assessment of their performances in the common CR Tests, examination and in their general school achievement?

4. What are some Swazi parents' beliefs, opinions, perceptions and expectations of the quality and standard of education offered in mixed SiSwati and English medium of instruction schools and English medium only schools within the Swaziland Education system?

Sub-questions

In addition, I will explore five additional sub-questions in this research, namely:

- i) What are the language practices utilised by teachers using these two different approaches: i.e. what, how and why teachers teach using each approach?
- ii) What are the teachers' beliefs, attitudes, knowledge and perceptions concerning the two language teaching approaches and their impact on pupils' performances?
- iii) What impact do these teachers' language practices in each of the two approaches have on pupils' performances on the unitary CR Test?
- iv) What is the role of the prescribed language learning materials and textbooks and what effects do these have on language learning and teaching?
- v) To what extent do these learning materials and textbooks reflect/ enact or define the Swaziland LiEP?

1.7 Limitations of the study

A combined quantitative-qualitative ethnographic case study methodology is used in this study. Critics often attack qualitative ethnographic research on grounds of its weak generalisability. This is because of the position of the researcher and the epistemological paradigm², which underlies interpretative research. However, an ethnographic case study enables us to understand a context in greater detail because of its use of multiple methods of data collection. Limitations of this approach concern the levels of subjectivity and generalisability of the research. To deal with these limitations, they are firstly,

² Within the qualitative-ethnographic paradigm the researcher becomes immersed in the field and is able to read the subtle messages as a result of the extensive involvement with subjects. An essential feature of ethnography is its focus on meanings attributed by the participants in the study (emic view).

acknowledged in the study and thereafter, ways of addressing them are suggested as argued in Section 3.7.2. The entire research methodology for this study is discussed in detail in Chapter 3. The CR Test was difficult to administer to Grade 1 pupils, given their lack of proficiency in reading and writing English.

Findings of this study are only applicable to the teachers, pupils and schools researched in the Swazi context. Participant observation, the CR English Test, questionnaires and interviews were the main qualitative methods of data elicitation used. The sample was made of 898 Grade 1 pupils and 20 Grade 1 teachers in three out of four regions in Swaziland during the three years of my PhD registration at the University of Cape Town. Studies and publications on the question of medium of instruction in Swaziland were unavailable, while similar studies in Africa were also limited.

1.8 Outline of chapter contents

Chapter 1 provides the background to the study and presents the problem investigated in this thesis. It delineates the problem of the use of the Early English approach as a medium of instruction in schools where pupils either have low levels of proficiency in English or none at all. Chapter 1 problematises the use of the two approaches in Grade 1; similar methods of assessment are used for determining the English proficiency of all the pupils taught using two different approaches. The aims of the research as stated in Chapter 1 are to characterise teaching and learning in rural and urban schools in Swaziland. Furthermore, they are to identify the impact of the two approaches used in Grade 1 classes on the pupils' performances and to examine the role and effectiveness of the textbooks used in the schools.

Chapter 2 presents the theoretical underpinnings of the study by examining some literature on Bilingualism and Bilingual Education. Additive Bilingual Education is juxtaposed with Transitional Bilingual Education (Subtractive Bilingual Education). Some language policies of selected African countries are also reviewed in order to contextualise Swaziland's policy in the Southern and East African sub-regions.

International perspectives are also included in the study of language-in-education policies where teachers and children use English as a medium of instruction. Critical perspectives in the study of language policies in education have been adopted drawing on the works of critical linguists in the field, for example, Pennycook (1994), Cummins (1982, 1996, 2000), Canagarajah (1995, 1996, 1999), Bourdieu (1991) and Tollefson (1991, 1995, 2002) among others. Insights about and possible approaches to answering the research questions are highlighted and considered as points of departure towards my own attempts at answering these questions in the Swazi context.

Chapter 3 is a detailed description of the research design and methodology. It gives a theoretical justification for the methodology chosen for this study. It describes the qualitative ethnographic “case study” methodology and some small-scale aspects of quantitative methods used in the study. The sample chosen for the study and a justification of the selected data elicitation procedures are provided. Methods of data collection and analysis are also described in detail.

The fourth Chapter gives a combination of qualitative and quantitative analyses and interpretations of the CR Test results. Quantitative methods of analysis are only used minimally. The key issues discussed in Chapter 4 are the following:

1. Presentation of the results of the CR Test and comments on what the results show
2. Comments on how the test was administered
3. An explanation of how instructions were given and the language(s) used during test sessions
4. The various functions for which the languages were used are noted
5. It also identifies the language practices and strategies used by teachers, such as simplification, translation and code-switching used in the test
6. A discussion of what the test results show about the two bilingual education programmes.

Chapter 5 is an interpretation and discussion of the results of the questionnaire investigation. An attempt is made to analyse and interpret the teachers’ knowledge,

attitudes and beliefs about the use of children's home languages in the English as a Second Language (ESL) class. The teachers' perceptions, beliefs and attitudes are viewed against the policy and are critically evaluated, and an attempt is made to digest whether policies, ideologies of language or practices govern what teachers do in their classrooms. Attempts are also made to find a common link between what teachers perceive as the benefits of learning in a second language and their views about learning using the mother tongue. This interpretation also attempts to correlate findings made in the CR English Test with the findings of the questionnaire investigation.

Chapter 6 addresses the important question of language textbooks and learning materials used in Swaziland schools. The chapter signals the links between the LiEP, the curriculum and learning materials. It also presents and synthesises the views of teachers in the study. The development and monopolistic supply of textbooks by one publisher in Swaziland is also examined. It shows that the successful implementation of the LiEP depends to a large extent on the textbooks and learning materials used where teachers depend on the textbooks for most of their teaching.

Chapter 7 discusses views of parents about schools that they choose for their children. The chapter indicates that parents are in search of "better quality" education, which seems to be provided in Early English medium schools. Parents also look for schools that are equipped with excellent facilities and these also happened to be English medium schools. Education through English was equated with quality education. Although parents want their children to learn in SiSwati they also believe that "English is the language not to be missed".

Chapter 8 considers the conclusions of the thesis based on the results of Chapters Four, Five, Six and Seven and the implications of these conclusions. The significance and innovativeness of the research is evaluated in terms of its possible contribution to the arena of research and praxis/ applied language studies.

1.9 Definition of key terms

Language attitudes

McGroarty defines language attitudes as:

Beliefs, emotional reactions and behavioural tendencies related to the object of the attitude... Attitude is thus linked to a person's values and beliefs and promotes or discourages the choices made in all realms of activity, whether academic or informal (McGroarty cited by Kapp, 2001:53). Attitudes generally comprise three elements: feelings (the affective element), thoughts (cognitive element) and a behavioural element (Iannici and Kok, 1999:25).

The Early English (EE) approach

This refers to an approach in which English is taught in Grade 1 classes as a subject and as a medium of instruction for teaching learners who are not speakers of English as a home language. It is also called the "Straight for English" approach.

The Delayed English (DE) approach

This refers to an approach in which SiSwati is used as a medium of instruction in Grade 1 classes while preparing the learners for the transition to English as a medium of instruction class in Grade 3.

Rural and Urban dichotomy

Rural and Urban schools were operationalised in terms of resources and they were not necessarily classified according to geographical location. This means a school may be in the rural areas and be very well-resourced. Delayed English had to do with under-resourcing and Early English had to do with good resources.

Continuous Assessment (CA) Testing

This is a criterion-referenced method of testing used in the Swaziland primary schooling system, recommended by the National Education Review Commission (1985) to curb the number of school dropouts and to attempt to reduce the failure rate in primary schooling. CA is cumulative because it starts from the first day a child begins school.

Criterion Referenced Test (CR Test)

According to Bond (1996) "A criterion-referenced test is used to ascertain an individual's status with respect to a defined assessment criteria or domain. A criterion-referenced test lets us know what an examinee can or can't do relative to pre-determined level on a specified set of educational goals or outcomes." I opted to use a CR Test because the test that was used to collect data was a single test even though it was part of continuous assessment. It was a formative and a summative test because it was given at the end of the term, but it was intended to assess if the learners had mastered the taught concepts.

Communicative Language Teaching (CLT)

CLT is considered an approach rather than a method. It appealed to educational linguists who sought a more humanistic approach to teaching, one in which the interactive processes of communication received priority (Richards and Rodgers, 1986:83). Exponents of the CLT approach believe that it has four main characteristics:

- It is a language system for the expression of meaning
- Its primary function is the expression of meaning
- The structure of language reflects its functional and communicative uses
- The primary units of language are not merely grammatical and structural features but categories of functional and communicative meaning as exemplified in discourse. (Richards and Rodgers, 1986:71).

The aim of CLT is the development of communicative competence, that is, using language in a context (e.g. requesting something, persuading someone or arguing about something). It refers to the use of language in a social context. Language is understood to be more than a set of words and rules; communicating involves negotiating meaning. This means that meaning is paramount and there are times where unless the form in which the meanings are given is accurate, the meaning is lost.

The CLT view of learning is based on three principles:

- The communicative principle – activities that involve real communication promote learning.
- The task principle – activities in which language is used in carrying out meaningful tasks promote learning.
- The meaningfulness principle – language that is meaningful to the learner supports the learning process.

A critique of the CLT approach

The CLT approach has been criticised by opponents of the CLT approach and users of the traditional grammar-oriented method for being soft on grammar and on formal structure. It has an over-emphasis on function and communicative fluency and an under-emphasis on grammatical and formal accuracy. Further questions that have been raised by the CLT approach include whether it can be applicable at all levels in the language programme. Questions have also been posed about how suitable it is for non-native teachers and how it can be adopted in situations where students must continue taking grammar-based tests. Classroom arrangement is not standard. Learners are expected to interact more with each other than with the teacher, and correction of errors may be absent or infrequent. The co-operative approach stressed in the CLT approach may be unfamiliar to learners.

How CLT is used with young learners

The role of a learner in CLT is that of a negotiator between the self and the learning process. The object of learning emerges from and interacts with the role of the joint negotiator within the group and within the classroom procedures and activities that the group undertakes. The role of the teacher is to facilitate the communication process between all participants in the classroom and between texts and participants. Therefore he/she acts as an organiser of resources and is a resource him/herself. He/ she also acts as a guide within classroom activities and procedures. Materials in the classroom have a

primary role of promoting communicative language use. CLT practitioners view materials as a way of influencing the quality of the classroom interaction and language use.

1.10 Summary of the Chapter

Chapter 1 gave an introduction and background of the study. The rationale, motivation and aims of the study were outlined. The research problem and the key questions that this study attempts to answer were presented. Key concepts used in the study were explained in order to give the reader a contextual understanding of their use in the thesis. The limitations and an outline of the thesis chapters were also given. Chapter 2 will discuss the literature review and theoretical underpinnings of the study.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will discuss the debates on Bilingual Education and other aspects of language education, including the importance of home languages in the learning and teaching of additional languages, in terms of their relevance to and impact on my research in this thesis. I will also discuss selected language policies of Southern African countries and the position of English in relation to these policies. I will begin by discussing international views of the use of English as a global language and its role in African education. My review of pertinent literature will take into account some theoretical aspects of Bilingualism and types of Bilingual Education. Additive Bilingualism and Subtractive Bilingualism will be contrasted with other types of Bilingual Education programmes, which include Transitional Bilingual Education, Immersion and Submersion Programmes. Additive Bilingualism will be discussed as a theoretical approach to language learning, which attempts to achieve equity in education by using first and additional languages. Its potential impact on children's education will be studied. The role of textbooks in language teaching and learning will be discussed. Lastly, I will attempt to examine some factors militating against the implementation of some language and LiEPs with special reference to South Africa. The South African Language-in-Education Policy of 1997 and other curriculum documents, for example, the Language Literacy Curriculum (LLC) document for Curriculum 2005, will be my points of reference.

In the next section I will briefly discuss the position of English in Swaziland from a historical and present day perspective. I will then proceed to talk about the role of English in a broader African perspective as well as the role of English as a global language.

2.2 Views on the use of English as a global language

It is important to understand why English is so powerful in Swaziland so as to understand better why there is so much demand for the English language rather than for SiSwati, the indigenous language of the Swazi people. Swaziland was an Anglophone colony that inherited an Anglophone perspective towards English as did many of its sister ex-British colonial countries in Africa. Mordaunt (1990:131) says, after independence in 1968, Swaziland, like many newly-independent African countries, was faced with several problems. One of the most crucial was the language question. At the time of independence some local languages were taught as subjects, but they were not equipped as vehicles of wider communication. They were therefore, not given the status of a medium of instruction as English was. SiSwati was not taught in primary schools until 1967. In 1979 it was introduced in the Senior Certificate level. Prior to these dates Zulu was taught in place of SiSwati. The Swazi society has two languages serving different purposes. SiSwati serves as a language of national identity and is a cultural symbol. English serves as a functional language for official, educational and socio-economic advancement. English is used in all written official correspondence in the government ministries even though oral SiSwati is used in the offices. The language policy in Swaziland is not clearly articulated and tends to exist in implicit form in the working documents of the MoE, thus the language question is often not addressed and English remains the official working language. Literature on the Swazi language policy is barely available in journals and policy documents except that there are two languages, each having their respective status.

Phillipson (1992) argues that the spread and development of English Language Teaching (ELT) throughout the world is "linguistic imperialism". Phillipson advances the idea of the spread of English as a post-colonial conspiracy on the part of the core English-countries, where the colonists hoped to maintain their dominance over "periphery" (mostly developing) countries. Phillipson further proposes the term "linguicism", a situation where the imposition of the cultural, social, emotional and linguistic norms of the dominating society onto the dominated society takes place, thus maintaining an

unequal allocation of power and resources. Phillipson also cites the preferential allocation of educational resources to English in a multilingual environment as a good example of linguistic imperialism in action. Phillipson attacks the premise usually used to legitimise this ideology in the context of English language education, which is that English is the language of science and technology and thus the only viable choice for modern education. Pennycook (1994) takes the argument of linguistic imperialism a few steps further. His argument is that one cannot just “teach a language” since it is bound up with its own worldly ideology. Pennycook develops the notion of the “worldliness of English”. He says

English is a remnant of western imperialism, operating globally in conjunction with capitalist forces, especially those of operations of multinational corporations. English also started being the language of development, modernisation, capitalism, science, technology and even democracy. (Pennycook, 1994:186-187)

Pennycook argues that, besides being the language of science and economic advancement, it is also the language of unequal distribution of wealth. English is connected to social and economic inequalities both within and between countries bound with various forms of culture and knowledge that are dominant in the world.

Pennycook says the concept of the “worldliness of English” means on the one hand, the global spread of English, and on the other hand is concerned with English as it is caught up in everyday use in its own context. Pennycook argues that

... the global position of English means that it is situated in many contexts that are specific to the globalisation: to use English implies relationships to local conditions of economic and prestige to certain forms of culture and knowledge and to global relations of capitalism and particular global discourses of democracy, economics, the environment, popular culture, modernity, development, education and so on. [He adds that] English in the world has shown how it is linked to social and economic power both within and between nations, to the global diffusion of particular forms of culture and knowledge, and to the inequitable structures of international relations (1994:34-35).

Singapore and Malaysia use English as an official language and language of education, and thus are examples of the concept of “the worldliness of English”. Chew (1999:40)

argues that Singapore is a multicultural community possessing extreme multilingualism. It is a unique country in that the term “bilingualism” is not associated with minority groups or migrants (as it was perceived in America), but one in which knowing and using several languages is expected. Singapore tries to educate an entire population so that everyone is literate in English and at the same time has reasonable knowledge of their mother tongues.

Chew says that at independence in 1959, Singapore was poor and segmented by deep ethnic and linguistic segmentation and possessed few prospects for economic survival. Political identity was a contested terrain and it was dependent largely on external trade. To ensure its survival, it was deemed imperative that Singapore should have a dominant language that would enable it to survive politically, socially and culturally. English was seen as the language that would attract foreign investment, and give the society the leading edge in education, academic achievement, international trade and business. Bourdieu and Passeron (cited in Chew, 1999:40) say having English is like having “linguistic capital”. Bourdieu's concept of “linguistic capital” projects the view that the ownership of one of the world's foremost auxiliary languages, such as English, is seen as equivalent to other forms of capital, such as educational qualifications and higher incomes. This belief is seen in the large amounts of money parents are willing to spend on language tuition for their children and in their personal choice of enrolling their children in English medium schools so as to give them a “headstart”. Chew (1999:40) observes that enrolments in Chinese, Tamil and Malay schools began to decline sharply in the 1960's and 1970's. Chew also says the choice of English over Mandarin, Tamil and Malay as the medium of instruction in schools was therefore a “bottom up” decision by the populace. There was a pragmatic realisation that their lack of command in English would mean the continued marginalisation of their children in a world that would continue to use the language to a greater degree. It would also deny them access to the extensive resources available in English that have developed as a consequence of globalisation.

The theoretical notions of “habitus” and “symbolic power” which are articulated by Bourdieu in his works (in 1973, 1977 and 1991) can serve as analytical tools for achieving a greater understanding of this phenomenon. Bourdieu refers to “habitus” as

a set of dispositions, which incline agents to act and react in certain ways. The dispositions generate practices, perceptions and attitudes, which are “regular” without being consciously coordinated or governed by any “rule”. The dispositions, which constitute the “habitus” are inculcated, structured, durable, generative and transposable (1991:12).

This concept of “habitus” can also apply to political situations and schools. Thompson says

The linguistic habitus is a subset of dispositions acquired through the course of learning to speak in particular contexts (the family, the peer group, the school etc). These dispositions govern both the subsequent linguistic practices of an agent and the anticipation of the value that linguistic products will receive in other fields or markets – in the labour market, for example, or in the institutions of secondary or tertiary education (Thompson, cited by Alexander, 2001:13).

Bourdieu further argues that, through their familial socialisation, children of the socio-economic elite receive both more of and the kind of cultural capital needed for school success (i.e. their habitus becomes their cultural capital). “Cultural capital refers to language use, skills, and orientations, dispositions, attitudes and schemes of perception” (Lin, 1999:394). Bourdieu argues that “symbolic violence” concerns the domination or control of others by using covert means such as in schooling. For example, the disadvantaging effect of the schooling system is masked or legitimised in people’s consciousness.

Bourdieu describes “symbolic violence” as

“gentle” invisible violence, unrecognised as such, chosen as much as undergone, that of trust, obligation, personal loyalty, hospitality, gifts, piety, in a word, of all the virtues honoured by the ethic of honour (1991:24).

Many parents insist on fighting for places for their children in English medium schools (often despite the fact that their children speak and understand little English) because they have steadfastly accepted the symbolic representation of “English medium schools are equivalent to good schools.” Because of symbolic violence, school failure can be conveniently attributed to individual cognitive deficit or lack of effort and not to the unequal initial shares of the cultural capital both valued and legitimised in schools. Bourdieu (1991:23) argues that, “the efficacy of symbolic power presupposes certain forms of cognition or belief, in such a way that even those who benefit least from the exercise of power participate, to some extent, in their own subjection.” On this point, Lin (1999) says a recurrent theme in Bourdieu’s work is that

Children from disadvantaged groups, with a habitus incompatible with that presupposed in school, and children of the socio-economic elite do not compete from equal starting points; thus social stratification is reproduced (1999:394).

Arguments against linguisticism are that it is a violation of human rights. Chew says in Singapore, the position is stated clearly: “‘Yes’ to English and ‘no’ to western cultural values” (Chew, 1999:42). Here Chew argues that although English is the world language, neither the British nor the Americans seem able to use English to dominate international organisations or their policies as they might wish to. According to Singaporeans, preserving one’s culture does not mean clinging to the past but changing as one goes along. In Singapore choosing English as the medium of instruction is not about a language trying to replace other languages but it is about choosing an auxiliary language. In this respect, bilingualism can be a source of increased intellectual development, creativity and cultural sensitivity, and it is perfectly possible to organise education so that children develop high levels of competence in at least two languages. English is seen as a

service to the people using it and as the key to a share of the world's symbolic power: towards the accumulation of cultural, political and economic capital.

English is indisputably the language of international communication. If viewed positively, it is the language of books, academic journals, the internet, the media and international sports entertainment. The growth in the use of English could be seen more as part of the worldwide movement of "globalisation" rather than as an aspect of linguistic imperialism. Chew further states that by some stroke of good fortune, the English language seems to be bound up in the phenomenon of globalism. The cost of battling globalism is tremendous and it is doubtful whether any country can win the battle. Chew (1999:46) also concludes that it is too simplistic to ascribe the growth of the foremost international language merely to the notion of linguistic imperialism without considering the relentless march of globalism and the pragmatic perspective of newly formed nations which have recognised this trend early in their history.

I concur with Chew's argument that English is part of the progression and modernisation of the world in order to be at par with other nations. Globalism, for example, is one force that smaller nations cannot resist. It comes our way whether we want it or not, and whether we like it or not. English-isation therefore is a current trend in the lives of many people in this modern day and age, and is thus a clear indicator of socio-economic status. In my understanding, nobody wants to be left behind in the modernisation process. English should be viewed as a language that could also help us preserve our culture. At present, most African countries have agreed to keep English as their language for socio-economic advancement. At the same time they recognise their primary languages in order to persuade their governments to allocate substantial resources to the promotion of bilingualism. The possibility of having the primary language as sole medium of instruction does not seem to have a successful future. In my view, what is likely to succeed as far as African languages are concerned is an upliftment and revision of the curriculum of African languages in order to develop the teaching of African languages as subjects to a higher status. It also entails moving away from a structurally based syllabus or curriculum to a communicative syllabus and methodology. Furthermore, it means

using the African languages in higher cognitive domains such as abstract thinking rather than pushing for their use as media of instruction. The working documents for the Curriculum 2005 in South Africa, in the Language Literacy and Communication learning area for teaching of home languages say, “ ‘learning outcomes’ should be seen as working together in developing learners’ language”. For example, “the learner should be able to communicate confidently and effectively in spoken language in a wide range of situations”. Furthermore, “the learner is able to view and read for information and enjoyment, and respond critically to the aesthetic, cultural and emotional values in texts”. It is also stated that the home languages should be used for teaching thinking and reasoning. That is, “the learner is able to use language to think and reason, and assess, process and use information for learning”. In my view this means that teachers and learners should see language learning not only as a product, but as a tool that is used for thinking and making judgements or quality decisions - in other words, using a language to think. The structure of a language needs to be studied, but not as the sole focus of classroom learning as it often happens in some second language classrooms.

2.3 The role of English in African education

Throughout the world English is regarded as a high status language. McArthur (1998:49-50) states that English in Africa is used as an official or co-official language in 22 African countries. He says that the study of English is an international industry and tens of thousands of scholars engage in it throughout the world. He adds that, “now in daily use seven hundred million people use it - and only half of them are native speakers of the language.” He says “English is the language on which the sun does not set, whose users never sleep” (McArthur, 1998:56).

At independence, some states in Africa, such as Nigeria in 1960, Kenya in 1963, Malawi 1964, Tanzania 1964, Zambia 1966, Botswana 1966, Lesotho 1966, Swaziland 1968, Zimbabwe 1980 and Namibia 1990 adopted English as their official language and language-in-education. Politically, some of these countries claimed that English was a unifying language or *lingua franca*, especially in multilingual countries. They felt that

any choice of an indigenous language would unleash a separatist dynamic, which would destabilise the mostly pluralistic African states. According to Schmied (1991:102-103) most African governments use the “high cost” argument as their decision to use English as the medium of instruction. According to the “high cost” argument, as nations in the Third World have been under strain with respect to manpower and financial resources since independence, it is believed that all major changes in the education system have been avoided. Another argument is the “anti-tribal” argument. Supporters of the “anti-tribal” argument claim that English is the only neutral language. According to the “technological” argument it is impossible to use African languages due to the lack of suitable scientific and technological vocabulary. The “international” argument also grants English the advantage over African languages, and African leaders claim it would be foolish not to take this advantage. Opponents of linguistic imperialism argue that the English language today can no longer be seen as the property of one or two imperialistic nations; English has developed into a world language or at least a language that is the property of the world (Schmied, 1991:103).

Bamgbose (1991:14) posits that there are two myths that are responsible for the language choices made by the African governments. They are firstly, that multilingualism is a barrier to national integration; secondly that national integration necessarily involves the emergence of a nation state with one common language. In my view these myths could be dispelled if the African languages were capable of doing some of what English does. That would be possible if the speakers of African *lingua francas* could use their *lingua francas* to unite their people the way that English does.

Bamgbose (2000) considers language as an instrument of exclusion. He shows how some African language speakers deride their own languages and aspire to become English speakers at home and at school. The reason that is usually given is that English is a global language. The ever-expanding global hegemony of English results in the marginalisation of local, national and regional languages. Some very serious tensions between language activists’ and pragmatists’ views arise out of the Additive Bilingualism debate. Arguments concern the use of home languages and English as media of instruction.

Alexander (1999), Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) and Bamgbose (2000) are more recent examples of the debates becoming increasingly tense.

Arthur (1998) says the historical hegemony of English in Botswana's education dating from the colonial period, positions aspirant teachers to professional status so as to secure their collusion in accepting and reproducing the position of English as the medium of teaching. The Ministries of Education in African countries expect that children be taught in English. In an attempt to realise this goal many learning institutions resort to teaching English as early as possible. The "Straight for English" policy represents a powerful pervasive identity (i.e. teaching English and teaching in English are regarded as high status and quality education). Many teachers feel more confident teaching in English than in their own African languages. In her study in Botswana, Arthur argues that teachers' concepts of "doing teaching" include the use of English; and, because they have internalised the concept, it is by definition the one which they can most comfortably both identify with and enact in the classroom. In other words, teachers feel comfortable to teach using English as the language of teaching although they are not proficient in it. Teachers often tend to reject pupils' answers, which are not given in English and which, although entirely appropriate, do not correspond to a particular and expected right answer. Some teachers do not want to entertain alternative answers. Arthur says such practices in Botswana encourage pupils to internalise their own role as learners as one of uncritical consumption. Many teachers want to rely on teachers' guides rather than using their own knowledge to determine alternative answers. Internalised concepts of teaching and learning are problematic because they pose an obstacle to the development by teachers of a principled and independent approach to teaching decisions (Arthur, 1998:322).

Several models of learning English are practised around the world. Literature on language education around the world suggests that one of the powerful programmes of learning English is through Bilingual Education.

2.4 Bilingualism and Bilingual Education

2.4.1 Definition of Bilingualism

The social nature of bilingualism defines bilingualism as being able to speak using two languages. Hoffman (1991:22) says a “balanced bilingual” is defined as someone who is more or less equally fluent in both languages and whose competencies in both languages are well-developed. Baker (1996:7) argues that the definition of bilingualism as “... the native-like control of two languages”, is too extreme, maximalist and ambiguous because an imprecise definition of bilingualism may include a minimalist definition. Baker (1996:16) says that “incipient bilingualism” is a description of people with minimal competence in a second language, who may squeeze into the category of bilinguals. This means that users of this definition need to work with it as a clearly defined concept. This makes the discussion about bilinguals very imprecise. Proponents of bilingualism see it as a process that enhances learning in an individual. However, in some cases, bilingualism is seen to exhibit some educational problems. Usually, monolingualism is seen as the better option that curbs problems caused by bilingualism. Bilingualism and Bilingual Education differ.

2.4.2 Bilingual Education

Bilingual Education refers to the instructional programmes in which students are able to study subject matter in their L1 (first language) while their weaker language (L2) skills are developed. In the United States, Bilingual Education is a programme that achieves bilingualism and offers instructional programmes for helping students whose first language is not English to overcome their linguistic and academic difficulties. It draws much of its premises from the “linguistic interdependence theory” proposed and advocated by Cummins, who argues that cognitive development is better facilitated by instruction in the first language and significantly increases acquisition in the second language. Types of Bilingual Education include Subtractive Bilingualism, Additive Bilingualism, Transitional Bilingualism, Immersion and Submersion.

2.4.3 Subtractive Bilingualism

A form of Bilingual Education that results in eventually replacing the mother tongue is known as Subtractive Bilingualism. It is the learning of the second language, such as English, in ways that undermine or replace the first language. An outcome of Subtractive Bilingualism is the replacement of the mother tongue by a second language. The second language is used in the education and the job market, while the first language is given low status and value. Subtractive Bilingualism has the effect of shifting the child from his/her home or minority language to a dominant majority language. Subtractive Bilingualism has often been associated with problems, especially for speakers of minority languages in that the minority languages eventually become unimportant to their speakers. This policy is also known as the transitional policy discussed in the section below.

2.4.4 Transitional Bilingualism

Transitional Bilingualism is a subtype of subtractive bilingualism, which results in situations where the home language is gradually replaced by the second language. Transitional Bilingual Education is similar to Subtractive Bilingualism because it has the effect of shifting the child from the home minority language to the dominant majority language (in the American context). Transitional programmes involve students' beginning their studies in their first language until they have learned enough English to be transferred to a monolingual mainstream classroom. Initially, the students' home or minority language is used, with the second language being taught as a subject. The policy of Transitional Bilingual Education is commonly found in the USA for the education of language minorities and in countries where the home languages are thought to be inadequately equipped to deal with complexities of technological, scientific and mathematical educational discourse. English for example, is used because of its efficiency in all these areas. Transitional Bilingual Education is very common in African education, where the mother tongues are used only in the first two years, after which the

second language is used throughout education. Reasons for using Transitional Bilingual Education is to temporarily make learners cope with home to school transition.

Children learning in a new language are likely to be affected in their schooling careers. If children feel that their home languages and their heritage and culture have all been sidelined, such children may have low self-esteem and lack academic self-confidence. This may also lead to poor educational performance. This pattern of failure is observed in Submersion and Transitional Bilingual Education programmes. There are many examples in the USA and African countries. For example, in the USA when Spanish-speaking children enter such schools, their Spanish is either denied or only allowed for a short period (such as one year). The expectation is that they move as quickly as possible into the majority language (English). The school denies the children the linguistic resources of their home languages and expects them to begin learning in a new language. Then they are labelled “Limited English Speakers” and eventually become segregated. Baker (1996: 181) stresses that “language minority children need their language to be represented in the school and to learn through the medium of that language as long as possible”.

2.4.5 Immersion Programmes

Genesse (1987:1) defines immersion as a form of Bilingual Education in which students who speak the language of the majority population receive part of their instruction through the medium of a second language. Both the L1 and the L2 are used to teach regular school subjects such as Maths, Science or Physical Education, in addition to the Language Arts. A feature of immersion programmes is that since students are not native speakers there is an emphasis during the initial phases of immersion on the development of oral language and listening comprehension skills. Immersion programmes were initially conceived in Canada.

According to Baker (1996: 169) the term “immersion” is appropriate only when the home language is a majority language and the school is adding on a second minority language or majority language. He suggests that the term be reserved for additive rather than

subtractive environments. The concern that is raised by this suggestion is that even in the subtractive situations the term is used similarly. With this, I particularly refer to situations where children are subjected to immersion and yet are in subtractive environments. Immersion is still perceived by many policy makers and politicians as the best way of teaching a second language to minority language speakers, for example, African language speakers.

2.4.6 Submersion

Submersion is a label used to describe education for language minority children who are placed in mainstream education. Baker (1996:174) outlines some features of a submersion programme as follows:

- The language minority student will be taught all day in the majority language alongside fluent speakers of the majority language.
- Both teachers and students will be expected to use only the majority language in the classroom, not the home language. The students may either “sink or swim”. A student is thrown into the deep end and is expected to learn to swim as quickly as possible without the help of floats or swimming lessons.
- The first language is not developed but is replaced by the majority language.
- In the United States there are Structured Immersion programmes – i.e. programmes that only contain language minority children and no language majority children. Structured immersion programmes are for language minority speakers conducted in the majority language. The first language is not developed but is replaced by the majority language.

In a Submersion programme the child begins instruction immediately in the second language without assistance through the mother tongue. The “Straight for English” policy or “L2 Throughout” policy exists where children are taught everything through the L2 from the first day of school. Baker and Garcia (1993) argue that learners from a language, which does not have high status, are submerged into a teaching and learning school environment in which the new language is a dominant high status language. Very little

attention is given to the learners' first language. The learners are expected to "sink or swim". Very few are able to swim. Those who do swim tend to be those from homes where the parents are professional or middle class, and there is exposure to reading material, and where there is additional exposure to the dominant language out of school. Worldwide, it is the most common method of instructing children who come from homes that do not use the language of wider communication. Advantages of the programme are that it is conceptually easy to understand – the more exposure to the second language the better. Parents often say, "we do not send our children to school to learn a language they already know". Disadvantages are that it makes the learning of reading, writing and subject matter difficult for children. It does not help the child develop the cognitive foundation necessary for academic learning in the second language. It also needs teachers who are well-trained to teach the language that children do not use in their home environments.

2.4.7 Additive Bilingualism

Baker (1996), Luckett (1993) and Heugh *et al.* (1995) say Additive Bilingualism is "...the gaining of competence in a second language while the regular use of first language is maintained". An Additive Bilingual model adds languages to a child's repertoire instead of removing them. Children's home languages are fully recognised and used in schooling. The expected outcomes of the Additive Bilingualism are communicative competence and proficiency in the second language while the regular use of the first language is maintained. Advocates of Additive Bilingualism say there is greater advantage in using this approach because it is unlikely to replace or displace the first language and culture. They argue that the learning of a second language in ways that may undermine a person's first language and culture create a subtractive situation.

Baker (1996) explains that Additive Bilingualism is an outcome that results when a second language and culture have been acquired with little or no pressure to replace or reduce the first language. The underlying hypothesis concerning creative thinking and

bilingualism is that the ownership of two or more languages may increase fluency, flexibility, originality and elaboration in thinking.

The students who are not mother tongue speakers of English are expected to have sufficient levels of proficiency in English for it to be used as the medium of instruction in the curriculum. Additive Bilingualism is regarded as a programme for achieving proficiency in the second language while maintaining the mother tongue. Proponents of Additive Bilingualism believe that communicative competence in both languages is necessary for achieving the expected proficiency in English. Communicative competence and language proficiency in two languages are the goals of Additive Bilingualism.

2.5 Communicative competence and language proficiency

According to Hymes (1972:281) “there are several sectors of communicative competence, of which the grammatical is one”. He argues that competence is the most general term for the capabilities of a person. He maintains that competence is dependent upon both tacit knowledge and ability for use. Rivera (1984: xix) adds that “the complexity and difficulty of defining communicative competence and identifying valid and appropriate approaches for its measurement among students with limited English skills is acknowledged by researchers”. This view holds that a child acquires competency of when to speak, when not to, what to talk about with whom, when, where, in what manner. Hymes emphasises that the acquisition of competence is fed by social experience, needs, motives and issues in action, that is itself a renewed source of motives, needs and experience (1972:277).

Baker (1996) and the SIL International (1999) suggest that aspects of communicative competence include grammatical competence, which consists of linguistic and pragmatic aspects of language competence. Linguistic competence consists of a group of competencies namely, phonological competence, which is the ability to recognise and produce distinctive meaningful sounds, and grammatical competence, which is the ability to construct and recognise meaningful structures. Lexical competence means having an

adequate vocabulary and the ability to manipulate the words in a language to make meaning. Discourse competence is the ability to construct a text or a speech and the ability of relating it to hearers. Pragmatic aspects of communicative competence consist of sociolinguistic competence, that is, the ability of using language appropriately, and interactional competence, which is the ability to negotiate meaning with other people. Functional competence is the ability to use languages for specific purposes such as greetings. Cultural competence refers to the ability to use language, showing understanding of the behaviour of others. Clarification of the differences in communicative competence follows below.

Ellis (1994:156) defines proficiency as “the ability to use language in specific contexts”. He further explains that L2 proficiency refers to the learner’s skill in using the L2. It can be contrasted with the term “competence” because, whereas competence refers to the knowledge of the L2 a learner has internalized, proficiency means the learner’s ability to use this knowledge in different tasks. This means that proficiency refers to the outcomes that result from the learner’s motivation and need to communicate. Hence, it has to do with the production and use of language. Baker (1996:5) adds that proficiency can be likened to language ability. Cummins (1996) suggests that proficiency in a language involves a mastery and control of many skills that interact with one another. This means being able to use a language correctly to convey meaning as well as being able to understand the responses, for example, using English to ask questions, understand teachers and reading materials, to test ideas and to challenge what is being said in the classroom. The four language skills of listening, speaking, reading and writing contribute to proficiency. Vecchio and Guerrero (1995) suggest that language proficiency is “a coherent orchestration of discrete elements, such as vocabulary, discourse structure and gestures to communicate meaning in a specific context, for example, at school”. Linguistic abilities seem to be at the crux of language proficiency. Understanding the language through listening and reading in order to carry out certain tasks is one of the elements of language proficiency. Extracting meaning from textbooks and negotiating meaning with others is another aspect.

Language proficiency also seems to be linked with language performance. Hymes criticises the position accepted by Transformational Generative Grammarians for their concentration on linguistic competence and linguistic performance only. He asserts that language performance seems only to be concerned with the encoding and decoding of language in concrete situations and excludes the sociocultural factors while linking performance to imperfection (Hymes, 1972:272). The interplay between communicative competence and language proficiency is achieved by having various competences. I think that language proficiency is a product of all the aspects of communicative competence but it is not communicative competence per se. Hymes emphasises that

... competence is integral with attitudes, values and motivations concerning, features and uses. Furthermore, the internalisation of attitudes towards a language and its uses is particularly important, on priority of subjective evaluation in social dialect and process of change (1972:277).

The above view is barely considered in language proficiency testing. My observation is that language proficiency tests do not usually test all the areas of language competence. It seems that language proficiency is designed along the lines of language performance, thus it sometimes does not reflect in adequate terms the students' language proficiency in all the areas that have been listed under communicative competence. Language proficiency tests only assess the language skills such as listening, speaking, reading and writing. Often, they do not test communicative competence.

Cummins (1978) proposed two distinctions of language proficiency. He argues that the two faces of language proficiency are the surface or conversational fluency and cognitive academic language proficiency. Cummins argues that sometimes "children's adequate control over the surface features of English (i.e. their ability to converse fluently in English), is taken as an indication that all aspects of their 'English proficiency' have been mastered". Cummins says this is a misconception if conversational skills are interpreted as a valid index of overall proficiency in the language. He suggests that in order to address these misconceptions and clarify the relationship between language proficiency and bilingual students' academic performance, it is necessary to make a fundamental distinction between conversational

and academic aspects of language proficiency (Cummins, 1996:55). The distinction between contextualised and decontextualised language is another marker of Cummins' difference between Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS) and Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP). He says decontextualised language is language that is abstract and that is not supported by paralinguistic or personal and linguistic cues. He posits that, as students progress through the grades, they are increasingly required to manipulate language in cognitively demanding and context reduced situations that differ significantly from everyday conversations. Contextualised language is the language that is supported by contextual or interpersonal cues such as gestures, facial expression and intonation present in face-to-face interaction, or dependent on linguistic cues that are largely independent of the immediate communicative context. That means they are context-embedded and cognitively undemanding.

Cummins' Developmental Interdependence Hypothesis states that children can attain high levels of competence in their second language if it is well taught and is strongly promoted by their environment outside the school. The high level of proficiency in the first language makes possible a similar level in the second language. In contrast, when skills in the first language are not well developed, and education in the early years is exclusively in the second language, further development of the first language will be stunted. In turn, this will exert a limiting effect on second language acquisition. According to the hypothesis, development of the minority child's first language is a prerequisite for successful second language acquisition.

Cummins (1980, 1996, 2000) uses the terms Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) and Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS). BICS are the phonological, syntactic and lexical skills necessary to function in everyday interpersonal contexts, while CALP is required in tasks where students have to manipulate or reflect upon surface features of language outside immediate interpersonal contexts, as in school tasks or language tests. CALP is also an essential aspect of academic language proficiency and refers to the ability to make complex meaning explicit either in oral or

written modalities by means of language itself rather than by means of contextual paralinguistic cues. It is the use of language in abstract situations involving critical thinking and cognition.

I am aware of the critiques against Cummins' BICS/CALP distinctions, for example, Edelsky and MacSwan (cited by Cummins, 2000:73). It has been challenged because the dichotomy used by Cummins does not take into account social context. Cummins (1996:65) seems to see this gap when he suggests that

... educators need to dig a little deeper than superficial linguistic mismatches between home and school or insufficient exposure to English. Underachievement is not caused primarily by lack of fluency in English. Underachievement is the result of particular kinds of interactions in school that lead culturally diverse students to mentally withdraw from academic effort.

However, Cummins (2000) clarifies that the BICS/CALP distinction was not proposed as an overall theory of language but as a conceptual distinction addressed to specific issues concerning the difficulties of second language learners. Cummins acknowledges that some investigators have claimed that he had abandoned the dichotomy and says

This is inaccurate. I have tended to use the terms conversational and academic proficiency in place of BICS and CALP because acronyms were considered misleading by some commentators. However, the acronyms continue to be widely used in the field and are still appropriate to use (2000:75).

The distinctions made by Cummins should be considered when deciding about the language to be used as language of instruction.

2.6.1 The effects of a bilingual programme on Punjabi speaking children

From 1978 to 1981, the University of Bradford in Great Britain observed the effects of an early bilingual programme on five-year old children who were native speakers of Punjabi (an Indian language). A control group using only English scored much lower than children who were taught partly in English and partly in Punjabi. Klein (in International Development Research Centre IDRC, 1997) observes that although these studies did not

take into account other possible spin-offs with regard to the emotional and cultural growth of those children, useful lessons can be learned from them. Klein concludes that maintaining children's mother tongues does not slow or impede their acquisition of English. Linguists have shown that language and thought are inextricably interwoven and that for cognitive development children need a language to pin and evolve their thoughts. The best language for doing so is the mother tongue (IDRC, 1997).

2.6.2 Minority language education research at the University of California

In the United States, the Centre for Minority Education and Research of the University of California carried out one of the most comprehensive longitudinal studies of bilingual education programmes to date (1981-1991). The object of the study was to determine whether teaching Spanish-speaking students (who have limited English proficiency) mostly in English or teaching them in English in combination with Spanish, better enables them to "catch up" with their native English-speaking peers in basic skills (English, language, arts and mathematics). According to Baker (1996:214) and Ramirez *et al* (1991), over 2300 Spanish speaking students from 554 kindergarten to 6th grade classrooms in New York, New Jersey, Florida, Texas and California were studied. The study covered three types of programmes, namely: English Immersion (where almost all teaching is in English), Early-Exit Bilingual (less than forty minutes of instruction in the mother tongue per day, for no more than two to three years), and Late-Exit Bilingual Education (instruction in the home language representing 40 to 50% of the daily schedule up to grade four). The outcomes were different for the three types of Bilingual Education.

- By the end of the 3rd grade, maths, language and English reading skills were not particularly different between the three programmes.
- By the 6th grade, Late Exit Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE) students were performing higher in maths, English language and English reading than other programmes.
- Parental involvement appears to be greatest in the Late Exit TBE.
- The students' mother tongue is the most effective language of instruction.

- The rapid transition to classes taught only in the students' second language does not allow for satisfactory development of the students' linguistic and cognitive abilities.
- The second language can be taught effectively if half of the students' classes are taught in that language.
- A bilingual/multilingual programme, integrated into the regular curriculum, gives the best results.

However, it is difficult to determine the exact degree of importance of early mother tongue teaching for academic success. There are other important variables, such as the quality of teachers and educational material, the curriculum, and the teaching methods used. However, research conducted worldwide, for example Cummins' research, confirms that from a pedagogical standpoint it is better, all other things being equal, to teach children in their mother tongue. Although, this "principle" is increasingly gaining the recognition of policy makers, prohibiting factors (linguistic diversity, technical problems and costs), the development of quality materials and the problem of implementation remain.

2.7.1. Assumptions about successful Bilingual Education

Proponents of Additive Bilingualism and Bilingual Education, for example Heugh *et al* (1995:54), Krashen (1996), Cummins and Swain (1982) and Baker (1996), say bilingual children cope better than monolinguals because they see things from more than one point of view. This is because the child is not bound by words, and is more elastic in thinking due to his proficiency in two languages. Heugh *et al* further argue that bilingual people have an enhanced ability to analyse their knowledge and have greater control of language processing than monolinguals. Because bilinguals have the ownership of a dual-language system, they fare better than monolinguals in skills associated with creativity, imagination and open-ended thinking skills. For bilinguals it is a very big advantage because systems of education now require critical thinking, problem solving, flexibility, creative thinking and higher order thinking skills. Opponents of Bilingual Education often claim that success is possible without it. They argue that Bilingual Education is

confusing. Krashen (1996) argues that the belief that the best way to learn a language is through "total immersion" is a fallacy. Crawford further argues that

There is no credible evidence to support the "time on task" theory of language learning, the claim that the more children are exposed to English, the more English they will learn. Research shows that what counts is not just the quantity, but also the quality of exposure. Second-language input must be *comprehensible* to promote second-language acquisition (Krashen, 1996). If students are left to sink or swim in mainstream classrooms, with little or no help in understanding their lessons, they won't learn much English. If native-language instruction is used to make lessons meaningful, they will learn more English and more subject matter, too (Crawford, 1998).

Krashen (1996:17) adds that success without bilingual education is due to the presence of some conditions underlying successful bilingual education being met outside school. For example, this may be in that parents may hire tutors who work with the child helping him/ her in the mother tongue. In other words, parents make an additional effort to make sure that characteristics of bilingual education are satisfied. A considerable number of cases also depend on comprehensible input from peers and friends or as a result of reading a lot in order to acquire academic language in the L2. In other words, the learner acquires conversational fluency from friends and classmates while academic language fluency is acquired from reading. Krashen observes that

Children who have a good foundation in the first language have two of the three characteristics of a good program already; they have subject matter knowledge in the first language and literacy development in the first language. The curriculum, even if it is in English, is far more comprehensible for them than for children without good education in the primary language (Krashen, 1996:20).

According to Krashen where there is success there is *de facto* Bilingual Education. This argument suggests that monolingual or "total immersion" is not better than Bilingual Education. In Krashen's terms all groups who succeed in an immersion programme somehow have the benefits of Bilingual Education, with the L1 development coming from school and home.

Cummins (1996:54) observes that students classified as "English proficient" after a relatively short stay in a bilingual programme (e.g. Transitional Bilingual Education) and then exited into an all-English programme often fall progressively further behind grade norms in the development of academic skills. Cummins adds that because the children appear to be fluent in English their poor academic performance can no longer be explained by the fact that their English language abilities are still in the process of development. Thus the academic deficiency is attributed to factors within the child or his/her community. Cummins argues that this is one of the misconceptions underlying Bilingual Education. He suggests that in order to address this misconception we have to clarify the relationship between language proficiency and students' academic performance.

2.7.2 Criticisms of Bilingual Education

Bilingual Education is criticised because research outside Canada and the United States on Additive Bilingualism is still very limited and in Africa is certainly inadequate. Fewer studies such as the Ife Project conducted in Africa lack support because they were only done as experiments; no follow-up was ever done. Corson (1990) acknowledges that theoretical information offered by the Finnish researchers, Toukomaa and Skutnabb-Kangas, and the Canadian researchers, Cummins and Swain (1982), is essential for language planning at the school level. While these "hypotheses" explain many different phenomena, they still need strong empirical support at the level of language learning and teaching as such (1990:169). Corson (1990:172) argues that the evidence of the Bilingual Education is very scant in terms of generalisability. The lack of scientific proof in Bilingual Education debate is the main weakness in the argument. Garcia and Baker (1993:16) say that the Bilingual Education Act in the USA was not a pedagogical response to a previously documented problem but rather the result of political strategies designed to funnel federal poverty funds to the Southwest. The argument that Bilingual Education was a political plan rather than a democratic move to improve the education of minority language speakers further weakens Bilingual Education as a means of solving the problems caused by the language differences. Carey states that

The official administrative intent of these bilingual programs in the USA was to permit students, who did not comprehend English sufficiently, to be initially schooled in their first language because their mastery of academic content would be more rapid in their stronger first language (1993:27).

Carey argues that increased competitiveness at both academic and economic levels necessitates the rapid assimilation of complex information from diverse international sources and renders minority language groups at an extreme disadvantage if they are not highly proficient in information processing in the dominant international language. He adds that whether a minority language or majority language will survive is determined in large measure by the political, cultural and economic power that the language represents. The use of the dominant language in education is therefore the most sensible and logical thing to do (1993:29).

In the following section I will review some empirical studies conducted in African classrooms.

2.8.1 Bilingualism in African classrooms

Bilingualism and multilingualism are common in many countries. However, Additive Bilingualism is still only an ideal needing substantial testing, evaluation and research. It still needs to be proved locally in studies that involve teachers and pupils who are not English speakers. This evidence will help to identify better models of teaching basing them on the view that other models, namely subtractive ones, have failed. Additive Bilingualism encourages the development of a whole cognitive system, provided that the language in which learners are made to operate is sufficiently well developed. It still waits to be proved empirically through research in the African context. The number of studies that have been undertaken in Africa on the medium of instruction question, are those that advocate the use of indigenous languages or multilingualism. These also pose a substantial problem because in South Africa, for example, they are reminiscent of the Apartheid Bantu Education system. They also pose further problems because textbooks are not in the African languages and the teachers are not trained to teach using the

African languages. Therefore it would be an oversight to think that any African language speaker can teach using an African language without proper training to do so.

2.8.2 The Tanzanian language crisis

In Tanzania, research on primary education demonstrated the superiority of teaching in Swahili rather than English for the development of cognitive functions. It was noted, for instance, that when students were asked a question in English, the answer was often incoherent and irrelevant, showing a lack of understanding of the question and/or ability to reply in English. When the same question was asked in Swahili, students responded in an articulated way. (Mlama and Materu, cited in Qorro 1999). Roy-Campbell and Qorro (1997) and Qorro (1999:95) argue that up to 95% of secondary school students cannot read and understand the set books in the English language even with the help of teachers.

Qorro (1999:92) says students' inability to read seems to be reflected in their writing at tertiary level. She argues that this is because the syllabus concentrates on the manipulation of grammatical structures without reference to the ways in which language is used as a system of communication. Qorro (1999) says in Tanzanian schools, teachers give notes and students copy rather than involving them in creative work in which they write from their inner selves. Schmied (1991:109) and Qorro say the Criper/ Dodd Report³ revealed that the level of English was far below the minimum requirements in all types of schools up to university. Common practices in Tanzanian classes were that teachers read important messages aloud to the class, then dictated summaries, thematic comments, memorable phrases and essay outlines and finally asked their students to write something along those lines. Qorro comments that under such circumstances students lack linguistic creativity and find it impossible to move away from such guidelines. Researchers in Tanzania, for example, Mlama and Materu (1978), Qorro and Roy-

³ Criper, C and Dodd, W (1984) Report on the teaching of English and its use as a medium of instruction, ODA/British Council. The Criper and Dodd report contend that the standard of English of those leaving Form 4 and Form 6 remains low. Colleges of Education and universities are forced to accept students who are poor in English.

Campbell (1997) and Qorro (1999), concur in that Tanzanian secondary school learning is based on book-dependent knowledge.

2.8.3 The Threshold Project in South Africa

In South Africa, a bilingual transitional programme known as The Threshold Project was launched and evaluated in 1990. The major problem which the project addressed was concerned with the language and learning difficulties which standard 3 children experience when they change from the MT to English as a medium of instruction (Macdonald, 1990:4). One of the findings of The Threshold Project was that children were inadequately prepared for the sudden transition to learning ten subjects through the medium of English in standard three (Macdonald, 1990:48). The principal conclusion of this study was that bilingual programmes in which a language other than the students' mother tongue is used before a certain age or before a certain "cognitive level" is achieved, are not likely to be successful.

It is assumed that pupils should be exposed to English as early as possible, because after all, they will be using English most of their lives, especially in the workplace. The notion that exposure to English and its use as MoI straight from Grade 1 makes learners fluent in English and gives them the ability to learn other subjects is questionable because some do not succeed even if they have had this exposure. There are some problems in this assumption. Macdonald (1990) notes them as the following:

- The teachers are not well-trained, nor are they competent bilinguals.
- There is not adequate support from the family in terms of pre-literacy experience, nor other concomitants of a literate environment such as books at home, public libraries, the practice of reading for pleasure etc.
- There is little opportunity for the child to practise the language in meaningful peer group contexts, nor indeed for him/her to have practice speaking to MT target language speakers (adult or child).
- There is inadequate linguistic development in the MT (Macdonald, 1990:49-50).

In the Threshold Project Macdonald concluded that there was some inadequacy in the four years of instruction in the mother tongue in preparing learners for the sudden change to the English medium of instruction, which was to be started in the fifth grade. She pointed out that this policy resulted in failure despite the attempt to initially start teaching children in their first language because the switch to the English medium was abrupt and the children were not ready for it. Macdonald's recommendations included giving children a good start of schooling in the MT.

Macdonald & Burroughs (1991:29) and de Klerk (1995) argue that "children who are not home language speakers of English need starting off in their language because it will give them the foundation on which their thinking skills and their ability to acquire and use other languages will develop". They also stress re-valuing the first language. Their claim is based on statistics from the rest of Africa. Although many countries begin schooling their children in the MT and then switch over a few years later to a second language as the MoI, many of them are beginning to look again at the value of the children's first language in education.

Appel and Muysken (1987:61) argue that minority language teaching is a requirement for a healthy development of the child's personality and a positive self-image. If schools do not provide any minority language teaching, then the school becomes for minority children a place where their identity and prior knowledge is undermined. The self-image of minority children will be harmed if literacy in the minority language is not developed in the school because they cannot make connections between the real world and schooling (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). However, many parents are opposed to this view and prefer English-medium schools because they are better equipped in terms of instructional materials, better quality instruction and better learning environments (Bamgbose, 2000:95-96).

2.8.4 Studies in Botswana primary classrooms

Arthur (1994) examined the use of English in Standard 6 classrooms in Botswana, where teachers attempted to use the official medium of English almost exclusively. Arthur observed that the limited roles of English at societal level were seen to be paralleled in the classroom by a limited functional range in the English used for instructional purposes. She asserts that the consequences of this limited range include perpetuation of the transmission mode of education in which formulaic memorisation plays a central role (1994:63). Arthur concluded (prior to 1996) that the policy of English as a medium from Standard 6 is a handicap to teachers and pupils in their pursuit of meaningful learning. Arthur (1994) and Nyati-Ramahobo (1996) agree that although there are six minority languages in Botswana, no languages other than English and Setswana are at present officially recognised.

In the 1996 policy, Botswana recommended an earlier start to the use of English as a medium of instruction, much earlier than it was in the policy before 1994. Before 1994 Setswana was the MoI until Standard 4, and English after Standard 5. English and Setswana lessons were taught daily throughout primary schooling. Arthur adds that for most Botswana exposure to English is limited to their school experience. English for them is a language they consciously learned through formal instruction. Arthur concludes that few children (outside the classroom) and few adults are likely to come into more than marginal and passive contact with English, e.g. through radio or television.

Arthur observed that it was common for Botswana primary teachers to use Setswana rather than English in exercising control in their classrooms, as in issuing reprimands and calling for attention. Teachers prefer dealing with much more serious matters and complex procedures in Setswana. She concluded that the regulatory function of language was much more accomplished through Setswana (Arthur, 1994:69).

For the heuristic function of language, Arthur found that no pupils were observed in the standard 6 classrooms putting questions to their teachers. The heuristic function of

language refers to situations where a language is used to get things done, such as asking questions. Prophet and Rowell (cited in Arthur, 1994: 68) also made similar observations in Botswana in junior secondary schools. Arthur says this point showed the rarity and absence of English use in the classrooms for finding out and testing hypotheses as a basis for learning. Arthur further observed that pupils in their on-task interaction subtly used Setswana and Ikalanga. She speculated that it shows the use of Setswana, and not English, for heuristic purposes. She also observed that there was relatively very little instructional time devoted to collaborative group-work in those classrooms, and where the teacher's intervention was also very rare.

With regard to the informative function of language, Arthur's research revealed that the use of English was restricted to the transmission mode of lessons. She reported that the transmission of lesson content and the monitoring of that process fulfil a representational or informative function. Fuller and Snyder (cited in Arthur, 1994: 70) also observed the repetitiveness of much of the content lessons in Botswana schools; many whole lessons and much time within yet others are devoted to revision of topics which pupils have previously encountered, either recently or in lower grades. Repetition and rehearsal of knowledge is necessary in rote learning. Arthur states that in such routines English merely appeared to serve, but did not in fact, an informative function in the sense of having its primary purpose the conveying of information.

Arthur further observed an orientation towards using one language as opposed to a bilingual model of language development. She argued that the orientation towards using one language resulted in the use of inferior teaching methodology. For example, the use of English predominantly in lessons resulted in the greater use of rote learning and the drilling technique.

Concerning resources and constraints in schools and classrooms, Arthur stated that teachers felt understandably daunted by the children's apparent failure to use English after having more than five years of instruction in it. She posited that teachers were subjected to the constraints inherent in teaching through the medium of a foreign

language. She argued that one reason for their failure was due to the scarcity of their functional resources and the teachers' acceptable use of English as a medium of teaching. The teaching methods used by the teachers were rooted in behaviourist teaching theories. However, this may not be a fault of the teachers; it comes from the way they had been trained to teach during times when these methods were the best available at the time. Arthur concluded that these constraints conspire to lock teachers and their pupils into uncreative classroom routines, which are often unproductive and tedious for all concerned (1994: 74). In Arthur's view the prevalence of recitations in less affluent schools was due to the socio-economic background of the children served in the schools. She also observed that the inhospitable terrain and great distances in Botswana make it even more difficult for the regional distribution of textbooks. She also said that schools in Botswana face problems in obtaining supplies of suitable textbooks and other materials for their teachers and pupils.

2.8.5 Studies in Burundi primary classrooms

Ndayipfukamiye (1994) researched primary schools in the Burundi government education. The research focused on Grade 5 pupils in government schools who were taught in Kirundi during the first four years of school of a six-year primary programme. In Grade 5 teachers and learners faced more acute communication problems because of the medium changeover. It was at this grade that French was used for the first time as a medium of instruction. The following conclusions were drawn from the study:

- Code-switching between French and Kirundi was a powerful reflection of the ways in which the teacher and the learners mediated the communicative demands they faced in the implementation of the curriculum. Patterns of code-switching were observed in language lessons, content subjects and in the management of classroom interactions. For example, in maths lessons exercises tended to be done predominantly in French because once the concepts and procedures had been explained, all the pupils were asked to do was to explain formulas when carrying out particular tasks.
- The operations involved the use of a particular code involving mostly formulaic utterances that pupils had internalised. In exercises that involved a great deal of

explanation, it was in practice impossible for teachers to do all the activities without resorting to Kirundi.

- It was clear that the use of Kirundi facilitated the pupils' understanding of the new materials that teachers were presenting. Where the lessons drew on "local" culture, such as in Home Economics and History, the lessons were predominantly conducted in Kirundi.
- Teachers were faced with two kinds of constraints; they had to cope with teaching in a medium of French and had to guide pupils through the curriculum following highly conventionalised pedagogic routines. These included mathematics (concepts and procedures thoroughly rehearsed in the forms of exercises sessions).
- Materials were characterised by considerable homogeneity, and their authority was reinforced by the written word and the fact that the materials were centrally produced.
- The role of the teacher was instrumental. He/she was charged with the drawing of relevant information, commenting on it, generalising it, and formulating it.

Ndayipfukamiye concluded that in primary schools in Burundi, only the teachers have the option to meet the communicative demands of different types of teaching/ learning by using code-switching. He argues that code-switching should also be a communicative resource for pupils as well as teachers (ibid: 91). This view is also reiterated by Rubagumya (1994:2) who states that code-switching contributes to the accomplishment of pedagogic routines, the construction of knowledge across the curriculum and to classroom management. A lot more research and literature exists on code-switching, thus I shall present some international perspectives about code-switching in the classroom.

2.9 Studies on code-switching in classrooms

Studies by Gumperz (1982) and Myers-Scotton (1993) distinguish two kinds of code-switching. Gumperz (1982) states that a narrator may use code-switching to perform the following discourse functions for conversational code-switching: (a) quotation (b) interjection (c) reiteration (d) message qualification (e) addressee specification and (f) personification versus objectification. Obondo (1996:181) says that a central idea in the

Gumperzian approach is that languages in bilingual environments are seen as expressing meanings either in solidarity and informality (the “in-group”/“we code”) or formality (“out-group”/ “they code”). She further states that the core assumption in this perspective is that members of a bilingual speech community attach different meanings to the code-switches. One of the problems noted concerning the “we/they” distinctions and assigning intention and social meaning to the switches is that these meanings might not be so obvious. This applies especially when one tries to apply them to bilingual speech communities that do not fit the Gumperzian notion of what a bilingual speech community is. Stroud (cited in Obondo, 1996:180) adds that to understand the potential of code-switching phenomena, we must contextualise the phenomena within local ideologies of language. In the context of most classrooms where a second language and the primary languages are used, the second language emerges as a language of power. This shows the power relations likely to occur during the use of the two languages in the classroom; these sometimes differ from the functions suggested by the Gumperzian approach.

Jorgensen (1998:238-239) observes that Myers–Scotton's distinctions of “marked choice of language” differs from the “unmarked language choice”. Myers-Scotton argues that the “marked language choice” signals that the speaker is trying to negotiate a different “rights and obligations” based on immediate, personal motivation. In other words, personal motivation is the most salient determinant of the switch (“we-code”). She also posits that “marked” code-switching is determined by short-term factors, and therefore it is locally determined. In contrast, the “unmarked language choice” depends on a “rights and obligations” set associated with conventionalised exchange (“they-code”). The unmarked language choice and Gumperz’s conversational code-switching resemble each other where an existing set of conventions is the more salient determiner of the switch. Unlike the marked language choice, unmarked language choice is determined by long-term external factors outside of a particular communication, and is globally determined, for example, the power and status of speakers of a language.

Martin-Jones (1995:90) states that the determinants of language choice and code-switching in classrooms are necessarily more complex than can be legislated by language

policy or medium of instruction. She adds that recent studies have taken account of the sequential flow of classroom discourse and the way in which code-switching contributes to the interactional work that teachers and learners do in bilingual classrooms.

Martin-Jones (1995:98) adds that early studies of classroom code-switching were in terms of the choice between an in-group (a “we code”) and an out-group (a “they code”). Presently, teachers and learners exploit code contrasts to demarcate different types of discourse, to negotiate and renegotiate joint frames of reference and to exchange meanings at the spur of the moment. Code-switching is one of a number of possible contextualisation cues or communication resources available for constructing and interpreting meanings in context.

Teachers often exploit code-switching in the management of classroom interactions to distinguish between a teaching frame and a classroom management frame. Researchers investigating code-switching also take into account code-switching related to language proficiencies and preferences of the hearers as well as the code-switching which signals the communicative intentions of the speaker such as discourse related switching and participant related code alternation. Auer (cited in Martin-Jones, 1995:99) observes that discourse-related switching is speaker-oriented and serves as a resource for accomplishing different communicative acts at specific points within interactional sequences.

Discourse-related functions of code-switching are used, for example, in making an aside, quoting, specifying a particular addressee, and moving in and out of the teaching/ learning frame. Participant-related switching is hearer-oriented, i.e., it takes account of the hearer’s linguistic preferences or competencies. Participant-related switching is salient in classrooms where there are communicative problems facing teachers and learners due to the fact that the foreign language is retained as a medium of instruction. In the early years participant-related switching is also likely to predominate. In these situations, code-switching appears to be a crucial communicative resource for managing teaching/ learning interactions.

2.10 Language and education policies in Southern and East African countries

In all former British colonies English is an official language, although only a minute proportion of the population actually speak English as a first language. Phillipson (1992:27) says the demand of English is remarkably strong in non-English speaking areas. This is so, not only among the elite who benefit directly from their proficiency in English, but also among the masses who appreciate that it provides access to power and resources. He also reports that English has a key role internally and is also the external link in politics, commerce, science, technology, military alliances, entertainment and tourism (ibid:30). The relationship between English and African languages is an unequal one, and this has important consequences in almost all spheres of life. In addition, the privileged position of English is perpetuated by its dominance in the media.

It is this strong attraction to English that many countries including Swaziland and others respond to. They are aware of the positive outcomes associated with instruction through a mother tongue, but they also have to realistically respond to the global winds of change and the growing demand for English.

2.10.1 Kenya

According to Abdulaziz (1991), Schmied (1991), Nyakoro (1991) and Roy-Campbell (2001), Kenya has about 43 languages. Swahili is the national language while Luhya, Kalenjin, Gikuyo/ Kikuyu and Luo are the dominant languages. English is the language of most of the education system except in the first three years. It is also the official language of the civil service, correspondence and the legal system (together with KiSwahili). English is the language of most socio-economic activity including commerce and industry.

The teaching of English in Kenyan primary schools is aimed at assisting pupils to master four basic skills of listening, speaking, reading and writing. For example, the textbook

“The Progressive Peak English: Standard 1” provides guidance for the teacher on English pronunciation giving both phonetic and orthographic representation. Kenyans are encouraged to speak the kind of English that will be internationally intelligible. With regard to the teaching of English in secondary schools Kanyoro (1991:407) says that teachers are told that all pupils need remedial English owing to low standards of English in primary schools due to teachers having no training and insufficient learning experience of English before having to teach it.

In Kenya attitudes towards the mother tongues, for example Luhya, Kalenjin, Gikuyu/Kikuyu, Luo, KiSwahili and English, are based on how speakers perceive socio-economic advantages attached to each language. The mother tongue functions as a language of “identity” and solidarity. Knowing KiSwahili and a national variety is likewise establishing one’s identity at national level. The use of English in Kenya is a marker of good education and of modernisation.

2.10.2 Tanzania

Tanzania has more than 120 languages. Only KiSwahili supersedes the other languages (Roy-Campbell, 2001 and Abdulaziz, 1991). At independence in 1967 KiSwahili was made the national language, and throughout the sixties efforts were made to make it the official language. KiSwahili is used throughout the primary schooling system and is the language of socialisation and day-to-day business in Tanzania. English is an official subject in primary school and becomes the medium of instruction in Tanzanian secondary schools.

Kanyoro (1991:411) records that the “Arusha Declaration” of 1967 stated, “anything that promoted a few people to be the ‘bosses’ was contrary to the ideals of equality”. After this declaration the role of English in Tanzania was minimised in status, use and instruction. The syllabus was revised; the aim of teaching English was to increase the students’ ability to understand and interpret materials written in English and to train

students to write their own materials in English where the principles of “Ujaama”⁴ were incorporated. The ultimate aim of learning English was only to help students acquire functional English.

The teaching of English in Tanzania

At independence in 1967 KiSwahili was propagated as the lingua franca and an official language of Tanzania. This policy led to some neglect of English. Studies by Criper and Dodd (1984), Roy-Campbell and Qorro (1997) and Qorro (1999) argue that proficiency in English is lower in Tanzania since KiSwahili was made the language of instruction in all primary schools. Schmied (1991) confirms that proficiency in English is much lower in Tanzania than in Kenya and Zambia.

In Tanzania today there are indications of a change in people’s attitudes towards English, and the pendulum is likely to swing in favour of expanding English instruction in schools. Kanyoro (1991) observes that many teachers would like to see the teaching of English intensified. Qorro (1999) also indicates the low levels of English among the students who enter into the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM).

Roy-Campbell and Qorro (1997) note that after more than twenty years since the introduction of “Education for Self-reliance”, English remained the medium of instruction in secondary level despite efforts to initiate a change to KiSwahili throughout the seventies. In the seventies and eighties there was mounting concern over the apparent fall in the standard of English among secondary and post primary students in Tanzania. The problem seemed to be related to use of KiSwahili as the medium of instruction throughout primary schooling. Pupils failed to achieve adequate proficiency in English in order to use it as a medium of education. This resulted in poor performance in school and at tertiary levels.

⁴ Ujaama refers to the socialist political ideology introduced by Mzee Julius Nyerere at Tanzania’s independence in 1967. The guiding philosophy of Ujaama was the achievement of “self-reliance”.

2.10.3 Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe has 16 major indigenous languages. Two primary languages, Shona and Ndebele, are spoken by 75% and 16% of the population respectively, and 14 minority languages are spoken by 8% (Roy-Campbell, 2001:162). English is the national language and the mother tongue of 1% of the population. At independence in 1980, Shona and Ndebele were used in the African schools for the first three years of education, with English as the medium of instruction taking over after that. Although Shona and Ndebele were introduced in the schools prior to independence, they were not valued as school subjects. English was the symbol of “cultural capital”. During the liberation struggle, the National Liberation Movement used indigenous languages to counter ideological instruments against political hegemony. They used the indigenous languages to fight against English as a language of their colonisers. Roy-Campbell (2001:162) also notes that soon after independence 5 O-Level passes with Ndebele or Shona, but without English, were acceptable for higher education colleges. However, after one year in operation, this policy was reversed. Reasons for the abandonment of the policy were the concerns about “falling standards in education.” In Zimbabwe English now remains the *de facto* language of power and economic advancement.

Chiwome and Thondlana quoted by Roy-Campbell (2001:163) observed that the use of English in dealing with “serious” subject matter reinforces the impression that English is better suited to academic purposes and that serious discussions cannot be carried out in Shona. Some of the reasons justifying the continued use of English are the absence of an academic register and limited literary and linguistic terminology for Shona.

Roy-Campbell notes that most Zimbabweans prefer to use their mother tongue for communicative purposes but use English in educational, social and economic contexts. Chimhundu quoted in Roy-Campbell (2001:164) remarks that “Africans who have ‘made it’ have absorbed a lot of culture in the medium of English and their Shona has been left behind in the village”. The government as represented by the policy makers does not seem to acknowledge the importance of indigenous languages. Students do not take

Shona seriously and do not see the need to pass Shona in order to acquire a job or to proceed into higher education. They only know that they need at least a “C” grade in order to enter into tertiary education. English is accorded a higher status in many situations. Negative attitudes towards Shona abound in Zimbabwe and educated Zimbabweans look down upon Shona. In schools, the performance of many students who study in English is poor. However, government officials have expressed opposition of changing the medium of English to Shona and Ndebele saying that there is nothing wrong with English because “it is the language of getting things done” and three quarters of the world speaks English (Roy-Campbell, 2001:167).

Roy-Campbell (2001:167) also notes that the Zimbabwean government has to some extent afforded recognition to Shona, Ndebele and several other indigenous languages particularly in the fields of education and culture, but these have not been legislated into use in the entire primary school system as in Tanzania and Somalia. The 1987 Education Act required that in the first three years of primary education, children are taught in their mother tongue. However, by 1998 the Curriculum Development Unit had developed very few materials in the five minority languages namely, Kalanga, Venda, Tonga, Shangani and Nambya provided for by the Education Act (ibid.).

2.10.4 Mozambique

Mozambique has approximately 25 languages. Four are collectively spoken by 78% of the population (i.e. eMakhuwa, siTsonga, chiNyanja and chiShona). Mozambique is a former Portuguese colony as is Angola, but is similar to the countries in this region in the ideals in formulating its language policy. Mozambique regained independence in 1975 from Portugal after a protracted armed struggle. Portuguese was adopted as the *lingua franca*, although it is the language of the minority, in order to overcome regional problems of communication. In Mozambique, Portuguese marginalised African languages. Africans associated their languages with humiliation because they were punished when they spoke them. The Portuguese also ignored African Languages and thus they lacked systematised and standardised orthographies. Because the African

Languages were neglected the Mozambican Liberation Front (FRELIMO⁵) saw justification to retain Portuguese as the official language although it was a language of the minority. The Mozambican language question was addressed for the first time in the revised 1990 National Constitution. Portuguese was reaffirmed as the official language. The government further acknowledged to value national languages. Roy-Campbell (2001:176) says there are some efforts at present to develop orthographies for Mozambican languages and to produce textbooks. This is part of a project to introduce two Mozambican languages as media of instruction in the first four years of the primary schooling system. According to participants from Mozambique on the Training of Trainers in Multilingual Education Programme held at the University of Cape Town in August 2002, the National Institute for the Development of Education (INDE) (*Instituto Nacional do Desenvolvimento da Educação*) had started some initiatives to improve the status of Mozambican languages.

2.10.5 Namibia

Namibia has 13 main languages. They include 10 Namibian languages plus Afrikaans, German and English. During the liberation struggle the South West African Peoples' Organisation (SWAPO) chose English as the official language primarily as a medium against Afrikaans, which was viewed by Namibians as the language of oppression. Since 1991, the 10 Namibian languages have been given the status of the medium of instruction for functional literacy at lower primary school. Nine of these languages are taught as subjects up to Grade 10 level, and are taught as undergraduate courses in the university. The Namibian languages recognised as national languages are: Oshikwanyana, Oshindonga, Rukwangali, Otjiherero, Rucgiriku, Silozi, Setswana, Thimbukushu and Khoekhoegowab. Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir (2001:297) say all ten Namibian languages are mediums of instruction in Grades 1-3 and used for functional literacy, but with the exception of Ju'hoan which is not used in government schools but only in private schools built by the Nyae Nyae Development Foundation. They add that the Namibian

⁵ FRELIMO is the Mozambican political party that led the struggle against the Portuguese colonialism.

parents seem to think that the emphasis on local language will take away time away from the international language (ibid.: 314).

The Namibian language policy was met with a lot of criticism because, according to the 1991 Census, only 0.8% of the population spoke English. However, the government stated that the decision was a “considered decision” arising from the view that “since the global village is a reality”, it was necessary to choose a language that would remove the isolation imposed by the colonizers which restricted Namibia’s communication with the outside world. The goal of the Namibian policy is to establish English as the official medium of education and for promoting equal development of the main Namibian languages.

However, Brock-Utne (1995, 2000) points out that the Namibian languages are being marginalized; if one knows English well, one is considered educated. If one only knows Namibian languages, even though one may speak several of them, one is considered unintelligent and uneducated. Legere (in Roy-Campbell, 2001:174) argues that the Two-Language policy, because it is subtractive, does not aim to induce bilinguals, nor does it enable them to operate in two languages. It also carries the stigma of African languages being unable to function in higher-order cognitive domains. Roy-Campbell reports that there are problems with English as a language of instruction as a large number of teachers using it in classroom lack significant proficiency in English. Because Namibia has never had a tradition of using English, even during the colonial era, many children do not speak it outside the classroom. Code-switching is common in Grade 4 and beyond and teachers translate lessons into the Namibian language dominant in that area of teaching.

Harlech-Jones (1997:235) states that the language policy in Namibia replicates other policies in Sub-Saharan Africa. He criticises it on the grounds that, just like the other African countries, Namibia’s language policy aims at achieving some broad and substantial outcomes, without closely matching to the specific characteristics of situations, institutions, and the people who are most affected in these cases. The South West African People’s Organisation (SWAPO) had a decisive influence in the

construction of Namibia's language policy while in exile. The language policy document produced by SWAPO received a lot of support among those who were against the South African control over Namibia. Many institutions, such as the Council of Churches and pro-independence organisations in Namibia united in the general advocacy for English, preferred English as a medium of education. It suffices to say that the conflict about language that existed in Namibia was an integral part of the wider political conflict. The fight against Afrikaans and the advocacy for English provided a significant focus for solidarity and consciousness-raising. The position of other languages was not an issue in the policy, except that the continued role of indigenous languages in the educational system was as media of instruction in the lower elementary school and as school subjects. African languages were also to function as administrative languages in the ethnic authorities established by the former South African government. However, it is noted here that the advocacy for African languages as media of instruction in lower education levels was and is not implemented because of the lack of technical resources for the implementation of the policy. The fight against Afrikaans and the advocacy for English seems to have not been won because in practice the *de facto* use of Afrikaans is still prevalent. Compared with English, Afrikaans is still used because it is a language in which many Namibians are proficient. Yates (quoted by the IDRC, 1997) says that, "language preference is not just a matter of pedagogical effectiveness but is linked to wider political and socioeconomic factors, including the perceived status of various languages".

Furthermore, Harlech-Jones (1997:230) posits that in 1992 the language policy for schools was finalised and publicised for the period 1992-1996 and beyond. According to this document, there was a firmer commitment to the principle of learners studying through their own language, particularly in the years of schooling when basic skills of reading, writing and concept formation are acquired. Other principles being incorporated were those such as the principle of "equality of all national languages", as well as the "teaching of home languages throughout formal education, provided that the necessary resources were available". Another principle covered was the principle of parents' and children's choices of the language of instruction, especially in the early stages of

schooling. Harlech-Jones argues that the language policy had a “levelling” effect, aimed at reducing the effects of inequities and inequalities of the past. He also argues that English was regarded as the neutral language, at least to provide equal disadvantages to all and preventing the privileging of some groups. Although this may have been the motive of the policy makers, the point they seem to have ignored is that those who got to power had acquired education through English probably outside Namibia. It is English that they used to attain power.

The critique by Harlech-Jones shows that language policy formulation in Namibia was driven with very little concern for the broader context in which it was set. He argues that it was devised as if it was set in an isolated context deliberately devised to serve ultimate and distant political aims. He argues that it is a “utopian” policy. He further states that the policy was devised neither with an understanding of the general social circumstances, nor with the aims of educational policy in Namibia in mind. For example, the Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC) in Namibia wanted to reform its education by making it child-centred and participative, in accord with the methodology that promotes learning through understanding. The danger of the change of the language of instruction without restructuring the education system is potential failure. The use of a new language of instruction to teach an old curriculum is dangerous. The language policy should link with the new education system. The MEC also wanted to focus on scientific and mathematical knowledge, which had been neglected prior to independence. In effect the government did not have textbooks that used the technical vocabulary for Maths and Science. These were basics necessary for the new language policy.

2.10.6 South Africa

South Africa has 12 official languages including sign language. The languages are Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, sePedi, seSotho, siSwati, siTsonga, seTswana, TsiVenda, isiXhosa and isiZulu. The 1997 DoE’s Language-in-Education policy recognises the use of the 11 official languages as media of instruction throughout the school curriculum.

Aims of the policy are to promote equity among all the languages of South Africa. The policy seeks to promote multilingualism based on the following aims:

- To promote full participation in society and the economy through equitable and meaningful access to education;
 - To pursue the language policy most supportive of general conceptual growth amongst learners, and hence to establish additive multilingualism as an approach to language in education;
 - To promote and develop all the official languages;
 - To support the teaching and learning of all other languages required by learners or used by communities in South Africa, including languages used for religious purposes, languages which are important for international trade and communication, and South African Sign Language, as well as alternative and augmentative communication;
 - To counter disadvantages resulting from different kinds of mismatches between home languages and languages of learning and teaching;
 - To develop programmes for the redress of previously disadvantaged languages
- (Department of Education, 1997, Government Notice No. 383, Vol. 11997)

Subtractive Bilingualism is practised in South African schools. South Africa is presently using both the MT and English in ex-DET⁶ schools with a stronger emphasis on English. Ex-Model "C"⁷ schools use English and Afrikaans. Many parents in townships move their children to English medium ex-Model "C" schools in their quest for quality education offered in English medium schools.

A critique of the Language-in-Education Policy for South Africa

Taylor and Vinjevold (1999:215) argue that the LiEPs used in schools visited in the President's Education Initiative (PEI) research project were *de facto* policies and practices influenced by the perceptions of the value of English as a language of socio-economic power and mobility. According to the researchers' observations, many schools were increasingly offering English at the lower levels. In other words, there was a decrease in the use of the mother tongue or primary language in junior classes. These practices continued to occur despite the call for mother tongue instruction and its perceived

⁶ Former Department of Education and Training schools

⁷ Former White schools only.

advantages proposed in the 1997 South African Department of Education's LiEP and the literature on MT education. The results from studies of the early abandonment of the primary or home languages are that learners do not usually succeed in learning the additional languages. Alexander (1999:23) recommends Additive Bilingualism for South Africa because the advantages of using the MTs or primary languages are social, cognitive and linguistic.

In the South African context it is very difficult to convince parents on the values of the use of the mother tongue in education. Many parents oppose the mother tongue instruction policy because it was associated with Apartheid. The low status of African languages and the social and economic benefits of being fluent in English have always been the core reasons for rejecting the mother tongue policy. Taylor and Vinjevoid (1999:220) also report that the researchers found that “delaying the acquisition of English is incomprehensible to parents, because English is not only seen as a language, but as a resource that can result in upward social and economic mobility.” Setati (cited in Taylor and Vinjevoid, 1999:220) states that the exodus from township schools is proof of many parents' desire for teaching their children in English. Because of the perceived benefits of English language proficiency, parents and teachers are opting for an earlier English language instruction. “In these circumstances the ideal of mother tongue instruction appears to be receding and increasingly difficult to achieve” (ibid: 20). Similarly, in Malawi, in 1996 the Ministry of Education issued a policy directive, which stated that Standards 1-4 should use the mother tongue as the medium of instruction (Kamwendo *et al.*, 1999:5). However, this mother tongue policy was met with mixed feelings. Delaying the introduction of English did not make sense to parents, teachers and the public. They thought it was better to use English earlier.

In 1997 the Department of Education (DoE) in South Africa opted for an Additive Multilingual Education policy approach, which means that those languages that were not used as mediums of instruction would now be used alongside English. Viewed in totality, this means that South Africa will have nine African languages in addition to Afrikaans and English; it would end up with eleven languages as languages of instruction. This is

incomprehensible to many people. The new LiEP raises questions about its implementation. There are many misunderstandings and complexities and serious challenges towards implementing the new language policy.

Barkhuizen (1997:96) says that the advocates of multilingualism were guided by ideological concerns rather than by the practical possibilities of their plans and the language attitudes of the people of South Africa. He argues that it is the practical aspects that need extensive attention because, for instance, many school principals in the Eastern Cape province complain that the policy has a frustrating anomaly in their school circumstances. The teachers he interviewed said the government's language policy recommendations for promoting multilingualism, especially on the part of African languages, could not be pursued in their schools because they do not have qualified teachers for African languages as media of instruction. The failure of the policy planners to accommodate the classroom situations and their failure to project into the realities of the working lives of teachers make implementation difficult. Critics of the new LiEP say it is easy to wallow in the comfort of politically correct rhetoric and produce equally appealing policy statements.

Materials in African Languages are the key to the success of the policy. Mmusi (1999:73) argues that if the language policy is to be implemented, the South African government should not only have it on paper but should also devote or set aside some financial and material resources for the successful implementation of the policy. I agree with this view because if no resources are provided, the language policy looks just like window-dressing. From the textbook publishers' point of view, writers' interests in writing in African languages have waned. They prefer to write and publish in languages that will have a wider client readership, and in turn, greater financial gain. Educational publishing in African languages, especially in subject areas, is no longer good business for publishers and therefore they do not pursue it.

Many views in South Africa, especially those of the African language speakers, including some teachers and students are that the New Language policy does not seem

implementable, unambiguous and plausible with regard to the medium of instruction issue. A clearer language policy that will state without ambiguity, the language to be used for teaching through all levels is needed. The new LiEP does not elaborate how the eleven languages are going to be used as media of instruction and how the materials will be made available as well as the provision of a budget for the implementation.

Research by Swedish researchers Iannici and Kok (1999) in schools in South Africa found that students prefer English as an international *lingua franca*. Students emphasised that English should be utilised in all subjects in the school, and Xhosa utilised only in Xhosa periods. Iannici and Kok observed that using English as a medium is difficult in black schools, and results in comprehension problems. Despite this problem, students wanted to learn in English. Some of the reasons posited for the desire to learn in English were that books were in English and students had to answer questions in that language. The resulting problem from the English approach is that often students will only be able to give "textbook answers". They sometimes repeat concepts without knowing the exact meaning. Iannici and Kok also observed that, on the contrary, when students were permitted to discuss in Xhosa there was an increased participation and liveliness in the lessons. Despite the improved comprehension facilitated by the use of Xhosa, students were afraid that learning in Xhosa would result in disadvantages compared with those fellow students studying in ex-Model "C" schools. Results of the study portray that students think that having English as a language of instruction gives them a tool for learning, and that students enrolled in ex-Model "C" schools are perceived as being in a better position of acquiring a better education.

Iannici and Kok (1999: 89) argue that many students' preference for English was as a result of the perception that they need English in order to get employment. Black students were of the opinion that they needed to practise English all the time, following the saying that, "practice makes perfect." Black students attending school in the townships thought that to attend the former Model "C" schools would mean attaining perfect English. I think Black students are also discouraged from learning Xhosa as a medium and as a subject because the society does not see the benefits of using Xhosa in education and in life

outside school, but rather for communication among family and friends. Secondly the curriculum and methodology followed to teach Xhosa and other African languages is uninteresting. For example, African Languages curricula in general stress the teaching of grammar and can develop negative attitudes towards the home languages. Sometimes African languages are taught in ways that do not encourage critical thinking, problem solving and analytical thinking. Students are discouraged by such a curriculum that does not make them understand the world better, nor that stretches them beyond the limits of their traditional cultures. In addition, students are discouraged from using African languages because role models - politicians, media personalities and business leaders - all use English publicly, thus re-inforcing its role in promoting social upward mobility.

2.10.7 Malawi

At independence in 1964 Malawi had three official languages, namely, Chinyanja, Chitumbuka and English. In 1968 the Malawi Congress Party's Annual Convention passed a resolution making Chinyanja Malawi's only official language. The name Chinyanja was changed to Chichewa in 1994. Chichewa was to be used as Malawi's official language alongside English. All other Malawian languages were to be used in their respective areas. Kayambazinthu (1999) says in 1993 the United Democratic Front (UDF) published its language policy emphasising the importance of a *lingua franca* while at the same time creating the environment for healthy linguistic diversity. In 1995 the UDF government dissolved the Chichewa Board, and the Centre for Language Studies was established (Kayambazinthu, 1999:57). In November 1996, Chiyao, Chilomwe and Chisena joined English, Chichewa and Chitumbuka. These changes in the language policy have been reported as being *ad hoc* and reactive, but it was accommodating than the singularist approach advocated during the Banda regime (ibid.).

In March 1996 the Ministry of Education announced that mother tongues should be used as media of instruction in Standards 1 to 4 with immediate effect. Parents were not however in favour of the vernacular languages and favoured the use of English. Their reaction was that:

- If pupils are to be instructed in the local language, children will get inferior education.
- The use of the MT will encourage tribalism.
- What will happen to children staying with parents where their MT is not dominant?
- The policy is aimed at saving the face of those teachers who are not conversant with English.
- New textbooks, teachers' guides, manuals and pupils' reading materials will have to be produced and printed (Kayambazinthu, 1999:59).

The policy gives priority to ideological and prestigious issues rather than practical objectives in planning for language-in-education. This means that the policy is only ideally correct since it is in keeping with the rights of individuals to be taught in the languages they best understand. This is done without looking at the costs and benefits of implementing it. The MT policy is difficult to implement because of resources. Lack of standardisation can hinder the implementation process.

- If the MT is chosen, which one among many, and which dialect?
- What functions will the MT serve/ perform? Is it transitional, mono-literate, partial or total bi-literate bilingual Education?
- Plans culminate into the question of budget.
- There should be clear guidelines regarding the way government apportions its funds to language education. Budgeting for the language implementation process is necessary because we live in a world of reality. The share of limited resources is the biggest headache for developing countries not only in Africa but also in the world.

The issue of budget must be tackled squarely because, if not, it can frustrate efforts at the implementation stage. The economic argument seems to be the one that militates against the implementation of initiatives that seek to promote indigenous languages.

Williams (cited by Cummins, 2000:186) examined the impact of the language of instruction on the reading ability of both L1 and L2 of Year 5 learners in Malawi and Zambia. The study focused on Chichewa in Malawi and Nyanja in Zambia in six schools in each country, but there were large differences in favour of Malawi in local language

reading ability. “He concludes that these results are consistent with research on minority language groups suggesting that instruction in L1 reading leads to improved results in L1 with no retardation in L2 reading” (Cummins, 2000:186).

2.10.8 Zambia

English is the official language in Zambia adopted at independence in 1966. Besides English, seven indigenous languages, viz. Bemba, Kaonde, Lozi, Lunda, Lavale, Nyanja and Tonga, are used officially in all public domains. According to the National Policy in Education (1996), basic reading and writing will be initially learned in a local language, where after English will remain as the language of instruction. The policy further states that, by providing for the use of the local language for initial literacy acquisition, children's learning of essential reading and writing skills should be better assured. By providing for the use of English as the official language of instruction for other content areas, children's preparation for the use of this language in school and subsequent life will be facilitated, while implementation problems of changing over to other languages will be avoided.

There are however, problems concerning the implementation of the policy of vernacular languages. For many languages of those to be introduced in the curriculum, there is a need for a massive injection of both human and financial resources for the policy to be implemented successfully. As is the case of Malawi, the plan to implement the teaching of seven indigenous languages in Zambia is also hindered by the high cost of developing orthographies and other reading materials in several languages. Zambia is also a poor country and thus funding is specifically being channelled to combat poverty alleviation and the spread of disease.

2.10.9 Botswana

In some language policy reviews Botswana has been erroneously regarded as a monolingual state. However research in latter years, for example, Nyathi-Ramahobo

(1991) found that Botswana is a multilingual country with approximately 20 indigenous languages. Some of the languages spoken in Botswana are Kalanga, Chitonga, Hambukushu, Seyeyi, Herero, Setswana, Setswaping, Sebirwa, Sesarwa, Nama, Silozi, Afrikaans and English. The constitution of Botswana however only recognised Setswana as the national⁸ language. Setswana and English are the two official⁹ languages in Botswana.

Prior to 1994 the language of instruction policy in Botswana was as follows:

- Up to the fourth grade, Setswana was the language of instruction, and English was taught as a subject.
- From the fifth grade on, English was the language of instruction and Setswana was taught as a subject.

The implementation of the above policy has been problematic because of attitudes of parents, teachers and students who seem to perceive Setswana as being irrelevant both to academic advancement and to society in the modern world. English is also perceived as the language that allows the Batswana people a better economic base. Examining the problems and benefits of introducing English early in the education system has been amended twice.

According to the Botswana Government Paper No. 2 of 1994 the revised National policy in Education recommended that:

- a) English should be used as the medium of instruction from standard 1 as soon as practicable (Recommendation 18 [para 4.7.3]).

In 1996 the above recommendation was again amended to read as follows:

- a) English should be used as the medium of instruction from standard 2 as soon as practicable.
- b) In the meantime the Ministry of Education should ensure immediately that the present

⁸ A national language refers to the role a language plays in a society. An African indigenous language is used for unity and cultural identity, for example, KiSwahili in Kenya and Tanzania.

⁹ An official language refers to the official status of a language that is used in specific domains such as in education or the civil service.

policy of using English from Standard 5 is adhered to in practice.

The policy was amended because there was a concern about the poor performance of primary school children in English. Part of the problem was that children did not get used to English early enough in the learning process and yet they were required to write their examinations in the English language. It was thought that using English from Standard 2 would improve their performance.

The language question in Botswana has recently entered into another debate about the language rights of the marginalised people in Botswana. Such is the case of the Bayeyi and Kalanga tribes. The Society for the Promotion of Ikalanga Language (SPIL) works to perpetuate Ikalanga, a minority language spoken in the north-eastern part of Botswana. As a minority language, Ikalanga has no official recognition. It is not taught in schools in the region where speakers are a majority. In fact, out of a national population of 1.5 million, 11% are Ikalanga speakers. Yet the culture and the language of this ethnic group are not recognised (SPIL: Internet Source).

2.10.10 Lesotho

Lesotho regained its independence from British protection in 1966. SeSotho and English are the two official languages. English holds a higher status in that it is used in all high domains, for example, in politics, economy and in education. Transitional /Subtractive Bilingual Education is adopted in the schools' language policy. According to the Lesotho MoE's policy SeSotho is the medium of instruction from standard 1 to 4 and English is the medium of instruction from standard 5 upward. However, in some schools English is the medium of instruction from standard 1. Similar to other countries in the region, English in Lesotho is associated with good education and as a high-status subject. Negative attitudes towards SeSotho exist as it is regarded only as a language used in social interactions. Rapeane and Matlosa say

In Lesotho, English-medium schools are considered the best types of schools for the education of the children. It is believed that since their emphasis is on the learning of English, they are ideal in this era of

globalisation. ... It is perceived that English is the licence to a bright future (2002:10-11).

2.10.11 Swaziland

This section will be dealt with very briefly since it is referred to extensively throughout this thesis. English and SiSwati are the official languages and SiSwati is the national language of the Swazi people. Both languages have equal status in that they are both official languages, but their use and significance is different. Since English is an international language, it serves as the principal medium of communication for official, commercial, diplomatic, technical and cultural exchanges. Over and above, it is the language used in education. SiSwati is only used as a cultural symbol and in personal or family day-to-day business and traditional activities. SiSwati is also used to preserve the SiSwati customs, and the Swazi people seek to protect their language and customs. SiSwati is taught as a subject throughout the education system, although the policy indicates that it should be the medium of instruction in the lower grades, and that English is the official medium of instruction from Grade 3. According to the parents' interviews and data from newspapers, for example, *The Times of Swaziland* dated 8 May 2001 (quoted by Mbatha, 2001:92) SiSwati is perceived by parents, teachers, students and the general public as a language not capable of use in education and economic development issues.

Government documents regarding the teaching of English state that “fluency in English enables students to perform better in all other subjects since most materials are printed in English as a matter of convenience and for international acceptability” (Nine Year Programme of Instruction for English, p.2).

The teaching of English in Swaziland.

The Nine Year Programme of Instruction for English in Swaziland states that:

- English is the core subject area for both academic and vocational streams.
- English is also the service language across the curriculum.

Instruction of English in primary schools is geared towards increasing students' ability in the four communication skills of listening, speaking, reading and writing that are necessary for the mastery of the language. The Ministry of Education acknowledges that in order to acquire the necessary skills in English, the student needs to be given the opportunity to use the language in a meaningful and beneficial way. The Ministry adopts the communicative approach to language teaching, which seems difficult to implement because children in Swaziland do not seem to acquire sufficient proficiency in English in all the four skills. This lack of proficiency in English is often reflected in the results of the students' performance in external examinations. The teaching of English seems to be entrusted solely to the teacher. The Nine Year Programme of Instruction for English (p.20) states that in Swaziland, and elsewhere, many teachers are dispensers of knowledge rather than catalysts and facilitators through whom students can be encouraged to practise their skills. The working document further states, "the teacher must aim to increase the students' total fluency/proficiency and ability in the four skills". This seems to be a problem in Swaziland because many teachers are not themselves proficient in English.

For the primary schools, English textbooks are developed at the NCC and published by a publisher appointed by the Ministry of Education. The sole publisher and the Ministry of Education fund the National Curriculum Centre. Textbook publishing is monopolistic, which also poses a challenge about the quality of textbooks used in the education system. There are only a few SiSwati textbooks, none of them written for the various curriculum subjects; nobody thinks they should be developed because SiSwati is not valued as a language of education.

2.11 Factors militating against the implementation of the policy of using African languages as media of instruction

The International Institute of Educational Planning (1997) notes that even after the objectives are clear and a sound implementation plan has been drawn up, policy makers

may need to contend with economic, technical and socio-political problems on the ground.

2.11.1 Economic implications

The successful implementation of a policy is a measure of the success of that policy in practice. The question of financial implications associated with the development of African languages to the standard of English is daunting. Translation of learning materials and textbooks, plus the training of teachers in order to competently handle teaching in the African languages, is a major task needing an established financial base. The government of South Africa and other African countries are not ready to handle this. For example, the South African government has not stated categorically in its future plans, other than the work done by PANSALB, that it will set aside financial resources for a rigorous development of African languages to a standard where they could be used as media of instruction. If schools are to be the major vehicles of change, an appropriate environment needs to be set. For example, teacher education programmes (both pre-service and in-service) need to be designed to make teachers cope with the challenges of the new LiEPs.

2.11.2 Technical problems

Inadequate and inappropriate technical terms are another hindrance to the implementation process. Many definitions in the African languages are either non-existent, imprecise or distort the concepts that they are trying to define. Coining the new terms may not be a problem but it is making sure that pupils understand them correctly. Barkhuizen (1997:96-98) states that even some teachers do not understand the rationale of the changes to be made. In addition, they do not believe that the changes are feasible. A further constraint to the implementation of the policy is the availability of resources needed to put the 1997 LiEP into effect. That includes the human resources, funding, school facilities, materials and textbooks. Behind the success of any curriculum or LiEP learning materials and textbooks play a crucial role. The International Institute of

Educational Planning (1997) further says that the use of the new language policy in implementing the old curriculum is another source of failure.

2.11.3 Attitudes

The attitudes of the African people whom the policy is to serve are supposed to be considered if the policy is to succeed. Information acquired from some linguistic surveys conducted in South Africa show that teachers, students and parents would prefer English to be the medium of instruction in schools. Researchers, for example, Taylor and Vinjevold (1999), Mmusi (1999), Iannici and Kok (1999), Bamgbose (2000) and de Klerk (2000, 2002) report that most teachers, parents and pupils preferred English to start very early in the primary grades, or even in grade 1. Recently, Kapp says in Ex-DET schools in the Western Cape,

Despite its strong advocacy of home language instruction, the policy makes provision for parental choice where it is reasonably practicable. Schools are encouraged rather than obliged to offer particular languages. ...There appears to be a growing disjunction between the policy and the desire on the part of learners, teachers and parents for English as the language of teaching and learning. Large numbers of urban students with little or no command of English are being sent to English-medium schools because of a perception that going straight for English is most advantageous and that it enables one to obtain a higher standard of Education. For similar reasons students from the Eastern Cape are migrating to township schools in the Western Cape (Kapp, 2001:4).

Rubagumya (cited in the International Institute of Educational Planning, 1997) also says that secondary school students admit that they understand their teachers better when teaching is carried out in KiSwahili, but the majority of these students still think that English should be maintained as the language of instruction.

2.12.1 The role of curriculum materials and textbooks in the implementation of a Language-in-Education Policy

International and local studies conducted on the effects of learning materials show that many learning difficulties often arise from the lack of suitable textbooks and other

learning materials. The paucity of textbooks, and the inability of teachers to use them constructively, results in the exacerbation of illiteracy in schools. The shortage of textbooks and other reading materials in schools deprive students of the opportunity to practise reading. Furthermore, illiteracy is aggravated by the lack of support from the community or extra-mural environment, which should reinforce the English that is taught in classrooms. The 1999 President's Education Initiative (PEI) researchers in South Africa concluded that, "above all, children needed books if they are to read and write". The PEI projects reported that although textbooks were available in the respective schools, there was not always a sufficient quantity for all learners. Baxen and Green (cited in Taylor and Vinjevoid, 1999:169) reported that there were no instances of teachers engaging learners on how or why they were using learning materials. The researchers said, "in many cases teachers did not have a sense of the relationship between learning goals and learning materials". In other words, together with the failure of using these learning materials appropriately, teachers could not link up some learning materials with the outcomes of the curriculum.

Altbach and Kelly (1988:3) say "textbooks stand at the heart of the educational enterprise. Teachers rely on them in order to establish their parameters for instruction". Textbooks are also a means of an interpretation of the education policy in any nation or state. It is very common to find that teachers do not know anything about the education policy or the curriculum. They only have access to textbooks, which according to Biemer (1992:18) become the curriculum where elementary school teachers who are not specialists in all four or five areas are expected to teach. They find it expedient to use the textbook. This use of textbooks applies to secondary school teachers, who are usually overworked by having to prepare and teach different lessons amidst other duties that they have to participate in or supervise in the school. Teachers, who are overburdened in their duties, rely heavily on textbooks for their teaching tasks. The textbook can also become the major tool in the classroom because of the lack of dynamic or creative teachers. Another valuable aspect about textbooks is that they have many pictures, graphs and maps that teachers do not have time to find. Furthermore, textbooks have summaries and

questions and lists of activities at the end of the chapter. Mostly, teachers have no time to create these and therefore the textbook really becomes the core of the teaching activity.

Apple and Christian-Smith (1991:5) further argue that,

- Textbooks, for better or worse, dominate what students should learn.
- They set the curriculum and often the facts learned in most subjects.
- For many students textbooks are their first and sometimes only exposure to books and to reading.
- The public regards textbooks as authoritative, accurate and necessary.

Furthermore, Altbach and Kelly (1998) and Reynolds (1997) say that textbooks constitute the base of school knowledge, particularly in the Third World where there is a chronic shortage of teachers. They argue that teachers adhere closely to texts, using them as the sole source of school knowledge, assigning lessons contained in the text and testing students only on the knowledge contained in textbooks. Other factors that render textbooks indispensable to teachers are that:

- Teachers lack confidence in their own abilities and therefore textbooks are perceived as having authority because of their printed form.
- The syllabus is another factor that renders textbooks as powerful tools in the classrooms. Sometimes teachers find it difficult to interpret the syllabus and to find suitable materials and therefore wait for the prescribed texts in order to overcome this.
- The textbook also relieves teachers of the burden of preparation because it is difficult to create innovative material everyday.
- The availability of the textbook makes it possible for the teacher to use it as a workbook, especially where there is a lack of facilities for the reproduction of worksheets.
- In many respects textbooks are cheaper than self-produced material as less time and energy need to be spent on the preparation of lessons.
- Textbooks are also a long lasting form of intervention and are cost effective.

McCallum (cited in Reynolds, 1997:32) argues that textbooks have an additional attraction of being quickly implemented. She argues that to governments and to aid agencies wishing to satisfy their respective constituencies, textbooks are visible, tangible, easily measurable and desirable factors for the implementation of short-term plans. Reynolds mentions that some teachers in her own study found textbooks valuable in most subjects and indispensable to some. For example, most teachers argued that the textbook was essential in the teaching of Maths.

2.12.2 Problems associated with textbooks

Altbach and Kelly (1988) say that textbooks are an important part of every curriculum, and many structural reforms in education are part of the process of educational planning. However, textbooks are considered as major and integral parts of the entire education system. Although textbooks are integral in every education system, they have tended to remain in the background and policy toward them frequently haphazard and uncoordinated. Altbach and Kelly argue that in the colonies there was no infrastructure to produce textbooks cheaply for schools. They argue that in the post-independence years, the demand for textbooks skyrocketed. This was related to the fact that for most parents, education was perceived as the route to social mobility for their children, and expected it to provide access to the modern urban economy. On the other hand most governments believed that educational expansion would fuel economic development and solve the problems of a plural society. In Third World countries, governments tend to focus on building schools and, to a lesser extent, teacher preparation, and textbook development and procurement. Imported books were traditionally used and links to the multinational publishers were strong. In some instances foreign assistance programmes made imported books available. It was not until the late seventies and eighties that Third World governments started focusing on the designing and development of textbooks.

Brock-Utne (2000) says the writing, publishing and distribution of textbooks is vital for educational and cultural survival. She argues that in poor countries the percentage of educational publishing is more than 90% of publishers' turnover. From another

viewpoint, she observes that books originating in developing countries, especially Africa, are highly under-represented in the world today. Most problems about textbook production are due to the lack of policy guiding their production. This is aptly observed by Altbach and Kelly (1988:5) who argue that many countries have no specific textbook policy. Brock-Utne (2000:84) says that African publishing will not develop unless publishing houses, both private and parastatal, are able to command adequate resources to finance, train staff and equip them so that they may be able in the next ten to fifteen years to produce books that meet their countries' needs. She argues that if book production is only managed from Ministries of Education, when loans are finished there will be no publishing industries left in place and countries will go back to importing books. In Swaziland, one publisher supplies school textbooks. This monopoly might have some detrimental effects on the provision of quality textbooks, and will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

2.12.3 Selection of textbooks

Another problem inherent in textbook selection is the textbook approval procedure. Brock-Utne (2000) says that the textbook approval system has been an important instrument in the indigenisation of the curriculum in Tanzania. She says that in a poor country like Tanzania where there are few textbooks it was more important that those few books meet the approval of indigenous curriculum experts. Textbook selection has even been a problem in South Africa. According to Proctor (1993) there seems to be no agreed process or set of qualification criteria for the selection of evaluators across provinces. He says some appear to be randomly selected by teachers and subject advisors. The selection and evaluation process seems to be fraught with people more concerned about earning money than ensuring high quality Learning Support Materials (LSMs). Another problem inherent in book selection and prescription is that it is common that authors are part of the evaluation process of their own books. Proctor states that in some provinces there was no clear identification of who sits in evaluation committees or who is accountable for their decisions. There was a lack of formal training in textbook literacy. There was also a lack of understanding of Outcomes Based Education (OBE) or educational principles behind certain texts.

Lague (1996:76) argues that publishers generally feel that “the English Language textbook can and does have a huge, absolutely huge impact on people’s attitudes and values, both personal and social and therefore is a crucial part in any language course”. This is due to the fact that language and the way we think and live is indivisible. Lague argues that this is the functionalists’ position: an acceptance which accepts that English will be the language of the new middle class (by default), and thus the language of politics, economics and education. Access to these domains will depend on proficiency. Functionalists hold no ideological agenda because English is viewed as a tool with which pupils have to use to learn. The textbook is regarded as one of the means of inputting this English. The functionalist’s position also sees English as divorced of cultural values since it is not taught as a means of “enculturation”, but as a means to make children familiar with different discourses needed for their other school subjects. It gives pupils the vocabulary and concepts they need to cope in our predominantly technological reality. The functionalists imply that the textbook has to be of a very high quality if its role should be to make learners acquire the necessary proficiency levels.

Ghuman (cited in Lague, 1996:28) adds that at the crux of the matter lies the realisation of the important role of language in the development of higher cognitive processes. The cognitive styles of children from diverse ethnic, cultural, class and geographical backgrounds differ, having immense impact on academic attainment if unitary modes of instruction are employed. The argument goes further to say that to insist on English as the medium of instruction in textbooks (which are methodologically grounded in Anglo-Saxon, western, urban, middle class cognitive patterns) is to ensure failure amongst children whose mother tongue is not English. He also argues that to treat children equally when differences in cognitive styles exist, is to favor those of the dominant class, thereby creating a culture of failure. Clearly, an insistence on English as the means to empowerment is extremely problematic.

Mastering English is regarded as equipping the students with “bread and butter skills” which will, in the long run, facilitate their individual fulfillment by ensuring that via the

learnt proficiency, they will obtain work. Individual empowerment is seen as being achieved through the access to the world of work, and having English skills will facilitate this. On the contrary, the domain of exploration and critical thinking belongs to the first languages. The work that the language textbook needs to do is crucial in as far as developing the critical desired skills in any individual learners. Teachers resort to textbooks because by using a foreign language as the language of instruction, they are not able to achieve their goals of teaching.

2.12.4 Evaluation checklists

Reynolds (1997) laments that textbook selection does not even “seek the exceptional, or books that are liberating, that stretch pupils, that might evoke strong emotion, or make them cry or laugh”. Reynolds’ argument is not unique to South African schools, and can be likened with the situation in Swaziland. It is the subject panels that are responsible for the writing, selection and prescription of textbooks. Teachers simply act as receivers of books which they had no role in selecting.

Teachers’ control over the choice of textbooks and how they are to be used was part of a more extensive movement to enhance the democratic rights of teachers on the job. Without this teachers would be equivalent to factory workers whose every movement was determined by management. Textbooks can therefore end up as progressive as well as retrogressive, and sometimes a combination of both depending on the social context. It is possible to end up with a situation where textbooks can be rejected because they are part of a system of moral regulation. At the same time they can be championed as both providing essential assistance in the labour of teaching and as part of a larger strategy of democratisation. The politics of textbooks also has an immense bearing on how people actually read and interpret them; they also portray the political beliefs of the system. In other words a textbook that criticises the government will not be allowed in schools.

This section has created a picture about the significance of textbooks. It has also put forward an image of textbooks as both promoting and downplaying certain ideologies.

This is a common scenario in developing countries where there are no clear policies. In disadvantaged, under-resourced schools teachers find themselves having to use poor quality textbooks and thus do not meet the requirements of the curriculum. Textbooks clearly determine pupils' performance in the different curriculum subjects and the way teachers teach. However, language textbooks are even more important because they also determine the students' proficiency in the language of instruction.

2.13 The main issues, debates and policies as points of departure

English, like all major languages, is used to access and acquire knowledge through books and other technologically based sources. Therefore, English should be accessible as early as possible and it should be taught using appropriate methods by teachers who are adequately trained to teach in both the home language and in English. I believe that a rich and firm foundation of the home language is necessary to give the learner the conceptual tools for acquiring knowledge in a foreign or second language. I believe that a child must be fully conversant in his/ her home language in order to facilitate the learning of a second language.

I support the view that African languages are not ready linguistically to serve the desired functions of instruction. Parents often say they are looking for better quality education for their children, such as economic, social and educational advancement. That can be achieved using both English and the home languages. In my view what is required is a revised curriculum of African languages that will include the teaching of cognitive, affective and social skills that can be matched with those of a powerful language such as English. Arguing from a pragmatist's viewpoint, I think it must be acknowledged that learning English is not just a matter of choice, but also a question of practicality. In today's world where globalisation is impacting on all aspects of life, languages are not an exception. More than an African language is required to prepare an individual who can fully participate in the political, economic, technological and social issues that take place in the world today. In the foreseeable future, African languages are going to serve a very important function of providing support in education. Therefore a rapid development in

their curricula is also necessary in order to match the demands of the global society we live in today. Without sounding defeated in the quest for improving the position of African languages, my position is that because of the overriding power of English, African language speakers must empower themselves by learning their home languages and the languages of power alongside each other through an additive bilingual learning approach.

2.14 The theory of language learning proposed in the study

The foregoing review of literature serves as the basis of my theory of language learning in classrooms where English is the language of instruction. I offer here eight premises underlying my theory, and which outline when and how teachers are to use pupil-centred methods of teaching.

Premises:

- That if learners are exposed to the target language and in addition can use this language in actual language learning contexts with proper instruction from competent teachers, this might enhance their learning of English.
- That learners need actively to participate in interactions that enhance their spoken language and by doing their own writing to reinforce the learning achieved in the oral mode.
- That teachers need to give proper guidance and instruction of the language where learners cannot use the communicative approach. I assert that only middle class children can fully benefit exclusively from an Early English and communicative approach because of their rich language learning circumstances and home backgrounds.
- Given that English is not the L1 for most pupils learning English, I argue that learners need to extrapolate from the rich resource of their primary language. Although most parents prefer to send their children to “Straight for English” schools or English medium schools, they deny their children learning in a model that utilises all languages at their children’s disposal. By choosing subtractive approaches to

language learning from such an early phase, parents risk their children becoming semi-lingual in both languages (i.e. the primary language and the additional language).

- That Additive Bilingualism is an approach that may assist learners in learning an additional language by adding on a language already known (SiSwati) rather than subtracting or devaluing the learners' primary language by neglecting it in the foundation learning phase.
- That language learning takes place because learners are exposed to the target language. Adequate exposure to the target language and its use assists learners to learn the additional language.
- That exposure to the target language means exposure to circumstances typical to spontaneous or natural interaction in the target language. I argue that language learners learn better with exposure to both the L1 and the L2. Ignoring or devaluing the learners' L1 puts them in a weak position whereby they lose the foundation in their L1 necessary for the acquisition of the L2. Exposure means exposure to both the L1 and L2. This also refers to both written and spoken forms of input.
- The provision of appropriate and effective textbooks facilitates effective language teaching and learning.

2.15 Relevance of the literature review to my study in Swaziland

The theories in this literature survey and the language policies I have surveyed are a significant point of departure to my study because of their relevance to Swaziland. Swaziland is part of the trends and processes that occur within the continent. The comparative analysis of the policies indicates some research questions that need to be pursued collectively in order to identify lasting solutions to the educational problems in Africa and Swaziland. The research conducted in Africa and outside serve as lessons of what Swaziland can learn from the policies that have been adopted in other countries. The main problem in Africa is using the colonisers' languages and national languages. This often presents a complex picture in multilingual nations. Some nations see the colonisers' languages as languages of "national unity". Opinions differ and critics say what they have

to say. The use of languages of wider communication such as English can have both empowering and disempowering characteristics.

Finally, the research findings in other countries are useful because they provide a broader understanding of the language question in Africa. They highlight some ideological, socio-economic and educational issues involved in language choice for the medium of instruction, issues that the whole continent needs to solve. For what happens does not only affect one country but affects the whole region.

According to the IDRC (1997) the issues considered when language policies are formed are many. The approaches that inform the policies differ depending on the issues that the policy seeks to address. For example, multi-ethnicity is crucial to the choice of the official language or language of instruction. This means that the choice could be a politically divisive choice. If language choice concerns the issue of participation in socio-economic development, the approach towards the language choice has to address how the nation must participate in the development of its economy. In many nations, participation in socio-economic development is limited to minority elites because of their ability to use the official language. These seem to be the socio-economic decisions that a language policy must consider. Education systems in Africa seem to have problems of irrelevance, inefficiency and financial burdens. Efficient and effective transmission of cognitive skills is the bedrock of any educational system. Language policies should address questions of which language is suitable as a medium of instruction for the cognitive development of the child. In my view Swaziland is faced with similar challenges. The preceding section provides a microscopic view of the language question and its complexities in many African countries, which serves to inform me on questions that my Swaziland-based study needs to address.

My research aims and questions are strongly shaped by my literature review. Taking note of the problems resulting from some of the language policies helped me to formulate my research questions and helped me to focus more sharply on the pertinent areas needing research in my study. The qualitative-ethnographic methodology I follow in this study is

conceived through my in-depth literature search into the problems of the language policy formulation process. I have attempted to get some views of teachers and parents as well as observing the actors (pupils and teachers) in classrooms through non-participant observation, basing it on the premise that policy makers often make policies, basing them on political, ideological, socio-economic and educational motives. The various critiques have prompted me to investigate why parents send their children to English medium schools, and to find out from them if there are any other qualities they are searching for, which may not be available in public schools.

My review of the role of textbooks in education has also led me to interview teachers about their understanding of the role of textbooks in their teaching and the effects of the monopoly by one publisher on textbook production and supply. Teachers in Swaziland, like teachers elsewhere, adhere to textbooks because “the textbook is the curriculum and the curriculum is the textbook because it accurately reflects the state syllabus” as Biemer (1982) observes.

2.16. Summary of the Chapter

In this chapter I have presented some debates with regard to LiEPs. I covered the reasons why English is regarded as a necessary language in order to function competently in a modern world. Its place in education, economics, technology, science and mathematics has been discussed. It has been argued in this chapter that most education policies in the African countries are not sensitive to the importance of the maintenance of mother tongues or home languages. The debate between mother tongue activists and pragmatists is so strong that it influences policy formulation. However, the pragmatists’ views seem to supersede those of activists. This chapter brought into perspective that Bilingual Education is an instrument that can be used to promote the use of home and primary languages. It has been argued in this chapter that the equation for success in education is marked to a great extent by the amount of time spent on teaching English. I have also argued that evidence for effective Bilingual Education outside the United States of America and Canada is still scant, thus the proponents of Bilingual Education still need a

stronger case supported by empirical evidence. Studies in Namibia, South Africa and other Southern and Central African countries have also formed a basis of my literature review. These suggest that language and communication difficulties in African classrooms are often mediated through the use of code-switching. Although code-switching has not been officially accepted into the classroom dynamics, it is a strong strategy for resolving the communication deadlocks that often occur in classrooms where both teachers and learners are not proficient in the language of learning and teaching. My review of the literature included a discussion of some factors that militate against the implementation of the language policies that seek to use African languages as media of instruction. Based on this literature survey, I suggest that exposure to and use of the target language inside and outside the classroom is a requirement in learning an additional language. Furthermore, the literature review persuaded me to understand Additive Biligualism as a strategy that may assist in achieving Swaziland's Language-in-Education Policy because it will ensure that a good foundation for learning English is set and that the children will become literate in two languages as opposed to learning only English in a way that compromises SiSwati. English should be introduced gradually before it is used fully as a medium of instruction.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3. Introduction

In this chapter I will present the research design and methodology selected for the study. I will describe and explore the theoretical underpinnings and arguments for my research design and the sample, instruments and the entire process of data elicitation will be explained. I will also give an overview of the data analysis and limitations of the study.

3.1. Statement of the Research Approach

The literature review in the previous chapter provided me with some theoretical underpinnings and a point of departure into formulating my research questions and research design. The questions that this research attempts to answer relate to the Language-in-Education Policy (LiEP) in Swaziland's primary education system. The questions arose specifically from the background and observations stated in Chapter 1.

I researched the teaching and learning of English in Grade 1 primary classrooms in Swaziland where English is not the home language of either the pupils or their teachers. I postulate that the teaching of English, articulated in the implicit Language-in-Education Policy, is hindered by introducing it prematurely while the learners are still formulating concepts in their mother tongue. The teaching of English also seems hampered by the teachers' lack of proficiency in English and their use of unsuitable teaching and learning materials.

I was motivated to select a combined qualitative and quantitative research methodology by the nature of the problem under investigation in my study. The problem addressed in my study is about teachers and learners in Grade 1 classrooms where English is used as a medium of instruction yet the teachers and learners do not speak it as their home

language. Ethnographic methods of research will be used consisting of a case study of a group of teachers, non-participant classroom observations, interviews, attitude studies, and analyses of teachers' beliefs and perceptions. The key actors in my study will be learners, teachers, parents and curriculum developers. I will state my findings on the basis of what teachers say and do and depict their beliefs, attitudes and perceptions towards their language practices. Furthermore, pupils' home environments and parents' attitudes will be analysed in order to ascertain how extra-mural factors impact on the learning of English. The role of learning materials will also be examined. To be able to evaluate the pupils' proficiency in English, a language proficiency test will be administered to the pupils. I decided that ethnographic research was the most suitable approach relevant for conducting research about language teaching and learning practices. Quantitative methods will be used where necessary to validate the predominantly qualitative data.

Qualitative research comprises a large variety of schools and research methods; and ethnographic research is one of the approaches that fall under the qualitative research paradigm. Although ethnography predominantly embodies the characteristics of qualitative research it is a research method that differs from qualitative research. Watson-Gegeo (1997) defines ethnography as

... the long-term holistic, intensive study of peoples' behaviour in ongoing settings (typically communities) a central aim of which is to understand the social organization and culturally based perspectives and interpretations that underlie knowledge and guide behaviour in a given social group (1997:136).

Hammersley (1993:16) expresses that "qualitative methods are privileged with the naturalistic approach and thus do not have the problem of inappropriately fixing meanings where they are variable and renegotiable in relation to their context of use".

Ethnographers generate understandings of culture through the portrayal of an "emic" perspective, often described as an "insider's point of view." Van Lier (1988:17) explains that the emic standpoint is a view from within that notices those features of the scene that are marked as significant by internal criteria. Hammersley (1993) adds that the emic perspective refers to the focus of meanings attributed by the participants in a study. The

emic perspective is developed through close exploration of several sources of data, namely long-term engagement in the field, called participant observation, interviews and artifacts. I chose an ethnographic methodology because of its orientation towards interpretative and naturalistic forms of inquiry.

3.2 Some criticisms of ethnographic research

Lack of generalisability and how it can be counteracted

Although the lack of generalisability does exist in ethnographic research, its weaknesses can also be seen as its strengths. This means that although in ethnography the focus may be a relatively small sample on a number of settings,

[i]t is “holistic” in that it attempts to provide contextual understandings of complex interrelationships of causes and consequences that affect human behaviour. Rather than seeking generalisability, ethnographers seek validity in terms of comparability and transferability (Kapp 2001:82).

Informed decisions can be made from case studies, which may in turn be used to inform policies. The strength of ethnographic research lies in triangulation; that is, obtaining information in many ways. An ethnographic study employs multiple data sources, multiple methods, situations and settings, which make ethnographic research useful in educational research. Dick and Swepson (1997) argue that there are ways of claiming generalisability. For example, if several studies in diverse settings give similar findings, this allows greater generalisability than a single study typically does. Similar actions may produce similar outcomes in different situations; this implies generalisability. One can also use indirectly relevant literatures to test the relevance of findings. According to Savage (2000), possible criteria for assessing ethnographic research may be as follows:

- The consistency of claims/findings with empirical data
- The credibility of the account to readers to readers and those studied
- The extent to which findings have relevance in similar settings
- The extent to which the influence of the research design and strategy on findings is considered (the reflexivity of the account) and the existence of an audit trail

Triangulation is one of the ways of ensuring validity. The methodology used for my fieldwork was triangulated through the use of classroom observations, administering a CR Test, interviews and administering questionnaires. It was also important to investigate the underlying ideologies that persuade parents, teachers, students and the general public to believe that English is the best language for giving quality education. From these sets of data based on ethnographic principles, informed decisions can be made by seeking validity in terms of comparison and transferability in the contexts that have been studied.

In my view a “case study” best describes the approach that I used. The classrooms that were studied provide a case study of how a group of teachers in 20 Grade 1 classrooms were doing using a language that is unfamiliar to both themselves and their learners. Although the aim in ethnography is not to generalise, it is possible to generalise in light of the criteria referred to in the preceding paragraph.

3.3 Sites to be investigated

The sites to be investigated in this study are government rural and urban primary schools in Swaziland. Government primary schools in Swaziland are of two types. There are schools that use English as a medium of instruction as early as in Grade 1 and others that delay the use of English as a medium of instruction until Grade 3. It was mentioned in Chapter 1 that the Swaziland education system prizes English. Government’s policy states that English is the core subject in the schooling system. It was mentioned in Chapter 1 that primary schools are divided into Early English and Delayed English schools, however, these are not officially-made divisions in the MoE policies but seem to have occurred by default. According to official policy all schools in Swaziland use SiSwati as the medium of instruction in Grades 1 and 2 and thereafter from Grade 3 upwards, English becomes the medium of instruction. The existence of de facto Early English schools has almost become a norm in Swaziland in such a way that most schools, including those where conditions do not permit the use of English as a MoI in Grade 1, have become de facto Early English schools. Mkhonza (1987) notes that originally, EM schools were few in number and were designed for children of expatriates. As the

demand for English became higher they admitted children of locals, especially civil servants working in towns.

3.4 Types of data to be collected

In order to answer the main research questions and sub-questions outlined in Chapter 1, there will be a need to collect and triangulate different sets of data. The first research question concerns the identification of characteristics, similarities, differences and profiles of teachers and learners in schools using the DE and EE approaches of the medium of instruction policy in Grade 1 classrooms. The type of data necessary to answer this research question will be elicited by using a questionnaire and conducting interviews with Grade 1 teachers.

The second research question concerns the identification of pedagogical and wider implications of the use of the two approaches and what they offer teachers and learners in terms of optimal learning of SiSwati and English in rural and urban schools. This research question will be answered by analysing data elicited by observing teachers teaching their classes, conducting interviews and administering questionnaires. Interviews with staff at the NCC will help to elicit views about teachers' language practices as well as pedagogical and wider implications of the use of the two approaches.

The third research question concerns what the two approaches respectively offer teachers, learners and the Swazi society in terms of whether or not each approach offers equitable opportunities to learners in order to perform equivalently in the assessment of their performances in the common examination, CR Tests and in their general school achievement? This question will be answered by the results obtained in CR Tests and by conducting interviews with the teachers.

The research question that concerns the analysis of parents' opinions, perceptions and expectations of the quality and standard of education offered in mixed SiSwati and

English schools and in English medium schools only will be answered by analysing data elicited by conducting interviews with parents using a structured interview schedule.

Questions relating to teachers' language practices under each approach will be elicited by observing lessons and by conducting the CR Test. The sub-questions about what language practices are often utilised by teachers will be answered by analysing data from observed lessons and studying how the CR Test is conducted. Another sub-question to be answered by the same data is why teachers teach using any one of the two approaches.

Finally, the question about the extent to which learning materials and textbooks used in schools enact/reflect the language-in-education policy and its effects on language teaching and learning will be answered by conducting interviews with teachers as the relevant stakeholders.

3.5 Phases of data collection

Data collection in this study took place in two phases, first in 2000 and later in 2002. The first phase lasted 3 months between June and August 2000. Data collection in Phase 1 comprised classroom observations, administering questionnaires, giving a CR Test and conducting some follow-up interviews with the concerned teachers. At this stage I worked with 20 Grade 1 teachers from 20 schools participating in my study. During this phase I visited teachers in their classrooms to observe them while teaching ordinary lessons. The majority of classrooms observations were English and SiSwati lessons, however I also observed mathematics and science lessons. After observing taught lessons I then administered a CR Test. The CR Test was part of the CA Tests that the MoE requires teachers to administer to learners at certain periods during the term. The CR Test was not the only sample of classroom observation made; the data elicited from taught lessons was used, although minimally, to illustrate certain points in the thesis and is referred to partially because it is very large and seems to constitute an extension to the thesis.

Phase 2 of the data elicitation process comprised interviews with teachers and parents. This was in April-May 2002. At this stage I conducted interviews with teachers and parents as respondents. The second phase was concerned with investigating the teachers' understanding of the role of textbooks. I had realised that the original sample needed to be expanded in order to elicit a wide range of views of language teachers in Swaziland on the role of textbooks. These teachers included some teachers in the original sample and an additional sample as will be explained in the section below. Focus-group interviews were conducted with teachers on the role of textbooks. Furthermore, I interviewed parents of children mostly attending government EM schools in urban areas and only three parents whose children attended private EM schools. Interviews with parents were conducted with individual parents. They were conducted in order to elicit parents' views about the types of schools they select for their children. They were particularly asked about why they preferred sending their children to EM schools. This was also to establish the parents' perceptions about the role of English in education.

3.6 Time-line for the study in relation to types of data collected

Mid-May – August 2000: Data collection Phase 1

Data to answer the research questions came at different times and thus in the first phase the observation of lessons took place at the beginning and led to some follow-up interviews for the clarification of points and investigation of issues such as the role of textbooks and the role of English in education.

May – June 2000: Classroom observations of taught lessons

June – July 2000: I had consultations and interviews with three staff members at NCC

July – August 2000: The CR Test was conducted.

Mid-August 2000– end of August: Completion and collection of the Teachers' Questionnaire

April – May 2002: Data collection Phase 2

April 2002: I had focus-group discussions with teachers

May 2002: I had interviews with parents

3.7 The sample and selection criteria

3.7.1 The schools

The schools and teachers in the study were selected by using a simple random sampling method. In simple random sampling, each member of a population has an equal chance of being included in the sample. Simple random sampling is the easiest method of sampling and it is the most commonly used. A sample is random if the method for obtaining the sample meets the criterion of the randomees (each element having an equal chance at each draw). Advantages of this technique are that it does not require any additional information on the frame (such as geographic areas) other than the complete list of members of the survey population along with information for contact. Also, since simple random sampling is a simple method and the theory behind it is well established, standard formulas exist to determine the sample size, the estimates and so on, and these formulas are easy to use.

Criteria for my selection of participants were as follows:

- They should be public (government-funded and aided) schools. This excluded the private schools.
- They should be schools that allow me access to their classes.
- They should be schools using either the Early English or the Delayed English medium of instruction approaches in their Grade 1 classes.
- They should be situated in either rural or urban areas.
- The teachers should be Grade 1 teachers or have teaching experience of teaching in Grade 1 classes.
- The languages used in the schools should be SiSwati and English.

- The parents in my study should be parents who have children in English medium and SiSwati and English schools.
- Teachers interviewed on the role of textbooks should be primary and secondary school teachers.

I chose a total of 20 Grade 1 classes from 20 schools in the Kingdom of Swaziland. 10 of my schools were selected from rural areas and another 10 were selected from urban areas. DE schools were mainly under-resourced schools and EE schools were predominantly well-resourced. Furthermore, among the 10 schools in each area, I selected 5 schools that were known to use English as a MoI from the first day of school and the other 5 were known not necessarily to use English from the first day of school (they used SiSwati and English). In urban areas it was easy to get information from the MoE about schools that used English from the first day of school and those that delayed using English in teaching Grade 1 pupils.

The sample comprised 20 Grade 1 classrooms and 20 Grade 1 teachers.

10 urban schools: 5 Early English and 5 Delayed English

10 rural schools: 5 Early English and 5 Delayed English

Total number of pupils: 898

Total number of teachers: 20

I selected my schools from three out of the four geographical regions in Swaziland. I went to schools in Mbabane, Manzini and Nhlanguano. The distribution of schools per region and per town was as follows:

Table 1

Region	City/ Town	Urban	Rural
Hhohho	Mbabane	2	1
Manzini	Manzini	6	1
Shiselweni	Nhlangano	2	8
Total		10	10

Schools in the study are referred to by codes. The codes were derived from the language of instruction used in Grade 1 and the location of the school. This description of schools was selected before data collection.

DER: Delayed English Rural (5 schools)

DEU: Delayed English Urban (5 schools)

EER: Early English Rural (5 schools)

EEU: Early English Urban (5 schools)

3.7.2 The teachers

The teachers were principle informants in this study. A total of 46 teachers were participants. Twenty Grade 1 teachers were involved in the initial phase in the study in 2000. Later on, in 2002, an additional 26 teachers comprising 10 SiSwati teachers plus 16 English teachers from secondary and primary schools also became participants in the study. The initial group of 20 Grade 1 teachers was made up of all qualified primary school teachers who had qualifications such as the Primary Teachers Certificate (PTC), the Primary Teachers' Diploma (PTD) and the Bachelor of Education Primary (BEd) degree. Their experience in teaching Grade 1's ranged between 5 and 20 years. The second group of teachers comprised secondary and primary school teachers. The inclusion of secondary teachers is not so much a detour; it is included to illustrate the unhappiness of secondary school teachers who inherit students produced through a faulty system from the primary school. The views of secondary teachers might or might not reinforce the views of primary school teachers.

Subjectivity may stand in the way of better understanding the subject. I controlled the subjectivity of this process by acknowledging my own bias towards the theme of this research. However, I let the teachers explain things to me and how they taught in their schools. My own background as a teacher trainer in Swaziland somehow influenced the teachers because they tried to teach in order to impress me. They also wanted me to see

their best students. My prolonged stay at the schools, however, reduced my own subjectivity. Asking the teachers further questions in interviews and questionnaires changed my personal views. Triangulating findings also helped to control any bias that I might have had. Some of the teachers thought I was sent by the ministry but I insisted that this was research for my degree at university. It was not possible to interact with the teachers after I had collected the data, therefore I shared the results of my study with peers in my PhD Research group who critiqued my position and indicated to me areas in which my own subjectivity might have influenced the teachers' responses. During data analysis I noted their contribution and attempted to reflect on what my respondents said. Another way by which I controlled my own bias was by making use of other discussants during PhD seminars conducted by the Department of Education at the University of Cape Town.

3.7.3 The parents

23 parents were selected as informants in this study. They were selected on the basis of having a child in a government EM school. However, three had children in private EM schools in Mbabane (2) and Manzini (1). The reason for including the three parents was that they had one child in a government EM school and another in a private school. It is common in Mbabane and Manzini that some parents have one child in a government EM school and another in a private school. Some of these parents had children in Grade 1 and in other grades within primary school.

Parents in this group comprised 11 teachers, a police officer, a businessman, a banker, a psychologist, a librarian, an accountant, a secretary/receptionist, a home economist, a tourism officer, a writer, a salesman and an HIV-AIDS counselor. They were certificate holders, diploma holders and degree holders. Earlier, when some rural parents were contacted, their responses showed that they did not deliberately choose schools to which they sent their children. Hence, I selected those parents who made deliberate choices of the schools to which they sent their children. While I knew that parents in rural areas who were less educated might have different opinions and valuable inputs to the study, my

questions were designed for parents who had children in EM schools and parents who understood the differences between an EE school and a DE school.

To add to these parents I had already administered a survey questionnaire to 51 parents of Grade 1 pupils in the pilot stage on the languages in which they prefer their children to be taught. Preliminary results from that survey indicated that the majority of parents preferred EM schools. However, the results are not part of the findings reported in this study. I did not use these results because they were taken from a different sample which I then did not use in this study. However, those results indicated to me the thinking that most parents have about the status of English in the society.

3.7.4 The NCC Staff

I was able to set up meetings with three members of staff at the NCC who occupied different positions there. They were all actively involved in curriculum design, materials' design and CA Testing. One was a Language Arts specialist in charge of the English curriculum. She was both an English curriculum designer and a materials developer. She also worked with the CA team, in charge of designing English CA Tests. She had experience working with teachers in CA workshops, training sessions and syllabus design. The second consultant was in charge of the CA statistics. He worked with a group of evaluators known as the Impact Assessment team in the evaluation section of the NCC. During this time they were working with CA Impact Assessment. He explained that their job was to evaluate the effects of the CA Programme on pupils' performances in school subjects since its introduction in 1993 up to 2000 when this study was conducted. The third consultant was a mathematics specialist. He was responsible for the design of the curriculum for mathematics and the design of CA Tests for mathematics.

3.8 Instruments

The different sets of data and research questions outlined in this thesis determined the instruments to be used for data collection. In the light of the above discussion of informants selected for this study and as a result of the discussion on methodology above, I decided to use the following instruments to collect data in my attempts to answer my research questions: These were a Teachers' Questionnaire, Classroom observation schedule, Interview schedule for teachers, Interview schedule for parents and a Language Proficiency Test.

3.8.1 The Teachers' Questionnaire: administered in August 2000

The Teachers' Questionnaire was used to elicit information from 20 Grade 1 teachers who were key informants in this study. A 39-item questionnaire was used to gather information about the following topics:

- The main medium of instruction in Grade 1
- Language(s) used by teachers and learners inside the classroom
- The preferred medium of instruction in Grade 1
- Teachers' estimates of how often English was used for giving instructions in class
- Language(s) used to clarify difficult concepts
- Language(s) used for classroom management
- Teachers' attitudes towards using SiSwati in class
- Teachers' views on whether learners should be encouraged to use SiSwati when learning reading and writing
- Teachers' perceptions on whether English is better for expressing certain concepts e.g. in Maths and Science
- Opportunities of using SiSwati when teaching Maths and Science
- Teachers' estimates on how much learners were exposed to listening, speaking, reading and writing English in class, at home and in the extra-mural environment
- Teachers' opinions on learners' proficiency in reading, writing, listening and speaking English

- Teachers' perceptions on whether learners used English for speaking to each other
- Teachers' opinions on how children perform when they are taught in SiSwati from the first year of schooling
- Teachers' opinions on how children perform when they are taught in English from the first year of schooling

3.8.2 The observations schedule for taught lessons: conducted June - July 2000

1. The language predominantly used for teaching in Grade 1
2. The language that was used by pupils to respond to teacher' commands and questions
3. The language used for presenting subject matter. i.e. Does the teacher use:
 - English only,
 - Code-switching of SiSwati and English, or
 - SiSwati only?
4. How learners participate in the lessons
5. Situations in which the teacher uses the learners' home language
6. The language used for classroom management and discipline
7. The language(s) the teacher uses for teaching subjects like Maths and Science in Grade 1
8. How the teacher asks questions which test understanding e.g. asks questions such as:
 - i) Do you understand? or
 - ii) Do you see?
9. The language(s) the learners use to respond
10. How learners respond to the teacher's questions, e.g. Do they use Yes/No answers?
11. Teaching methods/techniques predominantly used (e.g. choring, demonstrations, question and answer)
12. Focus on the teaching of reading, listening, writing, speaking skills
13. The teachers' use of the oral or written modes in class

14. Modes of learning predominantly used by the teacher (transmission or participatory)

3.8.3 Observation schedule for the administration of the CR Test: administered July - August 2000

Classroom management strategies:

1. Language(s) used for drawing pupils' attention to the questions
2. Language(s) used for checking understanding of questions
3. Language(s) used for discipline, criticising pupils and reprimands
4. Language(s) used for checking pupils' progress on the test
5. Language(s) used for providing feedback, praising and encouraging pupils

Content presentation:

6. Language(s) used for presenting the questions
7. Language(s) used for instructions
8. Language(s) used for giving explanations and examples
9. Language(s) used for simplification and elaboration of questions
10. Language(s) used for asking leading questions and giving some clues
11. Problems encountered during the test
12. How teachers counteract learners' difficulties
13. Does the teacher use:
English only,
SiSwati and English code-switching, or
SiSwati only?
14. Does the use of SiSwati or English exclusively hinder or promote understanding of the test questions?

3.8.4 Interviews

Two types of interviews were used, namely, individual unstructured interviews and focus-group discussions. During the interviews predetermined questions were asked in a systematic and consistent manner. However, the participants were given a chance to discuss issues beyond the questions' confines. I used focus-group discussions to interview teachers about the role of SiSwati and English textbooks. Struwig and Stead (2001:98) argue that, although the interview technique enables you to obtain multiple responses and detailed responses to set questions, its disadvantages are that interviewees' responses may be constrained and influenced by pre-determined questions. In qualitative and ethnographic research the subjectivity of the researcher cannot be avoided but the researcher tries, as much as possible, not to influence the participants.

(i) The interview schedule for the structured interview with parents: conducted in May 2002

Interview questions for parents were posed in SiSwati and English and covered the following areas:

- Educational qualities that parents look for in their children's education
- Parents' definitions of "quality education"
- Qualities they look for in schools for their children
- How English medium schools differ from SiSwati and mixed English medium schools
- Why parents prefer EM schools
- Parents' opinions about which schools offer better schooling and why
- Parents' perceptions of how teachers and teaching in English medium schools differs from non-English medium schools

(ii) The interview schedule for the focus-group discussion with teachers: conducted in April 2002

I used interviews to discuss with the teachers their understanding of the role of textbooks. Teachers were interviewed in focus-group discussions. Struwig and Stead (2001:99) define a focus group discussion as “a carefully planned discussion designed to obtain perceptions on a defined area of interest in a permissive, non-threatening environment”. However, their main disadvantage is that the facilitator may be biased in directing the discussion. These elements were minimized in the interviews I conducted, and I gave the respondents enough time to think before giving any responses. Focus-group discussions in my research provided a secure setting for in-depth discussion without criticism.

Issues covered in focus-group discussions included the following:

- The selection and supply of textbooks in schools
- The role of textbooks in teaching (as guides or as blueprints)
- The quality of textbooks
- Suitability of textbooks to the needs of pupils
- Suitability of textbooks to the curriculum and the LiEP
- Efficacy of textbooks for teaching and learning the SiSwati and English languages curricula
- Effects of the monopolistic textbook supply
- The role of the NCC in the production of textbooks
- Suitability of textbooks in promoting critical thinking, problem-solving and analytical thinking skills

3.8.5 The Criterion-Reference Test (CR Test)¹⁰: Administered July - August 2000

An attempt was made to measure the pupils' performances based on the Grade 1 syllabus, despite their age. In view of this objective I used an existing English Language Proficiency test designed by the MoE for the CA Programme. I opted for a CR Test because it is an instrument that the MoE already has in place to evaluate pupils' proficiency at various levels of primary schooling. The test was both a diagnostic and an achievement test. It also carried some authority and respect because it is designed by the Ministry and is the method of testing presently used in primary schools in Swaziland. Despite the existence of the Impact Assessment team there was no complete evaluation report available to determine the impact of the CR Tests. The value of the results from this test was that they were likely to give an indication of how pupils performed, given the two teaching approaches used by the teachers.

I selected the CR Test from a test bank at the NCC where the curriculum designers construct the CA Tests.

3.8.6 A brief explanation of CA Testing

According to Paigna (1996) CA is a systematic way of finding out how well a student has achieved a given objective. In CA all tests are based on clearly defined objectives. The test results are used to diagnose if a student needs further help in order to learn or master a given objective. CA is based on criterion-referenced testing which is a method of assessment based on testing procedures held at the end of a unit. According to the Nine Year Programme of Instruction for English (p. 18), CA is a cumulative¹¹ and longitudinal¹² evaluation of student performance in areas of the syllabus. It has both

¹⁰ A CR Test is a test that indicates levels of performance or criteria of a body of knowledge or particular ability to indicate a learner's progress. CR Tests determine "... what test takers can do and what they know, not how they compare to others." They also indicate how well students are doing relative to a pre-determined performance level on a specified set of educational goals or outcomes included in the curriculum. (Bonda, 1996)

¹¹ CA is done from the first day of school.

¹² It is done throughout all the primary grades.

summative¹³ and formative¹⁴ functions. The CA tests in Swaziland were designed by the NCC and CA Unit. CA Testing began as a response to the national outcry to improve the education system in Swaziland. The National Education Review Commission (NERCOM 1985: viii) recommended that CA be introduced throughout the primary level of education. The implementation of the CA Programme started in 1993. It was envisaged that by 1999 it would be administered in all grades until Grade 7. In 2000 CA was implemented on a full scale. NERCOM also recommended that the award of the Swaziland Primary Certificate (SPC) would be based on the record of this continuous assessment and performance in the SPC national examination. Head teachers are therefore required to submit CA test scores to the MoE before their pupils sit for the SPC examination at the end of the year. The MoE ensures that the CA test scores are sent to the Swaziland National Examinations Council for computation and inclusion for the results from the SPC examination.

3.8.7 Contents of the CR Test and its design

The test comprised 21 questions. It was divided into six levels, (viz. Level A, B, C, D, E and F) covering the following item specifications as specified in the Grade 1 English Syllabus. The test questions covered the word identification, reading and writing skills.

Level A: Test items required pupils to match pictures with correct words

Level B: Test items required pupils to match correct descriptions of faces

Level C: Test items required pupils to use adjectives correctly

Level D: Test items required pupils to use prepositions correctly

Level E: Test items required pupils to read some sentences

Level F: Test items required pupils to write some words by filling in correct verbs

(See Appendix 1 and 2 for the Test and the Teachers' Instructions Manual)

¹³ Summative assessment is a test, usually given at the end of a term, chapter, semester, or year the purpose of which is evaluative in a high-stakes examination. Summative functions are certification, qualification and selection.

¹⁴ Formative assessment tests are tests employed by a teacher to modify his or her teaching to the needs and progress of the students. (Internet source: Swearingen, Richard Jr.)

The Objectives and Item Specifications document is designed and used by the CA Unit when designing the CA tests. It outlines the objectives of teaching English in Grade 1. The objectives are also outlined in the Nine Year Programme for English in Grade 1. All teachers have this document in their schools. Each Grade has a specific syllabus to follow. Item specifications are a set of activities that an individual learner should do in order to determine his/ her mastery of a particular objective stipulated in the syllabus. The teachers also have a Teachers Guide that they use in order to achieve the teaching goals. Numerous workshops were run for teachers on the CA Programme from 1993 onwards.

The CR Test was sent to the teachers with a set of instructions. The Instructions manuals were intended to help the teacher while administering the test about what they should do because the pupils could not read the instructions for themselves at this level. The test was conducted in an oral as well as a written mode.

3.9 DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

3.9.1 Procedure for administering the Teachers' Questionnaire

I distributed a 39-item questionnaire to the 20 teachers who were my principal informants, which they filled in at their own pace between the months of June to August 2000. It was detailed, thus I left it with the teachers and kept checking if they had completed it. (See Appendix 5) Open-ended questions were asked in order to follow-up the questionnaires. The questionnaire was used to elicit the teachers' opinions and perceptions about the teaching of English and SiSwati. It was also used to establish the teachers' perceptions about the children's performances if teaching was done in English or SiSwati from the beginning of schooling. I hoped to establish how the teachers mediated in the problems of non-speakers of English learning through English.

Additional points covered in the questionnaire were concerned with whether teachers in Grade 1 allowed children to use their home language in class. Questions were also related to general and specific issues observed in some lessons. Some teachers needed

explanations to some of the questionnaire items, in which case I elaborated and explained the questions in a form of an interview. The teachers filled in the questionnaire in their own handwriting, although in some cases they gave oral responses and I recorded their responses on the questionnaire.

3.9.2 Procedure for conducting parents' interviews

Interviews with parents were deliberately conducted in SiSwati and English code-switching depending on the language that was easier to use. In the interviews with parents I took extensive field notes in order to capture most of the discussion. I did not use the tape-recorder because the parents were not ready for it and I did not insist on recording them, in case it made them feel uncomfortable. Some parents answered a questionnaire which I had designed for those who would be willing to fill it in. I asked the parents to answer the questions in SiSwati or English as follows: **You are welcome to answer questions in English or SiSwati/Wemukelakile kuphendvula ngesiNgisi noma ngeSiSwati.** All the parents answered the interview questions in English although I had asked them to answer in SiSwati or English if they wished. In oral interviews only two parents conversed with me in English and were very proficient in speaking it. Others used both SiSwati and English.

3.9.3 Procedure for conducting teachers' focus-group discussions

In June 2001, I interviewed 26 teachers at 5 schools at very short notice. Although this was too short a time to arrange and to conduct intensive interviews, I was satisfied that I would get some valuable information from those teachers to add to the data I already had. The principals and heads of English and SiSwati departments allowed me to interview their staff. Focus-group interviews were determined by the number of teachers available to participate in the interview. The interview sessions lasted thirty to forty minutes each, depending on the time teachers were prepared to share with me in their busy schedules. The group interviews produced a variety of responses and participants contributed freely and collectively with support from other members of the group. Although my original

data was elicited from primary school teachers and pupils only, my additional sample of interviewees included both secondary and primary school teachers. The reasons for this are that the problem of textbooks is universal, both at secondary and primary school. Secondary teachers also inherit pupils coming from a faulty system.

I arranged with my informants prior to the interviews that I would be coming to discuss a specified topic with them. I set dates and used predetermined questions to facilitate the process. My guiding questions were not disclosed to my informants until my arrival. I tape-recorded the interviews with my informants. Interviews with teachers of English were conducted in English and interviews with SiSwati teachers were in SiSwati.

3.9.4 Procedure for observing taught lessons

The procedure that I followed when observing taught lessons was non-participant observation. I observed the proceedings in classrooms and took fieldnotes while the lessons were in session. Fieldnotes comprised recording what was taught and how it was taught. The lesson topic, introduction, content presentation, activities and conclusion of the lessons were observed. I looked at how feedback was given, and the language predominantly used. I further noted how the teacher managed the class and the delivery of content. I also looked at written work, both classwork and homework. I noted down the language(s) predominantly used in class to ask questions, to give explanations and the language that pupils used to give answers. I noted whether these were simple, short or long responses. Pupil participation was another point that was noted and the modes of participation predominantly used. I further noted the teaching techniques most often used, e.g. questioning, chusing and lesson demonstrations. I video-taped some lessons and viewed them afterwards. I used an observation schedule to capture the relevant information.

3.9.5 Meetings with the NCC Staff

In June 2000 I arranged consultation meetings with three members of the NCC staff. The meetings with the NCC staff were aimed primarily to get their views as officials of the MoE in charge of curriculum development and the development of teaching materials. These interviews were conducted mainly to find out how the CR Tests were used and to find out about the construction and suitability of these tests as criterion reference tests as opposed to norm-reference tests. NERCOM (1985) recommended the introduction of criterion-reference testing and therefore the meetings with the NCC staff were to ascertain if the tests met the recommendations of NERCOM via the introduction of CA testing. I used a tape recorder to capture the discussion with the English curriculum developer and the other discussants showed me graphs and other documents pertaining to the CA Programme whilst I took fieldnotes during discussions.

It transpired in our discussions that I would have to wait until August before getting the August 2000 test because the tests were still with the printers. This meant that the tests needed to be taken to the Regional Education Centres for distribution to the schools, which is also a long process. After consulting with three curriculum specialists in the CA team, and upon their recommendation, we agreed that it would suffice to use an existing CR Test already in the test bank. However, we needed to ensure that it was suitable for the second term. I finally opted to use the August 1997 Grade 1 English CR Test for the second term.

3.9.6 Procedure for observing the administration of the CR Test

The aim of the CR Test was to identify the Grade 1 learners' performance, proficiency and progress on the English curriculum. It was also aimed to indicate how well the learners were progressing in relation to pre-determined performance level as specified in the Grade 1 syllabus. Furthermore, it was also to identify the language practices that were often used by teachers and learners in EE and DE schools. The pupils' language proficiency and teachers' language practices during the test were the main foci in the test.

The test was also a diagnostic test because it helped teachers to identify learning problems and indicated areas for providing remediation exercises.

Before giving the test I discussed its logistics with the teachers. I explained the purpose of my study thoroughly and we discussed the issue of CA. Before the test was given to pupils I showed it to the teachers so that they could determine whether it was within the expectations of the Grade 1 learners. They approved it and gave me the numbers of students in their classes and I went to photocopy the test booklets for every pupil. I had also discussed the test with three curriculum designers at NCC. Dates were set for testing in each school and I diarised them.

As a rule, the respective class teachers assumed the responsibility for the administration of the test. The teachers' experience had taught them that Grade 1 learners take a long time to focus; thus we had to catch them while their minds were still fresh. Schools varied in the amount of time they used in writing the test. We started at 8.30 am or 9.00 am in order to ensure that the children could concentrate before going for morning break. Administering the test took 1½ to 2 hours depending on how quickly the children responded to the questions. We also took the test very slowly considering the level of the pupils. Time taken also depended on whether or not children were used to writing tests. Some teachers said that their children were not used to writing tests and so this was also a learning experience for the children. A lot of time was spent on preparing and getting learners to write. On the day of the test every pupil was expected to be equipped with a pencil and a rubber. Many children did not have pencils and some had their pencils broken and we spent a long time getting the children to settle down to writing.

I tape-recorded the test sessions in order to capture the discourse used by teachers as well as the language(s) during the test. I took fieldnotes whilst the test was conducted. I used the observation schedule after transcribing the tapes in order to categorise data in preparation for analysis.

3.10 DATA ANALYSIS

3.10.1 Classroom observations

The research question that is addressed by the analysis of data elicited from the observation of taught lessons and test sessions is the question of why teachers used the language practices identified in their classes.

A large amount of data was collected from classroom observations. Qualitative methods were used to analyse the data. Data elicited from classroom observations was grouped into categories established from the observation schedule. I used M.A.K. Halliday's (1985) social semiotic model to analyse classroom observations. Social semiotics is the study of human social meaning-making practices. The basic premise is that meanings are jointly made by participants of the social activity structure. Meanings are made by constructing semiotic relations among patterned meaning-relations, social practices and physical-material processes. In social semiotics, the basic logic is contextualization. According to Lemke (2000) "the basic principle of social semiotic analysis is that meanings are made by selective contextualization: each entity which we take to be a sign we make meaningful by considering its syntagmatic, paradigmatic, situational and intertextual contexts, both actual and potential". The meanings we make on any occasion are both uniquely emergent and culturally typical; they depend both on local contexts and on other meanings made in other times and places.

Classroom discourse between teachers and learners produces texts and these entail the activity of teaching and the interaction between teachers and learners. Since teaching occurs in a social context, the semiotic model provides a sufficient tool for the analysis of data in the classroom context. One of the aims of analysing classroom data was to identify the language practices and communication activities that occurred in classes between learners and teachers, who are not mother tongue speakers of English, using English as a medium of instruction at the Grade 1 level. Halliday's semiotic model and Gumperz's (1972) methods of discourse analysis were adapted for this analysis.

Halliday's model of the functions of language use was also used. These were very broad categories leading to sub-categories that served regulatory, informative and heuristic functions. The regulatory function refers to the use of a language for purposes of controlling or regulating behaviour. The informative function refers to the use of language to convey new knowledge and information such as teaching a new concept. The heuristic function of language means to use a language to find out things for oneself, such as to ask questions.

I also developed an utterances table specifically from the data from test sessions. The analysis of data from taught lessons was used to illustrate points observed during test sessions. The utterances table was used to record the instances in which utterances were made for classroom management and content presentation.

The utterances table refers to a table that I developed from coding transcribed data into various categories according to the functions that I understood the utterances to be used for during the test. I developed the table by counting the number of utterances that the different teachers made in the L1 and those they made in the L2. Benson (1998:49) says that "an utterance or a unit of an utterance is a coherent linguistically meaningful message that a person speaks during a conversation". From the transcribed data I identified the number of units of utterances in the different turns that the teachers used to administer the tests. I considered sentences, phrases and words that teachers made. I then set out to separate the utterances according to their functions in the teachers' discourse for classroom management and content presentation. I added up the total number of L1 and L2 units of utterances and then calculated the percentages of the L1 and L2 utterances. (See utterances table in Appendix 9)

3.10.2 Data elicited by using a questionnaire

Data captured by using a questionnaire attempted to address the research question that concerned the teachers' beliefs, attitudes, knowledge and perceptions concerning the two language-teaching approaches and their impact on pupils' performances. It also covered

another research question on the pedagogical and wider educational implications of the use of these two approaches in the Swaziland education system. The analysis was conducted by studying the common patterns and trends occurring in the respondents' answers. Comments and tentative conclusions were made which need further investigation. Comparisons with other similar studies in literature were made on teachers' attitudes towards using the mother tongue in education and as a medium of instruction at the Grade 1 level.

The analysis of questionnaire responses was made with reference to methods of second language teaching and learning. Reference to language teaching and learning theorists, such as Widdowson (1990, 1991), Richards and Rodgers (1986), Littlewood (1981) Brumfit (1979), Larsen-Freeman (1986, 1991) and Brown (1994), were made on Communicative Language Teaching (CLT). The analysis was also made on premises of teaching such as the need for exposure to the target language. Learners should have exposure to English as the target language inside and outside school. Patterns observed during data analysis served to explain why certain methods of teaching such as chorusing, direct teaching of grammar and teacher-centred approaches were used instead of the CLT approach.

3.10.3 Parents' interviews

Data elicited from parents attempted to address the question of why English medium schools seem to be the most preferred schools by parents. Parents' interpretations of "quality education" were analysed and common patterns in the answers were synthesised and conclusion were drawn from them. Key issues arising out of the responses served as a basis for interpretation. Categories of analysis were developed from the parents' interview schedule. These covered issues of the quality of schools and examination of the concept of "quality education". Furthermore, considerations were made of qualities that parents look for in a school. Parents' perceptions of the advantages of using English as the medium of instruction were considered. Further analysis was based on parents' perceptions of how English schools differ from non-English medium schools.

3.10.4 Teachers' interviews

The research question that the data from teachers' interviews attempted to address was the question of the role and extent to which the prescribed language learning materials and textbooks reflect/enact or define the Swaziland LiEP and the achievement of the aims and objectives of the curriculum. The teachers' perceptions were pulled together and the analysis comprised grouping the teachers' responses and drawing the main ideas from the responses. The data helped to identify the reasons why teachers closely adhere to textbooks, namely that the national curriculum is interpreted through classroom textbooks. That is why in some cases teachers follow them as blueprints. A table presenting the results from the teachers' interviews was created and this served as the basis for analysing data and responses to interview questions. The analysis was also done by identifying the role of the NCC, MoE, and the Publisher and by investigating how the monopolistic publishing practices in Swaziland influence curriculum development. This was weighed against how it affects the quality and standard of textbooks produced, and in turn, the quality of education in Swaziland. Categories of analysis were established from the interview schedule. These pertained to decision-making, and the selection, prescription and buying of textbooks. Another category was the suitability of the selected textbooks in the curriculum and their effectiveness. Furthermore, an examination of the role and relevance of SiSwati and English textbooks in the language-in-education policy was conducted.

3.10.5 Meetings with NCC staff

The analysis of the discussions between NCC staff and myself filtered into all the levels of data analysis. I was able to link what they said with what teachers were doing in classes during observed lessons and during the testing sessions. It also filtered into the analysis of interviews with teachers and parents as well as the responses to the questionnaire. The NCC staff served as the MoE's overseers in the implementation of the curriculum and LiEP through the use of textbooks and materials.

3.11 Gaining access to the schools

I collected my data from schools in Swaziland, which was my research context. I took three months away from Cape Town in order to collect my data in situ during the second trimester starting in May 2000 to August 2000. I asked my supervisor to write a letter to the schools in which I was requesting permission to do my research stating that I was a student at the University of Cape Town and my research was part of my studies. I had worked in three of the schools for my Masters in Education degree in 1998/99 but had to increase my sample to suit a doctoral study. I covered more schools in accordance with my four categories of schools listed above. I went to schools in three geographical regions in Swaziland. Ten schools in which I collected my data were in the Shiselweni region in Swaziland. I knew some of the teachers during my days as a lecturer at Ngwane Teachers' College. Teacher trainees are usually attached to some of the schools for five weeks in the second and third years for teaching practice during their three-year Primary Teachers' Diploma training programme. I spoke to the teachers in the schools where my college had established contacts to get their consent and then proceeded to request the principals for permission to do my research. Negotiating access was very easy in these schools for the reasons I have stated.

My other ten schools were in Mbabane and Manzini. I went to schools where I had no contacts, and therefore I started by approaching the principals. In these schools I was sometimes not able to see the principal on the first day. In two schools in Manzini I spoke to the secretaries. Head teachers of primary schools usually do not have secretaries. The headmaster or headmistress (as they are sometimes called) handles administrative issues with the assistance of his/ her deputy. It was quite unique that in the two schools I found secretaries who required to know my mission and also requested that I leave a letter that certified that I was a genuine researcher and not a disguised official from the MoE. I produced the letter and I was asked to phone to arrange an appointment. Both schools gave me a positive response. I met with the headmistress of school EEU3 and discussed my mission. She then referred me to her deputy, who then arranged that I meet with Mrs X, the Grade 1 teacher. In our meeting with the Grade 1 teacher and the deputy I explained the scope and focus of my study. They

were pleased about my research and they told me that their pupils did not have a problem with English because they used English from the first day of school.

On that same day I met with the headmistress of school EEU4, also in Manzini. I explained to her the purpose of my study. She also agreed and she arranged that I meet with Grade 1 teachers Mrs Y and Mrs Z. When I spoke about the CA Test that I wanted to administer, the teachers in the two schools were not keen on it because they said they did not follow the CA programme that the MoE wants them to follow. Ironically these two schools are less than 3 kilometres from the National Curriculum Centre (NCC) and yet the materials produced by the NCC were not used in either schools. Both schools are English medium schools. However, they then agreed to administer the test saying that the test was too easy for their children and therefore it would not really be a problem if I gave it. I met the teachers and we arranged dates for my visits.

I contacted two other schools in Manzini, which according to my sampling procedure were in the category of Delayed English Urban (DEU) schools. In these two schools I was not required to see the headmistress. When I arrived at the first school I found the teachers in the staff room. I requested to speak to the Grade 1 teacher, who was readily available and agreed to cooperate. One of the teachers was a former student I had taught at college. She said she would inform the headmistress about my visit. In my eyes the system was different from the other schools I had visited in Manzini. This school was about 5 minutes walking distance from the NCC. This teacher also referred me to another friend of hers in another school in Matsapa, 5 kilometres from Manzini and I went to see the teacher. The negotiation of access was also done very easily. In Manzini I was given permission to conduct research in three EEU schools and four DEU schools.

My last three schools were in Mbabane. There I had 1 EEU and 2 DEU schools. All three schools were in the city within a radius of about 3 kilometres of each other, similar to the schools in Manzini. However, there were some notable differences between these schools. For example, the 2 DEU schools were in very low-income areas although close to Hospital Hill and the Government Offices. The difference between them and the EEU schools was the

questions of resources. They were built in slums unlike the other schools which were situated in the suburbs. Living in slums is a result of the lack of accommodation and residents' low income. Many parents in urban areas know more about the need for English and can send their children to EEU schools but the DEU schools are attended by children whose parents are poor. The culture of learning is similar to rural schools in the countryside.

When I arrived at one of the DEU schools during break the children were playing next to the school gate. I asked for the way to the headmaster's office but I did not meet him and therefore I spoke to his deputy. He arranged that I speak to Miss XX but urged me to come back and make a formal request to the headmaster once he was back from town. He had gone to repair a photocopier. Nobody seemed to know when he would be back. I spoke to the Grade 1 teacher, who was not keen to participate in the research. She tried to discourage me by saying her school was not an English medium school and so there was nothing to research. I explained to her that I was not looking for an English medium school because there is always something to learn in every learning context. She agreed reluctantly but emphasised that the head teacher should give us the permission to conduct the research. When I was at home on the weekend in Nhlango Miss XX called me to say she was very sorry that she would not be able to assist me. She excused herself again and said they were not a good school to do a research as important as mine. I renegotiated with her and asked that I see her when I come to visit the other schools in Mbabane. She finally agreed after I assured her that this was not going to reflect on her professional record since all names would be protected.

3.12 Time limitations

While doing the research I faced some constraints. These were time and the limitations of a thesis which did not fully allow me to conduct a comprehensive ethnographic research. The setting in which the study is conducted and the distance from Cape Town did not permit me to stay for prolonged periods in the field collecting data. I had to place my study in an "ethnographic research approach".

3.13 Summary of the chapter

The chapter has presented the key elements of the research design and methodology, indicating the kinds of data required to answer the research questions. The research questions were formulated from the problem identified in Chapter 1 and the examination of the pertinent literature. I justified ethnographic methods comprising a case study, observations, interviews, attitudes studies, beliefs analyses and a CR Test of language proficiency as the best method that would give me the necessary data and scope to examine all the aspects of the research that I have outlined. I described how I got to the research sites, and gave details of the instruments I used for data elicitation. The details of selecting my sample were also presented and I explained how I went to the field and returned to it several times as I found necessary. The instruments used in the fieldwork and how the data were collected were fully explained. Chapters 4 to 7 present the results and findings of the study.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS OF THE CR TEST AND CLASSROOM OBSERVATIONS

4.0 Introduction

Chapter 4 attempts to answer the main research questions 1 and 3 stated in Chapter 1. Furthermore, sub-questions 1 and 3 that elaborate the two broad questions are also addressed in this chapter. The main research questions are restated below:

Question 1: On the basis of what teachers do and say they do, what are the characteristics, similarities, differences and profiles of teachers and learners in schools using the EE and DE approaches of the medium of instruction policy in Grade 1 classrooms?

Question 3: Given what the two approaches respectively offer teachers, learners and the Swazi society, does each approach offer equitable opportunities to learners in order to perform equivalently in the assessment of their performances in the common CR Tests, examination and in their general school achievement?

Organisation of the Chapter

Section 4.1 gives a general presentation of the results of the CR Test and comments on what the results show. The results are presented in tables 2 to 6, with brief comments made below each table. Section 4.2 comments on how the test was administered. This includes an explanation of how instructions were given and identifies the language(s) used during test sessions. The various functions for which the languages were used are noted. It also identifies the language practices and strategies used by teachers, such as simplification, translation and code-switching used in the test. This section makes references to classroom observations of taught lessons, which were made prior to the test. These are presented in the context of the test. Links between the observation of taught

lessons and the testing sessions are drawn. Finally, the section on 4.3 is a general discussion of what the test results show about the two bilingual education programmes. It identifies the impact of using the DE and EE approaches on pupils' performances. Implications for the LiEP, the Ministry's position and the researcher's position concerning the two approaches are discussed.

4.1 Presentation of Results

The assessment criteria for the CR Test

According to the MoE's assessment criteria a master is a student who has exceeded the standard performance. For example, if the maximum score is 6 and the standard performance is 4, the master is a student who achieves a score of 5 or 6 points. A borderline is a student who has just reached a standard score or come very close to meeting it. A non-master is a student who has not come close to meeting the standard performance required of the objective being tested. The assessment criteria for the test were in the Teachers' Instructions Manual (See Appendix 2).

According to the Level A Test items teachers were supposed to tell the pupils to look at the pictures in their test papers and the four words below each picture and the pupils had to make a circle around the correct word referring to the picture on the question paper. There were five pictures given. The teacher then had to pause and allow the pupils to circle their answers on their own. The following table shows the results of the Level A Test items.

Table 2. Results of the Level A Test Items

EE schools			DE schools				
	Masters	Borderline	Non-Masters		Masters	Borderline	Non-Masters
EEU4	88	10	2	DEU3	90	5	5
EER1	78	14	8	DER5	78	17	5
EER5	72	20	8	DEU2	74	17	9
EER4	70	10	20	DEU5	59	16	25
EEU1	64	18	18	DEU4	51	21	28
EEU3	57	23	19	DEU1	38	14	48
EEU5	57	32	11	DER4	35	16	49
EER3	31	19	50	DER3	8	40	52
EEU2	30	25	45	DER2	8	34	58
EER2	26	40	34	DER1	0	6	94

The average number of masters on Level A test items was 51%. Twelve schools did well on the Level A test items and eight schools were below average on Level A Test items. Pupils from 7 EE and 5 DE schools scored above average, i.e. they performed as masters.

Level B test items

Level B test items required pupils to match faces on pictures with the correct adjectives indicated below the pictures (See Appendix 1). The adjectives to describe the faces were “happy”, “angry” and “sad”.

Table 3. Results of the Level B Test Items

EE schools			DE schools				
	Masters	Borderline	Non-Masters		Masters	Borderline	Non-Masters
EER3	78	0	22	DER5	34	7	59
EEU4	55	0	45	DER2	32	6	62
EEU3	50	0	50	DEU1	26	12	62
EER5	49	0	51	DEU5	25	0	75
EER2	47	2	51	DER4	22	3	76
EER4	45	0	55	DEU4	15	6	79
EEU5	36	19	45	DER3	6	6	88
EEU2	33	5	62	DEU2	0	0	100
EEU1	17	4	79	DEU3	0	0	0
EER1	14	27	59	DER1	0	0	100

Only three EE schools had a number of masters above the number of borderlines and non-masters.

Level D test items

Level D test items were intended to measure the pupils' ability to use prepositions. There were three test items that required pupils to complete three sentences in which prepositions were missing. The language was simplified; the term "preposition" was only used in the interpretation as a technical term to refer to the kind of words that were missing in those sentences. A picture of a table and objects around it were given, as well as the three prepositions written next to the table. (See Appendix 1) Pupils had to look at the objects that the teacher called out and identify if they were "on", "next to" or "under" the table, and then fill in the missing prepositions in the blank spaces.

Table 4. Results of the Level D Test Items

EE schools			DE schools				
	Masters	Borderline	Non-Masters		Masters	Borderline	Non-Masters
EER4	73	10	18	DEU2	59	16	26
EER3	53	16	31	DEU3	51	5	44
EEU3	49	23	28	DER4	46	0	54
EEU4	45	12	43	DEU4	33	6	60
EEU2	36	7	57	DER1	24	3	74
EER5	35	6	60	DER2	24	6	69
EEU1	28	15	57	DER5	22	2	76
EEU5	28	21	51	DEU1	20	4	76
EER1	22	16	62	DEU5	11	30	59
EER2	17	8	75	DER3	9	9	82

4 EE schools and 2 DE schools had the number of masters higher than the number of borderlines and non-masters. The number of non-masters was higher than the number of masters in fourteen schools.

Level E test items

Level E test items evaluated the pupils' reading skill. Pupils were expected to read sentences and identify the correct sentence which described the action in the picture. The sentences were numbered A, B, C & D. The test tasks only required putting a circle around a letter indicating the correct sentence.

Table 5. Level E Test Items

EE schools			DE schools				
	Masters	Borderline	Non-Masters		Masters	Borderline	Non-Masters
EER3	100	0	0	DEU3	92	8	0
EEU4	92	6	2	DEU2	91	2	7
EER1	86	6	8	DEU5	73	20	7
EEU3	81	11	8	DER2	66	20	14
EER5	72	24	4	DEU1	63	20	17
EEU5	62	28	11	DER5	59	32	10
EER4	59	31	10	DEU4	42	31	27
EEU2	52	33	14	DER3	41	25	33
EER2	47	36	17	DER4	30	43	27
EEU1	25	38	38	DER1	19	23	58

17 schools had their numbers of masters exceed the numbers of borderline non-masters. The pupils' performance was excellent. Only 2 schools had difficulty with Level E test items. The average number of masters on Level E Test items was 63%. 5 EE and 5 DE schools had the number of masters above average. The performance in EE schools was much better because they had more masters compared with the DE schools.

Table 6. Level F Test Items

EE schools			DE schools				
	Masters	Borderline	Non-Masters		Masters	Borderline	Non-Masters
EEU3	83	13	4	DEU3	97	3	0
EEU5	83	13	4	DEU2	63	23	14
EER4	80	13	8	DER2	58	31	10
EEU2	71	19	10	DER4	47	21	32
EER3	69	19	13	DEU4	46	25	29
EER1	68	21	11	DEU5	44	23	33
EEU4	51	31	18	DEU1	28	28	44
EER2	51	26	23	DER5	28	40	33
EER5	46	30	24	DER3	21	27	52
EEU1	33	25	42	DER1	18	41	41

9 EE schools had their number of masters exceeding the number of borderlines and non masters. 6 DE schools had their number of masters exceeding the number of borderlines and non masters.

4.2 An analysis of the test results

The aim of administering the CR Test was to evaluate the Grade 1 learners' performance, proficiency and progress on the English curriculum. It was also aimed to evaluate how well the learners were progressing in relation to the criteria specified in the Grade 1 syllabus. The results shown on the tables suggest that pupils did well in some sections of the test while not doing so well on other sections. In the Levels A, E and F test items the pupils seemed to do well. Levels A and E required pupils to identify the correct word or sentence and put a circle around the correct answer. These questions seemed to pose very little challenge to the pupils and thus both EE and DE school performances were not very different. However, the pupils seemed to do badly on Levels B and D test items. Despite their weak performance, pupils from the EE schools had better grades than pupils from DE schools. Level F test items required pupils to write one word to complete the sentence. Although the results present a positive picture for EE schools and a gloomy one

for DE schools the question that the results pose is one of the levels of proficiency in English that the pupils had, i.e. whether or not the test scores are a true reflection of the pupils' performance and their proficiency in English.

The quantitative results provide a basis for the assessment of pupils' language proficiency but also indicate the need to use other reliable measures of pupils' proficiency in English. Although language tests are often used in high-stakes decision-making they sometimes do not accurately measure language proficiency but measure performance on the test or examination. Cummins (1996:56) argues that there might be certain misconceptions about pupils' language proficiency leading to pupils who only have surface proficiency to be exited into all-English instruction when in fact they do not have the cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) to cope with the demands of using English as a MoI. The observations I have noted led to a qualitative analysis of the results thereby analysing some taught lessons and classroom observations made during the test sessions. The following section will concentrate on how the test was administered.

4.3 How the test was administered

Two aspects of classroom discourse, comprising classroom management and content presentation, were analysed.

Classroom management

4.3.1 Checking progress and evaluating pupils' attention

At first, teachers needed to ensure that pupils were focused and were paying attention so that they could proceed with the test. The checking and evaluation of the pupils' attention occurred throughout the test. There was a dire need to keep this aspect of classroom management in check all the time in order to ensure that all pupils were attentive and understood what they were expected to do. This also had to do with the general conduct of pupils in class. Classroom management took a portion of class time and had to be constantly monitored as indicated in the Utterances Table (Appendix 9). Sometimes, it

even dominated most of the time used in class. This often happened in very large classrooms in DE schools. Some teachers found themselves having to divide the classes into two groups with one group coming earlier and another starting later on so that classroom management would run smoothly. Testing was very stressful due to large class numbers that had to be managed.

4.3.2 Discipline, reprimands and criticising of pupils

Classrooms are often contexts in which power relations are exercised. Criticising, disciplining and reprimanding of pupils was done more than the encouraging them. Although criticisms can be both positive and negative, most teachers tended to criticise pupils negatively. Some teachers seemed to use a particular language for criticising pupils. For example, DE teachers used SiSwati because it is the language that reveals authority and spontaneity for the teacher and pupils.

The following extract is taken from a transcript at school DER5 to illustrate how teachers criticised and reprimanded pupils. It also shows how teachers were using their power in classrooms.

Transcript conventions

Italics bold = Teacher's words in SiSwati

Italics non-bold = Teacher's words in English

() English Translation

[] Researcher's comments

Extract 1

DER5: *Now here are the words again. You are to circle the word that names that pot. The word 'pot'. Here: dot, pot, cup, pot. You circle the word pot.*

Sh....sh...! *labakhulumako ngitababulala!*

(Sh...sh...! I'm going to kill those who are talking!)

Turn to page 5. Here page 5, turn to page 5. [noise]

Hey....hey...! *Quiet. Ngitawubona ngesandla kutsi sewuvulile.*

(Quiet! I will see by a show of hands if you have opened the right pages)

Now, on page 5 look at the 2 knives. Do you see the two knives?

Class: *Yes*

DER5: *Now you tick the big knife.*

Tick the bigger knife Andile. [pupil's name] *Niyati kutsi nithikhaphi.* (You know where you are supposed to tick)

Pupil: *Sengicedzile.* (I have finished)

DER5: *Show your hands when you have finished.*

[R: This is not a knife]

DER5: *Musa kungihlolela wena. Ungatsi uthikha lapha ngingakasho khona.* (Stop fooling, why do you tick where I didn't tell you to tick?)

Pupil: [Pupil reports grievance to the teacher] *Mfan'khona uyangishaya.* (Mfan'khona is hitting me.)

DER5: *Grade 1! Hhayi! Hhayi!* (No, no!) *Hands up and be quiet.*

Researcher: *Nitawukopa loku wrong* [You will copy the wrong information]

DER5: *Utawufeyila wedwana. Aniyi ka Grade 2.* (You will fail alone. You won't go to Grade 2) *Look at the cups. Do you see the 2 cups?*

Class: *Yes*

DER5: *Tick the cup that is smaller.*

This teacher used English for certain functions. Out of fourteen teachers in this study, three teachers used English for monitoring pupils' behaviour. This information is based on data recorded on the Utterances Table in Appendix 9. The majority of teachers used SiSwati to monitor pupils' progress. It seems possible to infer that one of the social uses of language by adults is controlling or regulating others while also serving an informative function. Using SiSwati to discipline students showed the teachers' attitude towards SiSwati as a language for controlling the behaviour of students. This indicates that pupils understood that SiSwati was used for affective expressions. This was similar to the use of Tamil among students in Sri Lanka. Canagarajah explains that

One code may be reserved for a specific set of functions. For example English for instruction, another may be reserved for a different function. For example Tamil was used for affective expressions and asides. (1995:179)

Canagarajah states "Tamil was considered as the more spontaneous code which can serve to express strong feelings with force" (p. 179). In the above extract one pupil used SiSwati to complain to the teacher regarding a problem with one of his classmates. The above example and other examples in transcripts show that English and SiSwati were used for classroom management, thus suggesting that teachers switched from one language to another depending on the function that they were serving.

Some teachers criticised pupils in SiSwati in order to humiliate them when they were misbehaving. For example, Teacher DER5 told one of the pupils in SiSwati that he would fail and would not proceed to Grade 2 if he copied. The roles of the two languages for classroom management were that English was used as the language for keeping pupils' attention and SiSwati was used for humiliating those who misbehaved

Classroom management involved a lot of rhetorical and routine questions asked in English. Pupils understood expressions such as "Keep quiet", "Do you understand?", "Do you see words below the picture?" Even though the pupils did not understand some concepts, they continued to answer in the affirmative. These were simply routine checking questions. At this stage it seemed that although English was sometimes used it was only used for minor pedagogic functions such as checking progress and checking pupils' attention.

Content presentation

4.3.3 Repetition and teachers' intervention

Many of the teachers used a lot of intervention before their pupils displayed mastery of the objectives stated in the Grade 1 syllabus. When presenting the test items, teachers used several methods and strategies of intervention to ensure that pupils showed the expected competencies in the test. When observational data was analysed it showed a large amount of repetition that the teachers used in the test sessions as evidence of the struggle to get pupils to produce correct answers. Repetition and rehearsal of knowledge are characteristic to rote learning. They are used by teachers and learners who do not have an adequate command of English. Teachers who do not use the CLT approach often resort to rote learning. There was evidence of repetition and too much teacher intervention in DE schools because the pupils could not understand the instructions.

The teachers also had to keep checking if the pupils were all attending to the same question so that they could move at the same pace. They often asked certain questions to

satisfy themselves about their pupils' progress. It was common to hear teachers ask questions such as, "Do you understand?" or "Do you see?". These questions were often answered with a choral unison "Yes". Although pupils usually gave an affirmative answer, it was often followed by another explanation either in L1 or a repetition of the instructions in English. I observed that this was a ritualistic function that usually occurs and pupils often answered affirmatively out of fear of reprimand. Whenever there seemed to be a problem of misunderstanding teachers would stop the whole class and start explaining again. In other words, there was a lot of coaching in the classrooms. For instance, Teacher DEU5 used a game called "Freeze" whenever she saw that pupils misunderstood her. ("Freeze" is a game played by school children. It means "stop what you are doing and stand like a statue".) The teacher would then go all over the instructions and repeat them until all the pupils understood what she was saying.

4.3.4 Communication strategies used

Several communication strategies were used comprising code-switching, paraphrasing, parallel translations and asking of leading questions. I observed that the pupils' performance was fully dependent on the teachers' explanatory modes and uses of both SiSwati and English during the test administration. Switching between the languages occurred even though English was the language in which the test was written. Code-switching and code-mixing were the most frequently used strategies in DE schools. Another strategy often used was to paraphrase questions. Paraphrases constituted translations as well as stating in different words the same question using the same language. At times, parallel translations were used whereby the teachers gave an English version followed immediately by a SiSwati version. There were many occurrences of parallel translations in DE schools and paraphrases in EE schools. Working out of examples in English and SiSwati was also common although it did not improve pupils' performances. Leading questions were used but they did not have a significant influence. It seemed that pupils had not mastered the objective well during taught lessons.

Gumperz (1982:76) says that one of the functions of code-switching is message qualification. For example, DEU2 stated the main message in English and then used

SiSwati to qualify the message. She qualified the message by adding her own personal interpretation to the original question. SiSwati was used as the language that conveyed the meaning or as a language that acted as the qualifier of the original English version. SiSwati was also used as a language for emphasising a point. In the following example DEU2 started to give instructions by addressing pupils who had finished the previous question in SiSwati, “*Lasebacedzile*” (Those who have finished). She then quickly switched to English to draw their attention to the main message “*you turn over your page.*”. The role of English was to air formality and objectivity. The questions were stated in their original English construction as in: (i) *The bottles and the books are... dash the table* and (ii) *The ball is ... the table*. She further expressed personal opinion in SiSwati saying “*Kunemagama-ke lapha, angati kutsi banifakeleleni.*” (There are some words here. Oh, I don’t know why they have written these words for you.) She then switched back to give the information contained in the test in English. Her personal involvement in the text was expressed in SiSwati as follows: “*Sengiyafundza-ke mine*” (I’m now going to read). She expressed her distance from the text by reading out the sentence in English, and switching back to SiSwati to reflect her personal opinion.

4.3.5 Language(s) used for giving test instructions

DE teachers mainly gave test instructions in SiSwati. The following example illustrates the point:

Transcript conventions

Italics bold = Teacher’s words in SiSwati and pupils’ responses in SiSwati

Italics non-bolded = Teacher’s words in English and pupils’ responses in English

() English Translation

[] Researcher’s comments

Extract 2

DER5: *Turn to page 4, turn to page 4 here, page 4 la. (here) Do you see the three faces on page 4? Do you see them?*

Class: *Yes Teacher*

DER5: *Now Grade 1, in page 4 you are going to do like this. Here is the word. Niyabona. (Do you see?) Sitawumsha-ke Grade 1. Niyeva (We are going to match. Do you understand Grade 1?)*

Class: *Yes*

DER5: *You are going to draw a line la (here). [Points to one of the faces on the picture] You are going to draw a line to this one. Unjani (How is he/she)?*

Class: *Muhle* (She is beautiful)

DER5: *Unjani lapha ebusweni? (How is she on the face?)*

Class: *Umhlophe* (She is white)

DER5: *Unjani, uhappy, uangry, usad. Unjani nje lona losekucaleni (How is she? Is she happy, angry or sad? How is the first one?)*

P: *Ukwatile* (She is angry)

DER5: *Kukwata ngesi Ngisi yini? (What is 'to be angry' in English?)*

P: *Kwatah* (Sad) [laughter]

DER5: *Usuke anjani umuntfu nakwatile,usad (What does it mean to be sad? She is sad)*

P: *Sad*

DER5: *Usad, phela umuntfu uyakwata, uba sad, Akajabuli. Ungakhulumi. Ungadlati nekudlala. Make nakushayile ekhaya ngeluswati, uba sad angitsi? Niyambona –ke lona u sad. Picture number 2 unjani lona? (He is sad. He is unhappy. He doesn't talk and does not play. When your mother has beaten you with a stick you become sad, isn't it? Do you see this one? [points] Picture number 2, how is that one?)*

Class: *Uhappy*

DER5: *Happy kodwa ngumuntfu lonjani? (By the way, how is a happy person?)*

Class: *Lojabulile* (Happy)

DER5: *Happy ngumuntfu lojabulile. Losekugcineni-ke (Happy, is a joyful person. What about the last one?)*

Class: *Uhappy*

DER5: *Aka happy phela. Lo happy nangu. (This one is not happy. This one?)*

Pupil: *Smiling*

DER5: *Aka happy (He/she is not happy)*

P 2: *Ukwatile* (He/she is angry)

P 3: *Ukwate kakhulu* (He is very angry)

DER5: *Very Good. Ukwate kakhulu. Sitsi unjani ngesiNgisi? (He is very angry, what do we say in English?)*

Class: *Uangry*

DER5: *Uangry Grade 1. Lo angry lo simtsatse simuse kulo [points to a face on the board]. Lo sad sitamura kulo. Happy sitamura kulo lojabulile lonematinyo. Niyambona yini? Qondzanisa lamagama. Lo happy lo-. Qondzisa kuye. Ehhe! Angry ekugcineni. Sad, umbuke. Condzisa kulabantfu. Ehhe! Good!. Lo, Conda straight kulomuntfu umstintse esilevini sakhe. Good Ziyanda [pupil's name]. Happy ngunangu lojabulile lonematinyo. Happy, ngunangu, nangu lohappy.*

(He is angry Grade 1's. We draw a line and take it to this person [points to a face on the board]. This is sad, take it to this one [points]. Happy we take it to this one [points]. Take the line straight to the happy face. Right! The last one, angry. Sad. Look carefully. Point straight to the faces until you touch the chin. Happy is the one showing his teeth. This one, this one.)

The above example shows a DE teacher working on an example and then developing an explanation in SiSwati of what the pupils were required to do in the question. It was only DE teachers who worked examples to this extent in SiSwati. On Level B items for instance, DER5 had the highest number of masters. These results suggest that by working such an amount of detail and giving examples while presenting the questions, somehow gave an advantage to pupils who otherwise would not manage the test. In this example DER5 gave the test instructions as if she was teaching in an ordinary taught lesson. This feature was very common in DE schools.

4.3.7 How instructions were given

Giving instructions in the DE schools was plagued with difficulties and therefore teachers used both SiSwati and English to give instructions about the questions. The extract below from Teacher DER1 is an example of code-mixing in class. DER1 seemed to use SiSwati and English in a concurrent SiSwati/ English translation although she knew that the test was supposed to be administered in English.

Extract 3

An example of a teacher from an impoverished DER school giving instructions to the questions on Level F test items

DER1: *Turn to page 7. Now there are cows at the beginning of the pictures. Kunema sentences kunema cows. (There are sentences, and there are cows) What are they doing?*

Class: *They are eating*

DER1: *Angitsi siyasho sitsi (We are saying) they are eating. Sibuka A, B, C. (We look at A, B, and C) They are eating. Sicirclisha C. (We circle C) Number 15. The boys are.....Circlisha number... (Circle the number)*

[Teacher speaks to Pupil] *Buka kahle kutsi labafana bentani. Awumani ucircl-ishe. Siku number 15. Khetsa kunye lokufanele.*

(Look carefully at what these boys are doing. You don't just circle anyhow. We are on number 15. Choose the letter that is correct)

[Teacher talks to the reseracher] *Abakajwayeli lokubhala. (They are not used to writing) Sesiku number 16. (We are now on number 16) What is the dog doing?*

Ubuke lenja lapha. (Look at the dog) Look at the dog what is it doing?

Number 17, niyabona sesikuphi. Uyabuka la (Do you see where we are now? You must look here.) What is the girl doing? You circle the correct one. (Pause)

DER1: *Page 8. Now siyabuka sitfombe sinye. (Page 8. Now we look at one picture) Nakhona we circle the letter. (There we also circle the letter) Sibuke kutsi kati wentani.*

(We look at what that the girl is doing) [Teacher talks to the researcher] *Manje-ke ngalokutsi basebancane sengitawudzinga lamagama ebhodini.* (Because they are still young I will need to put the words on the board)

Number 18, What is the girl doing?

Class: *She is marking.*

Pupil 1: *She is cooking.*

DER1: *Niyambona. She is... lapha phansi?* (Do you see. She is... down there?)

Sesibhala cooking -ke lapha. (Now we write 'cooking' here) *Now look at the man in the car. Niyakhetsa kutsi* (You also choose what he is doing) *He is.... Ufaka ligama linye.*

(You write only one word) *Niyalikhetsa.* (Choose only one) *What is the man doing?*

Sesibhalile lapha nayiya indvodza. (Now we have written what the man is doing)

Sesiyabhala phela, (Now we are writing here) *The boys are...*

The DE teacher tended to use SiSwati because she was aware that her pupils did not understand the instructions. Her pupils could not manage the test on their own because they had not been using English in lessons prior to the test and yet the test required proficiency in English. It seemed that schools that used the DE approach who were not proficient in English were disadvantaged in this test. In addition, learners taught by using code-mixing or code-switching ended up without learning good English. The children at school DER1 were exposed to minimal English spoken by the teacher during the test. Prior lessons observed were taught in SiSwati and pupils were drilled with sentences in the Teachers' Guide. Pupils in DE schools did not get good models of English. Hence Teacher DER1 used SiSwati and English because it was the only feasible way for giving explanations.

4.3.8 Teaching strategies (Simplification, elaboration and explanation)

The purpose of using these strategies was to make instructions simple and understandable. What the teachers did in order to assist learners towards gaining better understanding of the tasks was to do at least one of the three strategies whenever possible. Seven teachers did their simplification, elaboration or explanation in both SiSwati and English using both languages almost equally. This mainly consisted of translations, parallel translations, paraphrases and simply code-switching and code-mixing between the two languages. The following extract shows how DER1 simplified the instructions:

Extract 4

DER1: *Page 4. Wonkhe umuntfu uvula page 4. Wonkhe umuntfu ula ku three faces.* (Everybody open page 4. Everyone is on the page showing the three faces) [DER1: draws three faces on the board]

DER1: *These are the faces. If you know –ke wena utawubona –ke bese uyadvweba lilayini lelicondze kulobuso lobu angry. Dvweba lilayini liye kulobuso lobu angry, Dweba lilayini linye kulobuso. Happy, ucondzana nebuso lobuhappy, udwebe lilayini lelisuka egameni liye ebusweni lobuhappy. Dvweba lilayini lelikhombisako.* (These are the faces. If you know, you will see, then you will draw a line from the word straight to the angry face. Draw one line to the angry face. Draw a line to that face. Happy should match with the happy face. Draw a line from the word to the happy face. Draw a line that shows that.)

DE teachers used both English and SiSwati, but their use of SiSwati was more than their use of English. Presenting the questions in English and giving test instructions was difficult; firstly, it was the question itself, which pupils did not understand, and secondly their lack of understanding of the instructions. The results of the pupils' performance indicate that the two approaches are assumed to be equitable when in fact they are totally inequitable.

DE teachers often used some detailed examples in SiSwati for their pupils during the test like DER1, DER2 and DER5. The amount of detail in the example reflects that the pupils' proficiency in English was very weak and thus teachers had to use SiSwati to work out some examples.

Another example of simplification as illustrated with an extract from Teacher DER2

Extract 5

DER2: *Turn to the next page which is page 6. Lapho etikhaleni nibutwa letintfo kutsi tikuphi? Touch page 12. [Checks all pupils] Utawubuka letintfo kutsi tikuphi. Emagama logcwalisa ngawo alapho ngetulu. Niyawabona ema bottles and the books kulesitfombe?*

The bottle and the books are ... [pause] dash on the table. Angakuphi kwalelitafula lamabhodlela naletincwadzi kulesitfombe. Ubhala la etikhaleni leligama leliso kutsi leligama likuphi ulikhetsa kunankha langu three leliso kutsi loku kusetukwelitafula. Ulikope njengoba libhaliwe. Ubhala linye.

(Turn to the next page which is page 6. In those spaces you are being asked about where those objects are. Touch page 12. You will look at those objects. Words to be used for filling in are there at the top. Do you see the bottles and the books on this picture? The

bottle and the books are... [Pause]. On which side of the table are they? Write in those spaces the word that you have chosen among the three that says the books are on the table. Copy it as it is written. Write only one.)

DER2: *Number 13. Ase sifundze laku 13. Litsini?* (Let us read number 13. What does it say?) *The ball is ... dash the table.*

Class: *Etukwelitafula* (On the table)

DER2: *Bhala leligama laku 13 esikhaleni. Walibhala ligama lelitsi 'under'.* (Write the word in the space in number 13. [Praising the pupil] Good, you have done it).

DER2: *Now number 14. Uyambona.* (Do you see it)? *Where is the dog? Ikuphi ledog?* (Where is the dog?) *Is it on the table, under the table? Or is it next to the table?*

DER2 used the SiSwati and English for simplification because the level of questions was deeper. Further detail and explanation were given in SiSwati most of the time as shown in the above example. DER2 utilised SiSwati positively because some of her pupils understood the instructions. Level D test items required learners to reason out their answers. Teachers need to use an approach that gives pupils practice in using English so that when they have to write a test such as this one they can reason for themselves. The CLT approach provides opportunities for learning to use English in a context. However, the role of the teacher is to guide and select appropriate activities that will make the learners learn how to use English.

4.3.8 Teaching methods and learning materials used during taught lessons

In this section I will refer to a lesson that I observed prior to the administration of the test. This is because I want to show that the manner in which teachers taught their lessons influenced them when they administered the test.

In DE schools teachers used the learning materials that did not give the learners an opportunity to learn how to read because they were only picture-books. The apparent shortage of reading materials in DE schools prevented pupils from learning how to read. When teaching reading, only pictures were shown, and the teachers read out sentences from the Teachers' Guide which was drilled into the minds of the pupils. This method is called the "Look and say" method. Prior to the test I visited some teachers teaching English lessons, the content of which were also included in the test questions. During my visits I noticed that teachers relied a lot on the Teachers' Guides, which spelled out how

they must teach the lessons. The Teachers' Guide also suggested the sentences that teachers should teach and how they should be taught. The following is an extract from an English reading lesson that Teacher DER4 taught, using the following words: "*driving, riding, cooking eating, drinking, sewing, carrying, sleeping, crying, singing*". The pupils were taught these words on 14-06-2000. These words became part of the test in Level F test items where pupils had to finish sentences by writing missing words that describe what the people in the pictures were doing.

Extract 6

[The teacher shows pictures and reads words]

DER4: *Eating, drinking, sewing, carrying, sleeping, crying, singing.*

DER4: *Asikhulume sonkhe. Ake siwati kucala. Sitawusho ema sentences sesati kutsi wentani. Ake uthule Nokwanda. Kenneth!*

(Let us all talk. Let's say the words so that we know them first. We will say the sentences when we know what they mean. Keep quiet Nokwanda. Kenneth! [pupils' names])

Pupil 8: *Washing*

DER4: *Lona wentani?* (What is this one doing?)

Pupil 9: *Uyabhala* (He/she is writing)

DER4: *Yini kubhala ngesi Ngisi?* (What is to write in English?)

Pupil 9: *Bhalion** (writing) [laughter, the teachers also laughs] [* Pupil 9 anglicised the SiSwati word "bhala".]

DER4: *Asicale lapha* (Let's start here)[points]

DER4 & Class: *Cooking, washing, writing, reading, drawing, dancing, jumping, walking*

DER4: [DER4 laughs] *What am I doing class?*

Class: *Laughing*

DER4: [DER4 points to something] *What am I doing class?*

Pupil 10: *Pointing*

DER4: *Siyawati lama pages. Sitawukwati kutsi kwentekani. Sitawuphasa. Sesiyalicedzela-ke leli sentence.* (We know these pages, we are going to say what is happening. Then we will pass. Now let us finish this sentence) *He is eating*

Class: *He is eating*

DER4: *I am eating* [DER4 uses gestures]

Class: *I am eating*

DER4: *Senguwe lona? Satsi 'I' ngimi. Lo ngusisi satsi 'She' is na 'He' is longubhuti*

(Is that you? We said 'I' is myself. If it's a girl we said it's 'she' and if it's a boy we said its 'he') [The Teacher points and pupils say]

Class: *He is eating. She is drinking*

DER4: *Naba sebenta kanye kanye. Nokwanda sitakwenta njani? Ngitsite mine ngifuna kunichazela. Babili. Sicala lapha-ke. Nabababili sitsi 'They' sesibahlanganise bobabili.*

(Now they are doing something together. Nokwanda, what must we say? I said I wanted to explain to you that 'they' means there are two people. We start here. If there are two people we say, 'They' because we are referring to both of them)

Class: *They are playing*

DER4: [DER4 points to pictures] *Lapha-ke?* (And here?)

Class: *They are playing*

DER4: *Animati lo 'carrying'. Nabababili noma ngabe bo 'he' bobabili sitsi 'They' are...Asisho -ke lapha.*

(Don't you know the word 'carrying'? When they are two, even if there are two 'he's we say 'they are' for both. Now let us say it here.)

Class & DER4: *They are singing*

They are laughing

They are singing

DER4: *Sengikhombe lomunye. Sitokuva lona lotsanyelako uyini. Nase utsi sweeping uyini?*

(I have now pointed at another. Let's hear this one who is sweeping. What is his gender? When you say sweeping, what gender is he?)

Pupil 11: *Ungumfana* (He is a boy)

DER4: *Ngesi Ngisi ungumama.* (In English it's a woman)

Class: *She is sweeping*

DER4: *Sisebentisa emagama lamabili: 'he' na 'she' amele ini 'He' sikhuluma ngemfana*

'She' sikhuluma ngentfombatana

Sicala ngekutsi uyini lomuntfu. Nasikhuluma ngemfana 'he'

Nasikhuluma ngentfombatana 'she'

(We use two words, 'he' and 'she' what do they stand for?

'He' when we talk about a boy.

'She' when we talk about a girl.

We start by identifying the gender of that person. When we speak about a boy 'he.' When we speak about a girl 'she.')

DER4: & Class: *He is sleeping*

She is sewing

They are carrying

DER4: *Kukati asisho kutsi 'he', 'she', na 'they' sitsi, It is sleeping* (To a cat we do not say 'he' or 'she' and 'they'. We say: 'It' is sleeping)

Reading ended in class. It was rarely reinforced outside the classroom, as pupils were not exposed to reading materials at home. I also noted that Teacher DER4 used a similar strategy in the test as if she was teaching the lesson for the very first time. It appeared difficult to use English for schools using the DE approach, especially where there were no good teaching materials and textbooks and where the children only learned English at

school. I was very surprised when Teacher DER4 declined to administer questions on Level F to her class. It showed that although she had used a detailed DE approach to teach the lesson, in actual fact the learners had not mastered the concepts she had taught although I had actually observed her teaching this lesson earlier. In our conversation afterwards, she told me that her pupils would not have been able to write those questions because they could hardly write their names. This was a problem as the Ministry expected teachers to teach using English even though the pupils did not necessarily understand the language. The teaching approaches and pedagogical practices used in some DE schools yielded very little. Teachers only attempted to teach English orally because of the circumstances in their schools. Their modes of teaching were oral and were teacher-fronted. CLT was totally absent. DE teachers became very frustrated with the CR Test because the DE approach did not enable their pupils to write and understand the test.

4.3.9 Language teaching methodology and the teachers' conceptual knowledge in School DER4

The lesson cited above serves to clarify how teaching in one DE school took place. Teacher DER4 had no teaching aids except the use of her voice in the mother tongue. At the Grade 1 level teachers are largely responsible for what takes place in their classrooms. Therefore, the teacher's conceptual knowledge and training are important for teaching. The methodology used in the lesson shows that the teacher uses an "explicit" language teaching strategy that focuses on grammatical aspects as opposed to teaching the language by using it in real contexts. The teaching method is passive and requires learners to internalise grammar rules. Teaching grammar does not always help when pupils must use the language independently, such as in the test that they were writing. The method used by DE teachers resulted in a situation in which teachers had to intervene a lot in the test, almost as if they were teaching ordinary lessons.

In extract 6, the method of teaching at the disposal of the teacher in a DE rural school was to use the L1 and translate this into English. The method that the teacher used can be explained in terms of the interlanguage theory by Selinker (1972). Ellis (1994:350) says, "the interlanguage refers to both the internal system that the learner has constructed at a

single point in time (an interlanguage) and to the series of interconnected systems that characterise the learners' progress over time". Ellis reminds us that, according to Selinker, there are five processes of interlanguage construction. Language transfer is one of them. That means some, 'but not all, items, rules and sub-terms of a learner's interlanguage may be transferred from the L1 (Ellis 1994:351). Ellis adds that the interlanguage is a continuum. For example, cognitive theories of interlanguage postulate that with the assistance of learning strategies, learners build mental grammars of the L2. According to cognitivist and linguistic explanations of L2 acquisition the starting point may be the L1 and that interlanguage may be, in part at least, a restructuring continuum.

According to Krashen the "learned system is a result of conscious attention to language in an effort to understand and memorise rules" (Ellis 1994:356). The method of using the L1 and translating it into English concurs with the notions of explicit and implicit knowledge teaching. Explicit knowledge focuses on the language code and involves conscious study of the L2 or attempts to automatise already learned explicit knowledge. In contrast implicit knowledge is developed through exposure to communicative language use; it is facilitated by the strategy of functional practising. The advocates of the CLT approach such as Widdowson (1991) and Brumfit (1979), Richards and Rodgers (1986) oppose the teaching of explicit grammar rules. Low levels of proficiency in English do not always mean deficiency in grammar. Other methods used in second language teaching such as Krashen's "Comprehensible input" and exposure to the target language are methods that can improve pupils' learning of English.

4.3.10 The role of the National Curriculum Centre

The NCC is responsible for the design and development of the state curriculum in conjunction with the various departments of the MoE. Teacher education institutions and schools and the NCC work together to implement the curriculum. The NCC and the MoE write out the policy for implementation of the MoE including subjects' syllabi, learning materials, textbooks and assessment instruments (CR Tests). The Nine Year Programme for English which outlines how English should be taught in schools is jointly designed by the MoE and the NCC. The following extract from an interview held with the English

Curriculum Developer (CD) on 14-06-2000 outlines the position of the MoE and the role of the NCC concerning the teaching of English:

Transcript conventions:

Bold italics = CD and researcher's SiSwati words

Italics non-bolded = CD's and researcher's English words

() translations into English

[] researcher's comments

Extract 7

CD: *Umntfwana nangabe umfundzisa siNgisi the "earlier the better."*

(If you teach children English, the earlier the better.)

Researcher: *Oh! The earlier the better?*

CD: *Vele, the earlier the better and tsine we are still trapped in the 'colonial jacket'. We can't free ourselves, we don't want to free ourselves. Vele bayasi krithisa'iza.*

(Oh! Yes. The earlier the better. We are still trapped in the colonial jacket. We can't free ourselves, we don't want to free ourselves. Oh yes, we are criticised for this.)

CD: *There are many other factors. Kepha nawubuka nje, ngase ngabuka leyase Zambia ngayitsandza* (I once saw the Zambian policy and I liked it) *Yona it is good because lomtfwana ucala ageyine i-confidence yekufundza lamagama in the MT.* (A child first gains confidence in reading in the MT.) *Utsi um-introduc-a kulesiNgisi abe asane confidence. Sewu socialise-ile esikolweni.* (By the time he/she is introduced to English he/she has confidence in reading and has been socialised in school.) *Bese kutsi nasenta lesiNgisi ente i-transference.* (When he/she starts reading in English he/she can transfer skills.) *Mine* (I) *in all honesty I think that's fair because even the Germans, they learn in German. Bahlakaniphe kangaka nje bakha imishini lemikhulu bacala ngale language yabo.* (They are so smart because they use their own language.) *Ngeke nje uhambe uva siNgisi.* (They do not use English for everything.) *Nema Shayina,* (So do the Chinese.) *All these things are from there. Baya transfer-a to English later because vele throughout the world siNgisi siya domin-etha but lokubamba leconcept uyabona in their own language that is very important.* (They only transfer to English because English is a dominant world language.)

Researcher: *Are we ready to do that practically here at home?*

CD: *Oh! We will never be ready especially nyalo. Siyakhuluma kutsi labothishela abakhoni ku meet-ha the standard sekufundzisa nge English.* (Right now we can see that the teachers can't meet this standard.)

Researcher: *So this is a problem because there is a status quo that must be maintained. That is why you end up sewuyibona leproblem yalama rural schools.* (That is why one can understand the problem of teachers in rural schools.)

CD: *Ngiko mine ngitsi vele they [rural teachers] have no excuse yekutsi ngoba umntfwana ubuya emakhaya [rural] ungabe usamkhulumisa ngesiNgisi because the child learns what he/she experiences lakuye.* (That is why I say rural teachers have no

excuse for not using English, simply because the child is from rural areas. A child learns what he/she experiences.)

A child learns what he/ she experiences, so there is no reason really why bacale ngesiSwati. There is no need. But bona babese babuka kutsi bona basemakhaya. Ngitawubhaca ngalokutsi bona basemakhaya. Ehluleke nje nekwenta ema basic materials.(A child learns what he/she experiences. So there is no reason really why they start teaching in SiSwati. There is no need. However, the teachers in rural schools only consider that they are from rural areas. They hide behind that and do not try to improvise basic learning materials.)

The analysis of the interview with the curriculum developer shows that teachers were expected to work with the view that the earlier they introduced English, the better and to use it for teaching is best. The MoE expects teachers to teach using English and if the pupils fail teachers are blamed for poor performance in schools. The CD pointed out that teachers in rural schools had difficulty with teaching English and using it for teaching in primary schools. She indicated that teachers lacked creativity to develop their own learning materials. This seemed to shift the blame to the teachers although the NCC is responsible for developing teaching materials and textbooks. The NCC runs infusion workshops to train teachers how to use new teaching materials and textbooks. During training, teachers are trained how to teach using the available and prescribed resources and how to make some teaching aids from those. Textbooks and learning materials are provided by the MoE. Many teachers often rely on the textbooks and teaching guides recommended by the MoE.

The lack of competence of the teachers to make alternative learning materials or to improvise some teaching resources is a result of insufficient training on materials development. The CD's concern about the teachers' lack of creativity to create learning materials is not a fault of the teachers but I think that it results from the system whereby the ministry controls curriculum development as well as the production and supply of textbooks and teaching materials through the NCC and one chosen publisher. This seemed to compromise the quality of textbooks and learning materials available to teachers. If there were more than one publisher supplying teaching materials and textbooks, quality would be ensured. On the one hand I observed during school visits that DE schools were inadequately equipped with teaching and learning materials. On the

other hand EE schools were slightly better equipped because those schools charged extra school fees in order to buy additional teaching materials. The EE schools' arrangement does not ensure the availability of good quality learning materials because the MoE sometimes objects to schools which charge additional school fees.

In my opinion the MoE does not sufficiently address the question of teaching resources. I think that currently teachers are inadequately equipped with effective teaching materials. Teachers are also not equipped with the necessary skills to develop their own teaching materials because the MoE does not conduct a proper evaluation on the effectiveness of the current teaching materials. Whilst the teachers are blamed for their lack of creativity, the MoE also needs to take the responsibility to train teachers on materials development and to ensure that effective teaching materials are available to teachers without compromising quality. Chapter 6 explores the role of SiSwati and English learning materials and textbooks in some schools in Swaziland.

4.3.10 Observations made from observing taught lessons and the CR Test

- That EE teachers believed that “the earlier English is taught the better”.
- EE teachers believed that SiSwati impedes the learning of English.
- EE teachers believed that “maximum exposure” to English is necessary to make learners learn English. They believed that using English as MoI was a better route to learning English.
- The CR Test results supported the EE approach
- The MoE did not sufficiently supply the schools with suitable learning materials hence EE teachers used additional learning materials outside the prescribed list of materials from the NCC.
- Learners in DE schools were not fluent in English
- DE teachers were dependent on the use of SiSwati as a teaching resource and as a basis of teaching English in their classrooms (as expected) because their learners were not proficient in English.

- DE teachers communicated with the learners mainly in SiSwati in the test as they did during taught lessons.
- DE schools were not proficient in English hence they performed poorly on the test because their teaching/learning approach was not validated in the test.
- DE teachers had poor learning materials and only relied on learning materials developed at the NCC.
- Code-switching, translation, paraphrasing and simplification were among those teaching strategies used by teachers in DE schools in ordinary lessons and in the test sessions.

4.4 An interpretation of the test results concerning the two Bilingual Education programmes

4.4.1 Effects of using the EE and DE approaches on the CR Test

In order to discuss the effects of using the two bilingual approaches on the test, I will refer to observations that I made during taught lessons and during the test. The observation of taught lessons prior to the test informed the way the teachers administered the test. I noted that pupils in EE schools practised English in and out of school. That was an advantage they had over their counterparts in DE schools. During the observation of taught lessons I noted that teachers in EE schools used English very often with learners. In my view that is why their learners understood English in the test sessions. The teachers and learners also used activities that had characteristics of the CLT approach such as games, identifying pictures, discovering identical pairs, identifying locations and identifying missing information. During interviews held after observing taught lessons and the test sessions, EE teachers indicated that their learners used English in and out of class and in their homes. Many of the learners in EE schools were exposed to English in their homes either by listening or by being spoken to in English. Some watched television or had books to read in English. Reading in EE schools was encouraged and the pupils had opportunities to take books home to read with their parents such as the Ladybird and Keywords Reading Scheme. Children in English medium schools were encouraged to

read at home with their parents. The parents signed a homework book as proof of having read with their children. Teachers in EE schools also indicated that “practice makes perfect”. This belief indicates that they were using the CLT approach with young learners although reading in SiSwati was not encouraged in EE schools. Only pupils in DE schools read SiSwati in class but unfortunately they did not read it elsewhere out of class.

Teachers in EE schools indicated that although translation facilitates understanding of content, it was not encouraged in their schools. They said that it did not enable pupils to become proficient in English. Instead, they said that it had a negative effect that resulted in making pupils lazy if they knew that a SiSwati translation would be given, and that made the learners think that they did not need to attend to English. I think that the EE teachers said this because they believed that the earlier English was taught, the better. They also thought that if it was used as a MoI the children would learn it even faster.

The test results indicate that the EE approach was better than the DE approach on the CR Test. The EE approach was used in an environment conducive to learning English, where the resources of teaching were better than in DE schools. These comprised a good quality of teachers who used good methods of teaching and good teaching materials that enabled learners to learn the target language. The opposite seemed to exist in DE schools where only the Ministry’s prescribed Swaziland English Course Book for Primary Schools developed at the NCC was used. Generally, DE schools were poorly-resourced and teachers were not fluent in their use of English. The teaching methods used in DE schools comprised drilling and rote learning due to large class sizes and lack of learning materials. The DE teachers that I observed were unable to use the CLT approach to engage learners in communicative contexts using English due to insufficient training in using the CLT approach. It was also because of the reliance on behaviourist methods of teaching.

Conditions for teaching in DE schools were different from those in EE schools with regard to teaching materials. DE teachers were dependent upon charts and pictures in the Pupils’ book. The Pupils’ book was mainly a picture book. Thereafter, sentences were

read out and learners memorised them. I noted in the test sessions that DE teachers did not make a clear distinction between testing and teaching ordinary lessons. They were teaching and testing at the same time. This was a discrepancy that I observed in DE schools. Their main problem was to conflate teaching with testing. This caused confusion, which made the results unreliable. DE teachers struggled to communicate in English with the pupils about the test instructions. They translated into SiSwati and used code-switching throughout. The DE pupils' performance on the CR Test was influenced by the teachers' intervention through translations, repetition and paraphrasing most of the time.

Although the test was not a teaching session, the DE teachers used similar strategies of communication which they predominantly used when they taught the lessons prior to the test. During the test Teacher DER4 declined to administer Level F test items because her pupils could not cope with the language used in the questions. This rendered the DE approach incompatible with the test. The EE approach seemed more compatible with the test because learners had been taught differently. As far as the results are concerned, the DE approach had a negative effect. Reasons for this are situated in the teaching medium, methods of language teaching and learning used and the limited vocabulary that the learners had. It also concerns the learning materials used by the teachers.

4.4.2 Implications of the Language-in-Education Policy

The LiEP states that English is the medium of instruction in the Swaziland Education system from Grade 3. However, the guidelines for implementation of the policy are not clear. The success of any policy is in its implementation. In the Swaziland case there is not enough guidance given to teachers and schools on how they are to teach effectively in order to enable pupils to master English. The teaching materials and resources for achieving the LiEP appear to be ineffective. Teachers in EE urban schools used a *de facto* Early English approach of the policy and ignored the *de jure* policy of using SiSwati in Grade 1 and 2. There is ambiguity in the way the MoE, teachers and materials interpret the LiEP.

There was a glaring distinction between what EE and DE teachers were doing. The LiEP depicts English as the core subject for all academic work. It was difficult to implement the LiEP because not all children had equitable resources and opportunities for learning English. Only the English-medium schools, which are often run differently and sometimes privately owned, have optimal teaching and learning conditions for English. That seems to be why they are perceived to offer “better education”. In my view proficiency can be achieved if there are excellent teaching materials, textbooks, well-trained teachers and adequate exposure to English outside the school. I further observed that schools decided for themselves the approach that they wanted to use. I think that *ad hoc* decisions and practices contribute to poor teaching in some schools. For example, EE schools with children from good socio-economic backgrounds managed to ask parents to pay more school fees and raise funds for purchasing learning materials. DE schools were generally located in poor socio-economic areas and this seemed to be their major disadvantage. Teachers in DE schools complained that they had poor textbooks whilst EE school teachers said the textbooks provided by the MoE were insufficient. The EE schools sought additional teaching materials besides those developed at the NCC. This means that the MoE should ensure that there is quality and equity in the distribution of learning materials and textbooks.

In some schools which attempted to use the EE approach but which had no learning facilities, there was little successful learning. The pupils only succeed in passing national examinations because some teachers drilled pupils solely for examinations. The parents who were interviewed in this study and reported in Chapter 7 said that teachers in English-medium schools drill pupils in English and tend to neglect the teaching of content subjects. In my view it seemed that effective teaching did not take place in many schools except for a few successful government primary schools that are run like private schools, such as Kenridge Primary School¹⁵ in Manzini. Kenridge Primary is a formerly white school that was predominantly attended by children of expatriates and whites. The school has maintained its reputation because it is run like a private school (although it is a government school). Competition for spaces in this school is very high. Scores of parents

¹⁵ This is a pseudonym. The identity of the school is undisclosed for protection.

want their children to attend this school because of its good reputation in teaching English. In the other government English-medium schools standards have dropped drastically.

4.4.3 The Ministry of Education's position with regard to the two approaches

In this study the views of the MoE were represented by the English Curriculum Developer. In the interviews she said that although she believed that there may be value in using the MT in teaching the Grade 1s, the ministry's position was that English should be introduced very early. The test results indicate that schools that used the EE approach were doing better than those using the DE approach on the CR Test. The MoE's position concerning the two approaches is certainly that it supports the EE approach even though it does not fully provide adequate resources for it to work effectively in under-resourced schools. By supporting the EE approach the MoE endorses the *de facto* policy used in Grade 1 classes at the expense of developing the MT before introducing English as a MoI. This was evident in its policy of adopting English as a medium of instruction in spite of whether or not pupils are fluent in English. The CR Test is used as a yard stick for testing the two approaches. The ministry needs to be aware that by supporting the EE approach whilst not providing support required by DE schools creates a big divide among the schools. The MoE blames the DE teachers for being uncreative and failing to create basic materials. Although the ministry seems to think so, it is its responsibility to provide teachers and schools with teaching and learning materials that are teacher-proof. That means that the learning materials should enable even the under-qualified teacher in a poorly resourced school to teach to an acceptable standard. The test indicates that the two approaches cannot be regarded as alternatives to each other because of the inequivalent impact that each approach has on learners' performances. It is unfair to use a unitary testing system where two different approaches are used because the results cannot be the same. Comparing the two approaches in a unitary test or examination greatly puts the users of one of the two approaches at a disadvantage.

Teaching and learning a second language is a complex activity. The relationship between the pupils' performance is not simply one-to-one between the approach used in the

schools and the pupils' performance. In other words, simply using the EE approach does not automatically mean good performance on the test or at school. Rather, I think that it is between the quality of the teaching methods used and the resources available to use those methods, as well as other variables such as pupils' proficiency in English. Seemingly, the ministry adopted a LiEP of using English as a medium of instruction but did not adequately provide effective resources for its implementation. It is very common to find policies that are not in synchrony with the implementation plan. The lack of adequate provision creates a gap between those schools which can fend for themselves and those which cannot. The EE schools seemed to manage better on their own than the DE schools because they had other advantages such as the availability of extra teaching resources. DE schools solely relied on the inadequate resources provided by the NCC. The role of textbooks and teaching materials in the Swaziland schools will be pursued in Chapter 6. The effect of using the DE approach was negative because the learners were disadvantaged from the beginning by using ineffective teaching materials. I observed that learners using the two approaches did not start from equal starting points. The test indicated that education in Swaziland was not equally provided for all learners. The provision of equal opportunities in the education system is urgently needed in Swaziland in order to reduce the number of learners who do not succeed in the high-stakes Cambridge examination and to reduce the number of failure and drop-out rates. It seems that the MoE does not clearly suggest a suitable teaching method but implicitly leaves the teachers to decide on any method that suits the learners. Good teachers can identify a method that best suits their learners such as the CLT approach, but if the quality of the teachers is not good they depend on the inadequate guides and prescribed materials.

4.4.4 My position concerning the two approaches

The CR Test results create a misconception in the teachers' minds that if they use English for teaching, their pupils will become proficient in English. Although this may occur, it is not the only aspect that needs to be considered. The results may differ as the levels of teaching and testing get complicated. The test was designed in a way that gave an advantage to those learners taught using the EE approach. Hence I argue that the EE approach was being supported. Some ESL/EFL teachers often assume that if they have

been using English as a medium of instruction all along their pupils are going to succeed in tests and examinations. They believe that “the more pupils are exposed to English or are spoken to in English, the faster they will learn the language”. This belief has come under attack from linguists such as Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson. Phillipson (1992:185) and Skutnabb-Kangas (2000:575) argue that some principles like the “maximum exposure” and the “early exposure” tenets of ESL/EFL teaching are not necessarily true. These assumptions are transmitted in training courses for English teachers and are perpetuated by teacher trainers, curriculum developers and parents. In my opinion the “early exposure” and the “maximum exposure” tenets did not work effectively in DE schools because of the lack of resources to implement them in those schools.

The test results indicate that DE teachers tried to conduct the test by using code-switching and other language strategies to make the pupils understand the requirements of the test due to their apparent lack of proficiency in English. An additive bilingual approach is feasible at this level of schooling because it caters for learners who are not proficient in English. Although in terms of pupil performance the DE approach was weaker, what may be presently seen as a weakness of the DE approach may be their strength because it opens up opportunities for learners to participate in the lessons without being thrown into the deep end of using a language that they do not understand. In my view EE teachers were privileged because their learners had a reasonable command of English for their level. The test indicates that education in Swaziland is not equally provided for all children. The ministry’s dream of “education for all” is not being accomplished.

4.5 Summary of the Chapter

This chapter attempted to answer the research questions stated at the beginning of the chapter by analysing the results of the CR Test and selected extracts from observations of taught lessons. The results were discussed in the light of what teachers did and how they explained the test instructions. The results were further analysed in terms of the two bilingual approaches. Observations were made, highlighting why teachers often resort to

teaching strategies like code-switching, translation and paraphrasing, and simplification as depicted in their lessons. I analysed the interactions between teachers and their pupils and the efforts made to make learners understand both their lesson objective and objectives of the test. The results indicate that the EE approach and the DE approach do not offer equitable opportunities for all learners because they are not systematically implemented and are inadequately provided for in terms of teaching resources in DE schools. I concluded by examining the effects of the two bilingual approaches on pupil performance. I noted that in DE schools testing was akin to teaching ordinary lessons because of the mismatch between the learners' proficiency in English and what they were required to do in the test. This aspect had a negative effect on the pupils' performances on the CR Test. Chapter 5 will present and analyse teachers' attitudes, views, perceptions and beliefs about the learning of English and their learners' proficiency in English.

CHAPTER 5

PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA ELICITED BY MEANS OF A QUESTIONNAIRE

5.0 Introduction

This Chapter attempts to answer the second main research question and the second sub-question. The questions are as follows:

Question 2: What are the pedagogical and wider educational implications of the use of these two approaches in the Swaziland Education system, for example, what do they respectively offer learners and teachers in terms of optimal learning of SiSwati and English in rural and urban schools?

Sub-question 2: What are the teachers' beliefs, attitudes, knowledge and perceptions concerning the two language teaching approaches and their impact on pupils' performance?

The analysis and interpretation in this chapter are based on data elicited from the administration of a 39-item questionnaire to 20 teachers from the twenty schools in the study. The interpretation is confined to the responses of these teachers only. The aim of using a questionnaire investigation was to elicit the teachers' beliefs, attitudes, knowledge, views, estimates and perceptions of their pupils' uses and performances of English and SiSwati. This questionnaire enabled triangulation with other findings analysed from the classroom observations and the CR Test in the previous chapter. The analysis shows possible trends and patterns that need further validation through larger scale research beyond the scope of this thesis.

5.1 Estimated times of the use of SiSwati and English in the classrooms

5.1.1 Teachers' estimates of how much time in a day pupils speak SiSwati and English

(The Question numbers refer to the original questionnaire administered in schools.)

The abbreviations used in the tables are explained in Chapter 3

Question 3.4: How much time in a day is SiSwati spoken by pupils in your class?.....%

Question 3.5: How much time in a day is English spoken by pupils in your class?.....%

Ratios are SiSwati: English

Table 7. Teachers' estimated ratios of using SiSwati and English by pupils

	100%	70:30	60:40	50:50	40:60	20:80	5:95
DER	1	1	2	1			
DEU			2	2	1		
EEU					1	1	3
EER		1		3	1		
Total	1	2	4	6	3	1	3

The above table was then modified to have fewer categories for comparison:

Table 8

	SiSwati spoken more than 50%	50:50	English spoken more than 50%
DER	4	1	
DEU	2	2	1
EEU			5
EER	1	3	1
Total	7	6	7

7 teachers, comprising 6 DE teachers and 1 EE teacher, reported that pupils spoke SiSwati more than 50% in a day, thus showing a very high incidence in code-switching. 7 teachers, comprising 6 EE teachers and 1 DE teacher, reported that pupils spoke SiSwati less than 50% and thus showed a low incidence of speaking SiSwati. 6 teachers, comprising 3 DE teachers and 3 EE teachers, said their pupils mixed SiSwati and English on a 50:50 basis.

These results indicate the difficulties teachers often face if they must teach using a language that is not the pupils' home language. The results also show that SiSwati was mostly used in DE schools. The evidence reveals that the majority of pupils spoke SiSwati, as well as a mixture of SiSwati and English, most of the school day. Therefore, if a language is used as a medium of instruction it has to be a language that the pupils all understand. However, this was not the case with the majority of pupils using English as a medium of instruction.

5.1.2 Teachers' estimates of how much time in a day they use SiSwati and English

Question 4.4: How much time in a day do you use SiSwati in class?.....%

Question 4.5 How much time in a day do you use English in class?.....%

Ratio Siswati: English

Table 9. Teachers' estimated ratios of how much teachers use SiSwati and English

	5:95	20:80	25:75	30:70	40:60	50:50
EEU	4	1				
EER			3	1		1
DEU						5
DER					2	3
	4	1	3	1	2	9

The above table was also modified to have fewer categories for comparison:

Table 10

	SiSwati spoken more than 50%	50:50	English spoken more than 50%
EEU	0	0	5
EER	0	1	4
DEU	0	5	0
DER	0	3	2
Total	0	9	11

11 teachers, comprising 9 EE teachers and 2 DE teachers, said they used SiSwati less than 50%. Most of the teachers said that they used more English in their classes because it was the language they were required to use as a MoI. However, I noted that this was a contradiction compared to what I noticed in classroom observations. 8 DE teachers and 1 EE teacher mixed SiSwati and English proportionately thus showing a very high incidence in code-switching because their pupils were not proficient in English.

This evidence indicates that it was difficult for all the teachers to use English exclusively in Grade 1 as the required MoI. Seeing that it was difficult to implement the “Straight for English” policy, it suffices to say that there was a problem with a MoI policy that requires Grade 1 pupils to be instructed using English. There also seemed to be an unregulated use of SiSwati and English in all the schools. Nevertheless, one would think that there is a need to keep to one pattern in all the schools as opposed to the unsystematic uses of the two languages as shown by the teachers' responses.

5.1.3 Teachers' views on whether the pupils should be encouraged to use SiSwati in learning reading and writing

Question 6: Do you think pupils should be encouraged to use SiSwati in Grade 1 in learning reading and writing?

Table 11

	Agree	Disagree
DER	2	3
DEU	2	3
EER	2	3
EEU	1	4
Total	7	13

13 teachers, comprising 6 DE teachers and 7 EE teachers, reported that reading and writing should be taught in both English and SiSwati. All of them stressed the point that they occasionally translated from English to SiSwati because translation enables their pupils to understand English. It was established that they taught reading and writing

mainly in English and only used SiSwati to explain difficult concepts. English-medium schools view that using two languages to teach reading and writing is confusing.

4 DE urban teachers and 3 EE teachers explained that both languages should be used because “some children who have not attended pre-schools do not understand English”. They also said that when teaching reading and writing, SiSwati should be used only to clarify points that are not understood. However, it seems that the DE urban teachers did not refer to the teaching of reading and writing in two distinct languages but referred to the teaching of reading and writing in English, and used SiSwati for explaining difficulties. DE urban teachers seemed to aspire to teach reading and writing in English yet pupils at this level did not have sufficient knowledge of English.

For DE teachers, teaching English meant teaching only oral English, especially greetings, commands and a few vocabulary words. The Swaziland system of education inculcates an assumption that English is much more important than SiSwati. This is articulated in the working documents at the MoE, especially the Nine Year Programme of Instruction for English. The Swaziland Examination Council requires that a child passes English in order to attain the SPC primary leaving certificate. Reading in SiSwati is equally important because if the pupils have been taught to read in one language, they can also read in another language when the opportunity to do so comes. In other words, familiarity with the convention of reading texts is transferable.

The EE urban teachers reported that they use only English for teaching reading and writing in Grade 1 because pupils are required to communicate in English. The teachers strongly believed that pupils should get a strong foundation in English. One EE teacher further stated that pupils in her school were not only from SiSwati homes and therefore English was the only language used in their schools. This seemed to be a problem because teaching and learning in some English-medium schools was also determined by what foreign parents wanted. Some Swazi parents wanted their children to emulate children whose home language is not English.

From these responses we see that although some teachers said that reading and writing should be taught in SiSwati and English they also believed that SiSwati should be used as an aid to English. Some did not see the importance of teaching reading and writing solely in SiSwati as a way of teaching literacy. They only valued teaching reading and writing in English.

5.2 Attitudes towards using SiSwati

The complex nature of language attitudes poses many challenges to researchers. Attitudes towards a language are both covert and overt. Triandis (quoted by Dyers 2000:23) says they may also be described as cognitive, affective and behavioural components. According to Dyers (2000:57), one definition of language attitudes is that they are “evaluations people make about a particular language”. (See also Kapp 2001:53 and Iannici and Kok 1999:25). Attitudes are often distinguished from opinions and are shaped by beliefs. Some attitudes towards a language may be elicited using Likert-scales, such as asking teachers to choose one statement from a three-point scale or a five-point scale to agree, strongly agree, neutral, disagree or strongly disagree with some statements. In this study respondents were asked about the availability of opportunities of using SiSwati when teaching Maths and Science or whether English was more effective or more accessible for expressing certain concepts in these subjects. Tables 12 and 13 show the responses to two attitudinal questions that were asked.

5.2.1 Opportunities for using SiSwati when teaching Maths and Science

Question 10: Are there any opportunities to use SiSwati in teaching Science and Maths in Grade 1? Please describe how you use these opportunities.

Table 12. Teachers' responses on availability of opportunities of using SiSwati when teaching Maths and Science.

	Yes	No
DER	5	
DEU	5	
EER	2	3
EEU	3	2
Total	15	5

5.2.2 Teachers' perceptions on whether English was better for expressing certain concepts e.g. Maths or Science.

Question 30: English is a better language for expressing certain concepts e.g. Maths or Science. Do you agree or disagree? Please explain your answer.

Table 13. Teachers' responses on whether English is a better language for expressing Maths and Science concepts

	Agree	Disagree	Blank
DER	2	3	
DEU	5		
EER	4		1
EEU	5		
Total	16	3	1

Table 12 shows that 15 teachers, comprising 10 teachers from DE schools and 5 teachers from EE schools, said there were opportunities to use SiSwati when teaching Maths and Science. 5 of the teachers from EE schools stated that there were no opportunities of using SiSwati when teaching Maths and Science. Table 13 shows that 16 teachers, comprising 9 EE teachers and 7 DE teachers, agree that it is better to use English for expressing certain concepts. The DER teachers stated that they used SiSwati because, "maths problems have to be explained in SiSwati if the pupils must understand".

EER teachers stated that they used simplified English in order to avoid translating from English to SiSwati because translating makes the children lazy. One of the EER teachers said, "I do not translate so that children can improve their learning". Some EEU teachers said that Science and Maths should be taught in English only because translating may distort the concepts in these subjects.

In my view, the absence of a systematic guide for teachers on how to use SiSwati in Science or Maths lessons develops negative attitudes towards using SiSwati. An EEU teacher said that "since English is the main language of instruction, SiSwati should be used sparingly, especially for explaining difficult concepts and words". This was an example where policy does not suit the practice.

In the EE schools SiSwati was only used as an annotation to facilitate the understanding of English. EE schools strongly believe that pupils learn English quicker if it is used as a MoI. 4 EEU teachers added that scientific and mathematical concepts should not lack precision. EEU teachers rejected the idea that SiSwati should be used to teach Maths and Science because their terminology is very technical. On the whole, EE teachers were reluctant to use SiSwati, and DE teachers were flexible because they were frequently exposed to the pupils' problem of low proficiency in English. DE teachers said they value the way SiSwati assists them when they teach.

The ideologies associated with the role, status and importance of English seemed to be the guiding principle for the EE teachers; the DE teachers however, were not guided by any ideology but rather were interested in making pupils understand the subject matter. This is an example of how policy fails to guide pedagogic practice. Mazrui (2002:272) argues that post-colonial language policies “affirm once again the triumph of the ‘English only’ policy in education in many British ex-colonisers in Africa”. The EE approach perpetuates the view that success is linked with proficiency in the English language. The ideologies are also linked to globalisation and capitalism. He adds that modern Science and technology are viewed as “part of a western package of ‘modernity’ but that package has come to Africa with many cultural strings attached that seek to reproduce Africa in the image of the west”. Mazrui criticises this attitude and says, “it is a denial of innovation” (ibid.). The adamant attitude by the majority of teachers to use English to teach Maths and Science is tantamount to saying Science and Maths do not exist in Africa. This attitude is a denial that the indigenous languages of Africa are scientific.

5.3 Pupils' proficiency in English

Cummins (1996: 52) explains that one of the misconceptions about language proficiency is that “conversational skills are interpreted as a valid index of overall proficiency in a language”. Proficiency in the language of instruction determines whether teachers and pupils can use that language successfully as a MoI. Lack of proficiency in the language of instruction impinges on the pupils' performances. Users of immersion and submersion programmes argue that these models provide maximum exposure to the second language

being learned, and therefore would expedite language development. Dutcher (1995:25) argues that research evidence shows that more exposure in the second language, to the exclusion of instruction in the first, is not necessarily better; the strongest possible development of the first language provides the strongest basis for learning a second language. The working definitions of fluency¹⁶ were explained on the teachers' questionnaire.

5.3.1 Teachers' estimates of pupils' fluency in speaking English

Question 11.1: How fluent are your pupils in speaking English in class?

Table 14

	Very Fluent	Fluent	Weakly Fluent	Not Fluent at all
DER		1	4	
DEU		4	1	
EER		2	3	
EEU	2	3		
Total	2	10	8	0

10 teachers, comprising 5 EE teachers and 5 DE teachers, estimated that their pupils were fluent in English. Only 2 EEU teachers estimated that pupils were very fluent in English. 8 teachers, comprising 5 DE and 3 EE teachers, said pupils were weakly fluent in speaking English. Seeing that the majority of pupils were not very fluent in English, the teachers often needed to resort to code-switching. Despite this difficulty, teachers still believed that using English as early as Grade 1 would help the pupils to achieve better academically. This seems to be the heart of the problem, which in my view concerns indoctrination relating back to the colonial days. The parents and teachers interviewed in this study indicated that the accepted belief that "quality education" is available in English-medium schools only was part of colonial indoctrination. One of the parents said, "we are all labouring under the misconception that English is better". The post-independent language policies maintained the colonial language policies because they

¹⁶ Very Fluent: speak more than one sentence. Fluent: speak a phrase without assistance. Weakly Fluent: speak individual words and phrases with assistance. Not Fluent at all: Cannot say a word in English.

viewed African languages as problematic since there were too many of them. Hence, they adopted language policies that were in favour of European languages because they were thought to be “neutral” languages in the context of tribalism and multilingualism.

5.3.2 Teachers' estimates of pupils' fluency in reading English

Question 12.1: How fluent are your pupils in reading English in class?

Table 15

	Very Fluent	Fluent	Weakly Fluent	Not Fluent at all
DER		1	4	
DEU		2	3	
EER		2	3	
EEU	4	1		
Total	4	6	10	0

Only 4 teachers from EEU schools estimated that their pupils were very fluent in reading English. Fluency in reading¹⁷ was explained in the questionnaire. 6 teachers from 3 DE and 3 EE schools said their pupils were fluent in reading English. 10 teachers in the study, comprising 7 DE and 3 EE teachers, reported that their pupils were weakly fluent in reading English. A print-rich environment is one of the factors that motivates pupils to read and thus become fluent in reading in any language. It seems that pupils in DER, EER and DEU schools were less likely to succeed with reading in English because they were not often exposed to reading English.

5.3.3 Teachers' perception of pupils' fluency in writing English

Question 13.1: How fluent are your pupils in writing English in class?

Table 16

	Very Fluent	Fluent	Weakly Fluent
DER	1	1	3
DEU		2	2
EER	1	3	1
EEU	2	3	
Total	4	9	6

¹⁷ Very Fluent: Pupils read phrases and single sentences without assistance. Fluent: Read individual words correctly. Weakly Fluent: Sometimes read words. Not Fluent at all: Cannot read.

Only 4 teachers, comprising 3 EE teachers and 1 DE teacher, reported that their pupils were very fluent in writing English¹⁸. 9 teachers, comprising 6 EE and 3 DE teachers, reported that their pupils were fluent in writing English, and 6 teachers from 5 DE and 1 EE school reported that their pupils were weakly fluent in writing English. Pupils did very little writing in English because the Grade 1 English syllabus only requires that the children be taught oral English. Therefore, teachers delay introducing writing. The delayed introduction of writing was a handicap to pupils who were expected to write the CA Test by the end of the second term, when most of them had not even started learning to write their names.

5.4 The use of English in class

Language teaching and learning theorists, e.g. Brumfit (1979), Widdowson (1990,1991), Richards and Rodgers (1986), Larsen-Freeman (1986,1991) and Brown (1994), say that using a language in a communicative context promotes learning it faster. This partly entails that the teacher gives the pupils tasks to perform, as well as elicits responses that pupils make to show that they understand the context, in the target language. "Teachers in communicative classrooms will find themselves talking less and listening more - becoming active facilitators of their students' learning" (Larsen-Freeman 1986). Brown (1994:15) argues that communicative language teaching attempts to "... move significantly beyond the teaching of rules, patterns, definitions, and other knowledge 'about' language to the point that we are teaching our students to communicate genuinely, spontaneously, and meaningfully in the second language". Widdowson says the communicative approach "reverses the emphasis of the structural". He further says

A crucial element of the communicative approach is the adoption of a methodology which will encourage learners to do things with the language they are learning, the kinds of things they will recognise as purposeful and communicative and have some resemblance to what they use their own language to do (1990:160).

¹⁸ Very Fluent in writing means being able to copy words correctly. Fluent means being able to copy some words correctly. Weakly fluent means to copy words incorrectly. Not Fluent at all means writes something unintelligible.

5.4.1 Teachers' estimates on how often they give instructions in English

Question 14.1: How often do you give instructions or tasks in English to pupils about language work they need to do? (Circle one letter that marks your answer)

Table 17

	All the time ¹⁹ (Above 75%)	Part of the time (50%)	Sometimes (25%)	None of the time
DER	4		1	
DEU		4	1	
EER	1	4		
EEU	4		1	
Total	9	8	3	0

9 teachers, comprising 4 DE and 5 EE teachers, reported that they gave instructions in English all the time (above 75%). 8 teachers from 4 EE and 4 DE schools stated that they gave instructions in English part of the time (50%). Only 3 teachers said they sometimes (25%) gave instructions in English.

These teachers sometimes gave inconsistent responses. This corroborates Taylor and Vinjevoid (1999: 90-91) who criticise perspectival data²⁰ obtained from teachers about themselves. However, this problem may be alleviated if the survey method is triangulated with other methods such as interviews and observations using ethnographic approaches.

¹⁹ In order that the teachers understood the ratings, they were guided using some figures to indicate in quantitative terms what was meant by each of the statements. The percentages used against the descriptions were determined from a general classification that 75% represents three quarters and therefore in this data it represents a large part of the frequency being described in quantitative terms. 50% and 25% are used to indicate lesser frequencies.

²⁰ Perspectival data refers to the views of observers: by definition, such information is highly dependent on the interpretation of the observer Taylor and Vinjevoid (1999: 90-91). Sometimes data are given by respondents about themselves.

5.4.2 Teachers' estimates of how much pupils followed instructions if given in English

Question 14.2: When you give instructions in English do pupils follow the instructions easily?

Table 18

	All the time (Above 75%)	Part of the time (50%)	Sometimes (25%)	None of the time
DER	1	4		
DEU		4	1	
EER		5		
EEU	4		1	
Total	5	13	2	0

13 teachers from 8 DE and 5 EE schools reported that pupils followed the instructions part of the time. Therefore, the majority of pupils did not follow instructions when they were given exclusively in English. Only 5 teachers, mostly EEU teachers, reported that pupils followed instructions given in English all the time. The EEU pupils understood English because they were fluent in it and were adequately exposed to it at school and in their home environments.

On the basis of the small sample in this research, the results further suggest that the use of English as a medium of instruction in Grade 1 was an untenable policy in these schools. 13 teachers indicated that many pupils understood the instructions only part of the time. The responses to items 14.1 and 14.2 suggest that there were difficulties when using English only. Another point highlighted by the teachers' practices pertains to the random use of the two languages.

The responses also illuminate the need to have a very clear policy and succinct guidelines for implementation on how much English and SiSwati are to be used in Grade 1. This may also have a direct impact on the CA testing method. Successful performance of the pupils on CR Tests largely depends on their proficiency in English. The majority of pupils were not proficient in English and thus teachers ended up repeating instructions many times, translating from SiSwati into English and coaching the pupils.

5.5 Exposure to English in school

5.5.1 Teachers' estimates of how much time in a day pupils speak English inside the classroom

Question 20.1: How much do pupils speak English inside the classroom?

Table 19

	A lot (Above 75%)	Some (50%)	Very Little (25%)	None (0%)
DER	1	4		
DEU	3	2		
EER	2	2		
EEU	5			
Total	11	8	0	0

5.5.2 Teachers' perceptions on whether pupils used English for speaking to the teacher

Question 22.1: How much do you think pupils use English for speaking to the teacher?

Table 20

	A lot (75%)	Sometimes (50%)	Blank
DER	1	4	
DEU	3	2	
EER	2	2	1
EEU	5		
Total	11	8	1

11 teachers, comprising 7 EE teachers and 4 DE teachers, reported that pupils used English to speak to their teachers a lot. 8 teachers, comprising 6 DE and 2 EE teachers, stated that pupils sometimes spoke to the teachers in English. The results suggest that teachers often regulated what pupils said in class and therefore pupils answered in the language of the person who initiated the talk. The results also show that EEU pupils used the most English in class, estimated to be about 75% of the time. Results in the table

below differ from the two preceding tables because the teacher no longer regulated what pupils said.

5.5.3 Teachers' perceptions on whether pupils used English for speaking to each other

Question 22.2: How much do you think pupils use English to speak to each other?

Table 21

	A lot (75%)	Sometimes (50%)	Seldom (25%)	Never (0%)	Blank
DER	1			4	
DEU	1	2	2		
EER		3		1	1
EEU	5				
Total	7	5	2	5	1

7 of the teachers from all 5 EE schools and 2 teachers from DE schools reported that the pupils spoke to each other in English a lot. Five of the teachers from 3 EE schools and 2 DE schools reported that pupils sometimes spoke to each other in English. Another five teachers from 4 DER and 1 EER said pupils never spoke English to each other.

On the basis of the small sample in this research, the results show that English was mostly used inside class. Krashen's Input Hypothesis emphasises the role played by the teacher in language learning. According to Krashen's Input Hypothesis, learners are able to learn a language if they get an "input + 1". Krashen (in Baker 1996:112) says, acquisition is the result of comprehensible language input. Input is made comprehensible because of the help provided by the context. If the student is provided with understandable input, language structures will, according to Krashen, be naturally acquired. This strongly emphasises the role of the teacher, not in teaching, but in providing understandable/comprehensible input. While it would be ideal to learn languages in an environment similar to that of first language acquisition, the role of the teacher in giving input strongly influences the children's learning. Through the teachers' input, children can learn a language, even though there is a lack of the use of English outside the classroom in their extra-mural and home environments. However, the danger

of the classroom is that students may learn to understand comprehensible input, but not to produce comprehensible output, thus they cannot use the language on their own in context-reduced environments. Comprehensible input is not the major causal variable in this process because outside the school context there is less or no input at all that triggers pupils. Therefore, outside school pupils use the language less than they use it inside the classroom.

5.5.4 Teachers' perceptions on whether pupils used English for writing in class

Question 22.3: How much do you think pupils use English for writing in class?

Table 22

	A lot (above 75%)	Some (50%)	Seldom (25%)	Never (0%)	Blank
DER	2	3			
DEU	1	2	2		
EER	1	1	1	1	1
EEU	3	2			
Total	7	8	3	1	1

7 teachers, comprising 4 EE and 3 DE teachers, reported that pupils used a lot of English for writing. Eight teachers from 3 EE schools and 5 DE schools said that pupils used some English for writing. Fewer pupils were reported to be using English a lot for writing. The majority either used English sometimes or seldom for writing. I think these responses were influenced by the fact that English at the Grade 1 level was still very elementary and therefore teachers focused on oral English before embarking on challenging skills such as reading and writing. However, I think that if they were using SiSwati for writing their responses, the results might differ.

Qorro (1999:6) says that in Tanzania students start writing in English in secondary schools, when they start using English as the language of learning. She argues that the abrupt change to English medium disrupts the learning process and the students' practices and experience in writing in Kiswahili. She argues that the net effect of these "disconnections" is that students do not build on what they already know. In terms of writing they have to abandon whatever writing skills they have learned in the seven years of primary school and have to begin writing in a new language. In my view, the crucial

point in this argument is to make it possible for each learner to capitalise fully on the resources he/she already possesses. Learners may be using English for reading and writing a lot, but teachers should also ensure that children are not "disconnected" or alienated from reading and writing in their own language. Such abandonment may lead to very little success in reading and writing in English. Although teachers give written work, it is not work which pupils create but it is work copied from the chalkboard or some spelling exercises.

5.5.5 Teachers' perceptions on whether pupils used English for reading in class

Question 22.4: How much do you think pupils use English for reading?

Table 23

	A lot (above 75%)	Some (50%)	Seldom (25%)	Never (0%)
DER	3	2		
DEU	2	2	1	
EER	2	2		
EEU	4	1		
Total	11	7	1	0

11 teachers, comprising teachers from 6 EE and 5 DE teachers, said that pupils used English a lot for reading, estimated to about 75%. 7 teachers from 3 EE and 4 DE schools said pupils used some English for reading. Although English reading was given more attention than writing, pupils did read English a lot. Reading and writing in Grade 1 were limited to reading single words and phrases and copying words from the chalkboard. The kinds of reading that pupils are exposed to in Grade 1 in their textbooks is minimal and inadequate for teaching reading effectively. In terms of the Whole Language Approach, "teachers reject the practice of teaching different language skills in isolation from each other, or in successive steps. Instead they turn their classrooms into literate environments in which many experiences take place in one lesson in one day" (Flanagan, 1995:119).

Reading and writing must be developed alongside each other. It is important to introduce reading and writing in Grade 1, not only in the target language but also in the language that the child already speaks from home. Children must have competence in reading and writing skills because they need these for academic purposes. The kinds of writing that

children must do should also give children cognitive skills. For example, teachers should mention that the methods of teaching reading and writing also had a negative effect on the successful teaching of these skills due to the lack of appropriate reading materials.

5.5.6 Teachers' estimates of how much pupils were exposed to listening to English in class

Question 23.1: In your opinion, how much are pupils exposed to listening to English in class?

Table 24

	A lot (above 75%)	Some (50%)	Seldom (25%)	Never (0%)	Blank
DER	5				
DEU	3	2			
EER	3	1			1
EEU	5				
Total	16	3	0	0	1

16 teachers from 8 EE and 8 DE schools said that pupils are exposed to listening to English a lot in class. 3 teachers from 2 DE schools and 1 EE school reported that pupils were sometimes exposed to listening to English in class. Language learning results from internal and external factors occurring inside and outside the classroom, as well as explicit and implicit language learning. Individual differences make it difficult though to generalise the effect of that input. Listening to English or exposure to English is one of the factors that promote language learning. In this research it is not possible to know how comprehensible the input received through listening to English is and how much the pupils utilise it.

5.6 Pupils' exposure to English in the homes and in the extra-mural environment

The results obtained from teachers on their opinions about how much pupils were exposed to the four language skills in their homes and in the extra-mural environment show the following patterns:

Pupils' exposure to listening to English

5.6.1 Teachers' estimates on whether pupils were exposed to listening to English in their homes

Question 24.1: In your opinion, how much are pupils exposed to listening to English in their homes?

Table 25

	Often (75%)	Sometimes (50%)	Seldom (25%)	Never (0%)	Blank
DER		1		4	
DEU	2	3			
EER		1		3	1
EEU	2	1	2		
Total	4	6	2	7	1

5.6.2 Teachers' estimates of how much pupils were exposed to listening to English in their extra-mural environment

Question 25.1: In your opinion, how much are pupils exposed to listening to English in their extra-mural environment?

Table 26

	Often (75%)	Sometimes (50%)	Seldom (25%)	Never (0%)	Blank
DER	1	2		2	
DEU	2	1	2		
EER		3	1		1
EEU	4	1			
Total	7	7	3	2	1

Children's homes and extra-mural environments did not provide models of listening to English. Four teachers reported that children were often exposed to listening to English in their homes while seven reported that children were often exposed to listening to English in the extra-mural environments. Children in DE and EE usually listened to English only at school. Very few children listened to English especially those who did not have televisions in their homes. Half the teachers reported that pupils were never exposed to or were seldom exposed to listening to English in their homes. However, during playtime pupils were exposed to listening to English. But this only happened in towns and cities.

Pupils' exposure to speaking English

5.6.2 Teachers' estimates of how much time in a day pupils speak English outside the classroom

Question 20.2: How much do pupils speak English outside the classroom?

Table 27

	A lot (Above 75%)	Some (50%)	Very little (25%)	None
DER			2	3
DEU		1	4	
EER		1	3	1
EEU	3	1	1	
Total	3	3	10	4

Only 3 teachers, comprising 3 EEU teachers, reported that pupils used English a lot outside the classroom. This finding shows that the pupils' active use of English is very limited. Krashen (1987, 1994) and the Communicative Language Teaching theorists of second language learning, for example Brumfit (1979), Richards and Rodgers (1986), Widdowson (1991) and Brown (1994), state that pupils need to practise the target language inside and outside of the classroom in order to learn it successfully. However, this seems difficult for most pupils firstly because the only place they encounter English is at school. Secondly, "learners do not very readily infer knowledge of the language system from their communicative activities" (Widdowson 1991:161).

5.6.3 Teachers' estimates of how much pupils were exposed to speaking English in their homes

Question 24.2: In your opinion, how much are your pupils exposed to English in their homes?

Table 28

	Often (75%)	Sometimes (50%)	Seldom (25%)	Never (0%)	Blank
DER		1		4	
DEU	1	3		1	
EER		1	1	2	1
EEU	1	2	2		
Total	2	7	3	7	1

5.6.4 Teachers' estimates of whether pupils were exposed to speaking English in their extra-mural environment

Question 25.2: In your opinion how much are your pupils exposed to English in the extra-mural environment?

Table 29

	Often (75%)	Sometimes (50%)	Seldom (25%)	Never (0%)	Blank
DER	1	2		2	
DEU	2	1	2		
EER		2	1	1	1
EEU	4	1			
Total	7	6	3	3	1

Most children had little exposure to speaking English in their homes both in rural and urban schools. For example, only 2 teachers reported that children were often exposed to speaking English in their homes. In the extra-mural environment children were sometimes exposed to speaking English because some urban school children speak English in their homes and when they play. 7 teachers, comprising 4 EE teachers, reported that children were often exposed to English in their homes.

Pupils' exposure to reading English

5.6.5 Teachers' estimates of how much pupils were exposed to reading English in their homes

Question 24.4: In your opinion how much are pupils exposed to reading in English in their homes?

Table 30

	Often (75%)	Sometimes (50%)	Seldom (25%)	Never (0%)	Blank
DER			2	3	
DEU	1	3		1	
EER		2		2	1
EEU	2	3			
Total	3	8	2	6	1

5.6.6 Teachers' estimates of how much pupils were exposed to reading English in their extra-mural environment

Question 25.4: In your opinion, how much are pupils exposed to reading in English in their extra-mural environment?

Table 31

	Often (75%)	Sometimes (50%)	Seldom (25%)	Never (0%)	Blank
DER		1	1	3	
DEU	2	1	2		
EER	1	1	1	1	1
EEU	2	3			
Total	5	6	4	4	1

In Table 30 three teachers, comprising 2 EE and 1 DE teacher, reported that children were often exposed to reading English in their homes, and 5 teachers, comprising 3 EE and 2 DE teachers, said pupils were often exposed to reading English in their extra-mural environment.

The majority of teachers reported that pupils read very little outside school. The teachers complained that there were no reading materials for the pupils besides the pupils' textbooks. The textbooks used in all the government schools designed by the NCC were inadequate. They only helped with initial reading but did not efficiently teach the children

in order for them to cope with reading. The few teachers who reported that the children read a lot outside school were those teachers from schools that provide their own reading materials such as the *Ladybird Keywords Reading Scheme*. The other teachers that relied on textbooks from the NCC said they had no other reading materials at all. The availability of excellent reading materials is an important requirement in teaching reading. Language learning theorists, such as Krashen (1993), say reading in a language means being exposed to texts and print in many situations. Children develop a reading culture if they see adults reading magazines and newspapers or novels. Children also learn a lot by imitating adults. Most children in the schools in this study do not live with parents who read. There are many reasons for that, one of which can be their socio-economic environment, which is not conducive to reading. If the children only see books at school they will not develop a reading culture. Krashen (1993:42) argues that children read more when they see other people reading. Children of parents who do more leisure reading read more than children of parents who show less interest in books. Krashen adds that although parents might do other things that promote reading, children read better if they have models. This view is also advanced by Cohen (cited by Muller and Roberts, 2000:21) who says “parenting practices” is the first and most important contextual resource.

Pupils' exposure to writing English

5.6.7 Teachers' estimates of how much pupils were exposed to writing English in their homes

Question 24.3: In your opinion, how much are pupils exposed to writing in English in their homes?

Table 32

	Often (75%)	Sometimes (50%)	Seldom (25%)	Never (0%)	Blank
DER		1		4	
DEU	1	3	1		
EER		1	1	2	1
EEU	1	3	1		
Total	2	8	3	6	1

5.6.8 Teachers' estimates of how much pupils were exposed to writing English in their extra-mural environment

Question 25.3: In your opinion, how much are pupils exposed to writing in English in their extra-mural environment?

Table 33

	Often (75%)	Sometimes (50%)	Seldom (25%)	Never (0%)	Blank
DER		1		4	
DEU	1	1	1	2	
EER	1	1	1	1	1
EEU	1	3	1		
Total	3	6	3	7	1

3 teachers from 2 EE and 1 DE school reported that children were often exposed to writing in their extra-mural environment. The results reported herein show that the exposure to writing in the homes and extra-mural environments was very limited. Exposure to writing English in homes was reported to occur only sometimes. Therefore, writing is predominantly a school event.

For children to learn a language, they need adequate exposure to English in the various contexts of their lives so that they may quickly master the language. Children who succeed in learning English faster are those children who use it at school, at home and in their extra-mural environments.

5.7 Teachers' attitudes towards Bilingual Education revisited

5.7.1 Teachers' views on whether it is useful to encourage using two languages when teaching curriculum subjects

Question 15: Do you think it is useful to encourage using two languages when teaching the curriculum subjects in Grade 1?

Table 34

	Agree	Disagree	Uncertain
DER	4	1	
DEU	5	0	
EER	2	3	
EEU	1	3	1
Total	12	7	1

Cummins and Swain (1986), Baker (1996), Luckett (1992) and Heugh et al (1995) say using two languages for teaching enhances the development of cognitive skills. This is because learners can take advantage of two languages in order to express their views without fear of being criticised about having no proficiency in one of the languages. 12 teachers, comprising 9 DE teachers and 3 EE teachers, agreed with the view of encouraging the use of two languages (i.e. Additive Bilingualism) when teaching the curriculum subjects. 7 teachers, comprising 1 DE and 6 EE teachers, disagreed with it. One EEU teacher was uncertain if it is useful to use two languages when teaching the curriculum subjects. More than half of the teachers in the sample agreed with the need for Bilingual Education.

Among the teachers who agreed, DER teachers explained that they gave instructions both in SiSwati and English. They stated that they explained the content of their subjects in SiSwati so that the pupils could understand. EER teachers explained that they introduced the topic and explained it in SiSwati, but used English to give examples. The DEU teachers said they give a term in English, then quickly said it in SiSwati and used gestures to explain difficult words in SiSwati and English. The EEU teacher said that she started teaching in English and waited for pupils to respond. If they did not respond she translated if necessary. In all the explanations it was evident that SiSwati was only used

as an annotation to English. Lin (1996) also observed that the teacher often introduces the topic in English, and then switches to the MT (Cantonese) to provide an annotation of the preceding English topic; then switches back to English to introduce a little more about the topic, and then immediately switches again to Cantonese, translating and reformulating the preceding English statement. She further explains that

The use of Cantonese has not only the 'linguistic brokerage' effect of ensuring students' comprehension of L2 topics but also the educationally favourable effect of relating the unfamiliar L2 academic topics to the students' familiar lifeworld experiences, which are naturally expressed in the students' native language (1996:71).

Some of the teachers explained that it was necessary to use both languages in the Grade 1 classes so that those pupils understood what teachers said. Teachers explained that it was difficult for pupils, especially those from rural areas because English is not used in their extra-mural environments. Therefore, it was necessary and useful to use both languages in order to help pupils to grasp new concepts if they were taught in their mother tongue. Other teachers said using two languages was useful because some children who might be intelligent yet were not fluent in English might be hindered if only English was used.

Appel and Muysken (1987), Heugh et al (1995) and Baker (1996) stress that the cognitive benefits of bilinguals over their monolingual counterparts include divergent thinking, flexibility and having to draw on the resources of two language systems. Other teachers expressed that children need to know how to translate to other languages. Translation is important for survival. Some teachers believed that it is useful to know how to translate from one language into the other saying, "it helps them [children] to understand what you are telling them easily. But using one language, they will never know how to translate into the other language". The teacher in this example shows that there are multiple ways of conveying messages by using two languages. According to the respondents, using two languages increased the pupils' chances and potential to understand the content and meaning of what they were taught. The other teachers who did not think it was useful to encourage the use of two languages in Grade 1 argued that English is the main language for teaching in the higher grades and that the teachers thought the children were coping well using English in the classrooms. These were the

views of EEU teachers, who also said, “children must get used to English. Otherwise, they will not learn English, the language that pushes you forward”. In many schools, excluding the EEU schools, conditions for using English were not as conducive to learning English. Phillipson (1993:210) says that the slogan of “longer means better” and “earlier means better” is erroneous. The conditions in which a language is learned better are when there are well-trained teachers, well-written materials and good methods of teaching. These are more important than the length of time for which it is taught. My opinion is that these teachers need to be supported with a policy that accommodates children who are not ready to use the L2 as a medium of instruction.

5.7.2 Teachers' estimates of the languages they used to give instructional information

Question 34a: What language or languages do you use when you want to give information to your pupils in Grade 1? (e.g. instructional information) Please explain your answer.

Table 35

	English only	SiSwati only	English & SiSwati
DER	1	2	2
DEU	1		4
EER	2		3
EEU	4		1
Total	8	2	10

Ten teachers from 6 DE and 4 EE schools reported that they used SiSwati and English to give instructional information. Eight teachers from 6 EE and 2 DE schools stated that they used only English to give instructional information. On this question there was a division among those who adhered to the policy of using English only and those who changed their style because of practical classroom realities. English is viewed as the language of power and the language of educational socio-economic advancement, that is a dominant symbolic resource in the linguistic market. Some teachers tried to maintain the use of English because of the official role of English in the school. Hence, it was used in formal instruction directed to the whole class and relating to subject matter. Formal information was given in English, but explanations followed in SiSwati. The prominence

given to English in some Swazi schools is due to parents and external forces. In some interviews with teachers, parents and the NCC curriculum developers, it came out that English has a high “linguistic capital among these members of the Swazi society”. In Chapter 7 parent’s perceptions of English will be discussed in detail.

5.7.3 Teachers' estimates of the languages they used to clarify difficult concepts and ideas

Question 34c: What language or languages do you use when you want to clarify difficult concepts and ideas to your pupils in Grade 1? Please explain your answer.

Table 36

	English only	SiSwati only	English & SiSwati
DER		3	2
DEU		1	4
EER			5
EEU	1		4
Total	1	4	15

15 teachers from 9 EE and 6 DE schools reported that they used English and SiSwati to clarify difficult concepts and ideas. Even though the instructional material might be in English, these teachers said they needed to clarify concepts and ideas in both SiSwati and English. If the instructions were precisely and exclusively given in English, pupils would not fully understand them. This suggests that teachers always need the mother tongue to supplement their teaching at the Grade 1 level.

5.7.4 Teachers' estimates of the languages they used for classroom management and discipline in Grade 1

Question 35: Which language do you predominantly use for classroom management and discipline in Grade 1? Explain your answer.

Table 37

	English only	SiSwati only	English & SiSwati
DER			5
DEU	1		4
EER	2		3
EEU	3		2
Total	6	0	14

14 teachers from 9 DE and 5 EE schools reported that they used SiSwati and English for classroom management and discipline in Grade 1 classrooms. The reasons given were that the children did not always understand English. 6 of the teachers from 3 EEU, 2 EER and 1 DEU school said the children needed to expand their knowledge of English and to enlarge their vocabulary. It is typical that Swazi teachers say harsh things like, "**musa kungichaphata wena**" (don't make a fool of me"). It is because the admonition would not have the same effect if it was said in English. Teachers thought that the message would be understood very clearly if said in the language that the learner and teacher both speak. Therefore in terms of regulating the behaviour of others it was easy to use SiSwati. Canagarajah (1995:183), in his study of "Functions of Code-switching in ESL Classrooms: Socialising Bilingualism in Jaffna", reiterates this use and says, "Teachers chose Tamil to express anger and frustration. Tamil was considered a more spontaneous code which can serve to express strong feelings with force".

One of the teachers in this study said English was also used to discipline the pupils. From this response I noted that English is sometimes used as a power-wielding instrument. It may be used to discipline the pupils and to silence them because they will simply comply and not make further noises if they are told to "shut up" in English.

The regulatory mode of language means to use language as an instrument to control or regulate the behaviour of others. The earlier discussion about classroom management in the CR Test in Chapter 5 showed that teachers were often involved in classroom management. Many teachers used SiSwati and English for classroom management because they needed to make sure that pupils were listening to them attentively. They emphasised that children needed to be attentive when teachers talked to them, hence discipline was essential.

In the transmission modes of teaching used in classrooms where learners mostly learnt from teachers as opposed to learning from each other, teachers were compelled to make sure that discipline was strictly upheld in the classroom. One teacher said, "I use both because sometimes a child will continue making noise even after telling him to stop talking. Not because he is ignorant, but because he doesn't understand you." In these cases the teachers exercise what Myers-Scotton (1993) calls the "marked language choice" whereby the marked choice signals that the speaker is trying to negotiate a different rights and obligations balance. Sometimes the teachers used "situational or conversational code-switching". Gumperz (1982:61) says that both conversationalists and linguists agree in assigning each sentence or group of sentences to one code or another. There is almost a one-to-one relationship between language usage and social context, so that each variety can be seen as having a distinct place or function within the local speech repertoire. In other words, it is external and globally constructed.

The regulatory function of language was seen when teachers used the mother tongue in very sarcastic terms to discipline pupils. For example, Teacher EEU2 said in SiSwati, "*Ngiyanibona nine kutsi nidla SiSwati. Abamemeti belungu, You are speaking SiSwati*" (I can see you shouting in SiSwati, the white people do not shout). The teacher used derogatory language and undermined the pupils saying they were being barbaric, by shouting in SiSwati. Although the teacher used SiSwati she had some negative attitudes about using it in class. The code choice was automatic. According to Gumperz

Selection among linguistic alternants is automatic, not readily subject to conscious recall. Rather than claiming that speakers use language in response to a fixed, predetermined set of prescriptions, it seems more

reasonable to assume that they build on their own and their audience's abstract understanding of situational norms, to communicate metaphoric information about how they intend their words to be understood. This refers to locally constructed code alternation (1982:61).

It shows the power relations in the class when the teacher does not only use the mother tongue to explain or help pupils to understand, but uses it to intimidate them.

5.7.5 Teachers' estimates of how children perform academically when they are taught in SiSwati from the first year of schooling

Question 36: From your teaching experience, how do children perform academically when they are taught in SiSwati in their first year of schooling?

Table 38

	Excellently	Very Well	Average	Below Average	Very Poorly
DER	1	1	2		1
DEU	1		3	1	
EER		1	2	1	1
EEU			1	1	3
Total	2	2	8	3	5

There was no consensus on the question of whether or not using SiSwati during the first year of schooling would make pupils perform better academically. Only DE teachers stated that the pupils perform excellently and two teachers from 1 DE and 1 EE said pupils perform very well if they are taught using SiSwati from the first year. Eight teachers from 5 DE and 3 EE schools reported that children attain an average performance when they are taught in SiSwati from the first year of school. 5 teachers from 4 EE and 1 DE school said the children performed very poorly if they were taught using SiSwati from the first year. The gist of these responses is that SiSwati is inadequately resourced to be utilised fully as a medium of instruction. Policy makers do not put enough resources into the development of home languages in education.

The EEU teachers explained that the reason why pupils performed very poorly if taught using SiSwati was because the classroom materials were written in English. The “materials argument” is often used to justify why teachers must use English. Policy makers often say it is expensive to develop new materials in other languages, when materials in English are already in abundance. Materials may be in English but if the teachers and learners cannot use them, using English as the MoI is not a solution. This means that teachers should be aware that the relationship between succeeding academically and the use of English as a MoI is not a linear one. There are other factors that contribute to academic success, such as the quality of teachers, learning materials, textbooks and resources, social and environmental factors.

Another reason why the teachers thought the pupils’ performance would be below average if they were taught in SiSwati from the first year of schooling was that children often found it difficult adjusting when the time for changeover to English as a medium of instruction came. One teacher responded as follows: “Pupils have a difficulty in switching or changing to English”. Macdonald (1990:48) found that it was difficult to manage the changeover in Grade 5 in South African schools because the learners were not ready for it. The reasons that Macdonald identified for this problem were that teachers were not well-trained, nor were they competent bilinguals. Another reason was the lack of support from family in terms of pre-literacy experience and other concomitants of a literate environment such as books in the homes, libraries and the practice of reading for pleasure. There was a lack of the opportunity to practise English in meaningful contexts (ibid: 1990).

Other teachers in this study reported that pupils have difficulty in answering questions asked in English because their vocabulary is very limited and their spelling is confused. In view of the reasons stated above, teachers assume that using the mother tongue in the first year was a hindrance to pupils’ success in schooling. Teachers in my study had already internalised that children needed English as early as possible and that they believed that the earlier start was better. Arguments by the proponents of Bilingual Education such as Cummins and Swain (1986), Cummins (1996, 2000), Baker (1996) and

Ramirez *et al* (1991) advocate for Additive Bilingualism. They say that children needed greater proficiency in the mother tongue before moving on to the second language because they could then easily transfer their cognitive and higher order thinking skills in the mother tongue to the L2.

5.7.8 Teachers' estimates of how children perform academically when they are taught in English from the first year of schooling

Question 37: From your teaching experience, how do children perform academically when they are taught in English in their first year of schooling?

Table 39

	Excellently	Very Well	Average	Below Average	Very Poorly
DER	1	4			
DEU	1	4			
EER	2	2	1		
EEU	2	3			
Total	6	13	1	0	0

13 teachers, comprising 8 DE and 5 EE teachers stated that pupils perform excellently and very well academically if they are taught in English from their first year of schooling. These teachers stated that pupils taught in English since their first year of schooling did not encounter problems with instruction given in English since they were familiar with English and understood it very well. 6 teachers from 2 DE and 4 EE teachers added that pupils performed excellently because they were fluent in English. I think that this assumption seems to be over-generalised by the teachers. Successful learning results from other factors besides using English as the MoI.

According to the respondents, proficiency in English is equivalent to success. It is difficult for children using a language in which they are not proficient. Considering Cummins' two faces of language proficiency, the conversational and the academic, in many schooling systems the two faces of language proficiency are not considered in the Language-in-Education Policies. According to Cummins (1996:65) "conversational skills

can be misinterpreted as a valid index of the overall proficiency in the language”.

Cummins adds that

Educators need to dig a little deeper than superficial linguistic mismatches between home and school or insufficient exposure to English. Underachievement is not caused primarily by lack of proficiency in English. Underachievement is the result of particular kinds of interactions in school that lead culturally diverse students to mentally withdraw from academic effort (1996:65).

I think that in this study the linguistic mismatches were a major problem and these need to be addressed in the Swaziland education system. The Swaziland education system is modelled on the British System of education. However, many children in Swaziland do not attain this level because there are not enough resources to match learning in the British style. English is not the only requirement, but facilities, adequately trained teachers, and a suitable curriculum are key elements in a good education system. Although English was not properly taught in the schools it was viewed as a gateway to education and to good job opportunities. From the responses it seems that the respondents preferred the Early English start. The Early English start as argued by Bamgbose (1991) seems a simple solution. English in most British ex-colonies is considered the language that can give power through education. The second point in Cummins' quote is about language identity. Language and identity are inseparable. However, the question of identity was overshadowed by the linguistic problem. Many parents seem prepared to pay the high price of having English as a language of instruction, a language that has the “cultural capital” in Bourdieu's (1991) terms. The cost that parents have to pay is both in monetary terms and a cultural cost incurred as a result of refusing to use their home language in education.

5.8 Discussion of key observations and issues arising from the above data

On the basis of this relatively small sample in this research, the following conclusive points were synthesised from analysis and are discussed below:

5.8.1. Teachers' attitudes towards SiSwati and English

English is the only language that is highly prized in the Swaziland education system. It was the preferred medium of instruction among teachers from EE and DE schools. DE teachers indicated that they preferred English as a Mol even though the conditions in their schools did not permit the use of English in Grade 1. The EE schools were perceived by the public as good schools because their pupils seemed to do well in examinations even though some were criticised for teaching a shallow content. Both the DE and EE teachers wanted to use English as soon as possible in Grade 1 because they believed that if English was used as early as Grade 1 children would perform very well in their academic careers. However, the teachers acknowledged that it was difficult to teach some children through English because they had no knowledge of the language at all. SiSwati was used for clarifying difficult concepts, explanations and as an annotation for English.

Both the EE and DE teachers argued that they could not use SiSwati because the learning materials were in English. Some EE teachers seemed not to value teaching and reading in SiSwati because they were in a rush to teach reading and writing in English. They argued that the learners needed English more than SiSwati to succeed in their academic careers. They claimed that the children already knew SiSwati from their homes and therefore it was unnecessary to teach it at school. The language that they needed to learn quickly was English. In my view, this argument is not necessarily correct because when children start schooling they are still in a process of developing their home language. Among the EE urban teachers there were negative attitudes towards SiSwati, namely that it was a waste of time, a delay for English and that it was going to cause confusion. The teachers' negative attitudes towards teaching SiSwati made it an unimportant language in education. This deprives the children of the knowledge and literacy in their first language that they need as a basis for learning other languages.

5.8.2 Teachers' knowledge about the role of the first language and teaching and learning a second language

Teachers need adequate content knowledge of the subjects they teach. For example, they need to be informed about the importance of mother tongue education. They also need knowledge about how additional languages are learned. Sometimes teachers are inadequately prepared to teach in classrooms where children use a language that is not their mother tongue. It is in this area that teachers' content knowledge needs to be increased. Teachers also need to know about the conditions in which a language that is not the children's first can be successfully used as medium of instruction. They need conceptual knowledge about how a home language can be used in the primary classroom without subtracting the learners' home or first language. SiSwati teaching seemed not to be taken seriously in some schools. The value of SiSwati was downplayed because of some negative perceptions that it had no educational and economic benefits. I observed that the curriculum for SiSwati was not as clear as the English curriculum. For example, during my visits to schools, I noticed that some EE teachers did not even try to teach reading and writing in SiSwati because they believed that literacy must be taught in English. The Grade 1 SiSwati Teachers' Guide was not very useful. The methodology used to teach reading and writing in SiSwati was unclear compared to that used for teaching English. SiSwati teachers used the Phonics method and some English teachers in EE schools used a CLT approach. In my view the teachers of English get a better training than SiSwati teachers. What seemed to be lacking was the knowledge that CALP in the L1 helps learners to attain CALP in the L2 as suggested by Cummins' Developmental Interdependence Hypothesis. Once learners have reached the CALP level in one language they can transfer it to the L2.

The MoE also gets support from the British Council and the Department for International Development (DFID) for running workshops on the training of English teachers. The regular and up-to-date training received by teachers of English does not match the poor

training SiSwati teachers receive. As I have stated, the MoE seems to focus more on the teaching of English and seems not to develop all the Language Arts.

The majority of EE teachers strongly believed that the earlier English is taught is a better alternative that enables pupils to acquire English language proficiency. Some teachers in the study did not understand the relationship between proficiency in the mother tongue and proficiency in English and its implications in the learning of literacy skills. I am not suggesting that this is a fault of the teachers, but I think it is because the methods that the teachers know are only those methods they learn during their training and from in-service courses. The lack of empirical research on the area of language use in primary classrooms in Swaziland adds to the teachers' lack of understanding of how learning takes place where the medium of instruction is not the home language of the learners.

5.8.3 Primary school teachers' views about the teaching of reading and writing

Although the teachers agreed with the view that SiSwati and English should be used for teaching reading and writing, they showed strong beliefs towards teaching reading and writing in English only. When they were asked if pupils should be taught reading and writing in SiSwati their responses were that SiSwati was only important in explaining difficult English concepts. In other words, the teachers did not attach value and importance to the teaching of reading and writing in two languages, which facilitates literacy in two languages. In their responses I noted the recurring mention of the point that SiSwati should facilitate reading in English. Biliteracy was not one of their objectives of teaching reading and writing. I deduced that the teachers were not well informed about the importance of teaching reading and writing in SiSwati.

Teaching reading and writing successfully depends on the effectiveness of the learning and teaching materials since learners need to practise reading and writing skills in order to reinforce what they have learnt. Materials for teaching English were the *Grade 1 English Pupils' Book*, posters/ picture charts, and word cards in DE schools. Most of the teachers reported that these were the MoE's standard teaching materials that were

designed at the NCC. However, the head teachers and class teachers from the EE schools stated that they had supplementary reading books. SiSwati reading materials were not more than a beginner's book on reading readiness, a Teachers' Guide and one phonics reader. The MoE's failure to equitably provide good quality learning materials is problematic because it promotes the retention of the *status quo* whereby the poor do not have access to good quality education. This inequitable distribution of resources is tantamount to a deliberate perpetuation of an elitist system. This seems to be the discrepancy in the Swaziland Education system.

5.8.4 Pupils exposure to English

The EE teachers' responses to questionnaire items seeking information about the pupils' exposure to English indicated that the pupils were inadequately exposed to English. For example, Table 27 on Section 5.6.2 shows that the majority of teachers said the pupils' exposure to speaking English outside the classroom was very little (25%). Table 28 shows that 35% of the teachers said the pupils were sometimes (50%) exposed to speaking English in their homes. Another 35% of the teachers said the pupils were never (0%) exposed to English in their homes. The teachers' responses on Table 24 indicated that pupils were often exposed to English at school in their classes during lessons (75%). In EE schools it was also reported that pupils were often exposed to speaking English in the extra-mural environment. (See Table 29).

Responses from DE schools indicated that pupils were never (0%) exposed to English in their homes. (See Table 25). The lack of exposure and insufficient exposure to English in some schools created difficulty because the school curriculum and LiEP required pupils to attain high levels of English in order to be able to use it as a MoI. Resources for teaching English like magazines, books and newspapers help, but the learners were not exposed to these. The DE pupils' extra-mural environments were not good language learning environments because of the lack of print and reading materials. Learners did not have access to an English language rich environment and they had no opportunity to learn the language. In learning situations where learners are not exposed to the various forms of

language they become directly taught by using behaviourist approaches such as drilling. Since the majority of learners were not exposed to English, drilling was predominantly used in DE schools. The learners had no opportunity to use English in real contexts as suggested by the CLT approach even though some lessons were taught in SiSwati and English. In my view the lack of exposure to speaking, listening, reading and writing English was a major drawback to learning English in DE schools.

5.8.5 Teachers' attitudes towards Bilingual Education

The various types of Bilingual Education were described in Chapter 2. Teachers in EE schools did not believe in Additive Bilingualism. DE teachers believed in a weak form of Bilingual Education where the mother tongue was used to explain and clarify difficult concepts and ideas. DE teachers viewed bilingualism as having certain benefits for their learners. No consensus among all the teachers was reached on the question of whether using two languages would improve pupils' performance at school. The gist of the teachers' responses was that SiSwati was inadequately equipped as a language to be utilised fully as a medium of instruction. The teachers argued that teaching materials and textbooks were available in English hence they did not see how they could implement Additive Bilingualism since they did not have learning materials and textbooks written in SiSwati. The teachers acknowledged that pupils had difficulty in adjusting to English as a medium of instruction because they lacked proficiency in English. The teachers' responses to the question about how children perform academically when they were taught in English from the first year of schooling showed a positive attitude towards Submersion or education in English only. 65% said pupils perform very well and 30% said pupils perform excellently (See Table 39). That further shows that most teachers were not in favour of Additive Bilingualism. They stated that pupils taught in English since their first year of schooling did not encounter problems with instructions given in English since they were familiar with English and understood it very well. This assertion is not always correct because even if those children were fluent in English but lacked the required level of English and cognitive development they may not succeed.

The teachers' responses to question about how bilingualism can aid teaching and learning Maths and Science showed that the teachers did not believe that Maths and Science could be successfully taught using SiSwati and English. Some educational researchers observe that Maths and Science are not taught satisfactorily because methods and approaches for teaching mathematics and science are not satisfactory. While there may be many reasons for these disappointing results in South Africa, the researchers argue that the quality of mathematics teaching and shortage of maths textbooks is one of those reasons. Luneta (1997) found that most classes in rural South Africa have a severe shortage of mathematics textbooks. Other researchers say that in addition to the textbook problem is that the language of mathematics in which the textbooks are coded is difficult for teachers and students. Research conducted for the HSRC by Howie (2001) of the University of Pretoria identified language, especially English, as one of the major problems in teaching Maths and Science. This research is being taken further by other researchers in South Africa to identify the actual problems concerning language that are encountered by teachers and learners using English as a MoI in teaching Maths and Science.

In Swaziland EE teachers argued against using SiSwati to teach Maths and Science. They said that Science and Maths should be taught in English only because translating concepts into SiSwati may distort the concepts in these subjects. EE teachers totally rejected the idea that SiSwati could be used to teach Maths and Science because their terminology is very technical. EE teachers added that scientific and mathematical concepts should not lack precision. On the whole, EE teachers were reluctant to use SiSwati whilst DE teachers were flexible because they were frequently exposed to the pupils' problem of low proficiency in English. DE teachers valued the way SiSwati assisted them when they had to teach. However, they said that SiSwati should be used sparingly, especially for explaining difficult concepts and words. The teachers' ambiguous and negative attitudes towards Additive Bilingualism compound the problem by their refusing to accept that language is a vehicle of transmitting knowledge. There is a need to change attitudes in order to acknowledge that language is one of the factors that influence and determine how much knowledge a learner can understand in any subject, be it Maths or Science. Teachers, parents, curriculum developers, parents and most

importantly textbook writers need to understand that language enables access to knowledge, shapes formation, development and communication. That is why if a learner does not have the required proficiency of the language in which his or school subjects are taught it will impede the learning process.

5.9 Summary of findings in this chapter

I have identified the following points as the major findings in this chapter:

1. English is the preferred MoI because using SiSwati as a MoI may not guarantee precision of meaning and concepts taught in subjects such as Science and Maths. Teachers believed that SiSwati should only be used as an annotation to English to clarify difficult concepts.
2. Teachers believed that pupils perform well academically if they are taught using English from Grade 1 because learning materials are in English. The policy requires them to teach using English.
3. Learning materials provided by the MoE in schools were insufficient in the two schooling systems.
4. EE schools acquired better learning materials and facilities, and their pupils were exposed to English at school and in their homes.
5. DE schools' performances were poor because most DE schools were under-resourced and their pupils could not understand English.
6. The lack of provision of adequate learning materials adds to the retention of the *status quo* and prevents access to good quality education for learners in under-resourced schools.
7. The teachers did not understand the benefits of using SiSwati as a language for teaching and learning because it is not as highly valued as English in the Swaziland Education system.

CHAPTER 6

SISWATI AND ENGLISH TEACHERS' EVALUATIONS OF THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE TEXTBOOKS

6.1 Introduction

Chapter 6 addresses sub-questions 4 and 5. The questions are stated as follows:

Sub-question 4: What is the role of the prescribed language learning materials and textbooks and what effects do these have on language learning and teaching?

Sub-question 5: To what extent do these learning materials and textbooks reflect/ enact or define the Swaziland LiEP? In this chapter I will discuss the teachers' perceptions of the role of language textbooks in the curriculum. I will also discuss the extent to which teachers evaluate textbooks in terms of the school curricula. The textbook is an important artifact in the teaching and learning of languages and other subjects. In conventional classrooms, textbooks are the most visible tools available to teachers and students provided by the education system to facilitate the learning of the various subjects in the curriculum. The language textbook is very important in that it helps teachers to teach and learners to learn the language used in the classroom, both as a subject and as a medium of instruction. In order to research the validity of this assertion, I investigated how Swazi teachers perceive, experience and evaluate language textbooks that they use. Understanding teachers' perceptions of the role of the textbooks and the requirements of the curriculum make it possible to understand how and why teachers use textbooks as widely and as closely as they do. Furthermore, understanding teachers' perceptions helps to determine the impact that the textbook has on the students' proficiency in SiSwati and English.

6.2 Second phase of data collection

As already noted, the first phase of data elicitation comprised classroom observations, administering questionnaires and conducting interviews with teachers. The second phase

was concerned with investigating teachers' understanding of the role of language textbooks. I realised that the original sample needed to be extended in order to elicit a wider range of views on how language teachers in Swaziland view the role of textbooks. The teachers interviewed were both primary and secondary school teachers. In the second phase I intended to investigate in detail the kinds of textbooks that are used by teachers in primary classes and beyond because when teachers teach, their teaching is geared towards developing proficiency in the four language skills. Another reason for including a section on the role of language textbooks was to determine how textbooks are procured by the schools and the impact of those textbooks in providing students with good quality education.

The importance of this chapter is that it brings further evidence from secondary and primary school teachers about the point that pupils are further disadvantaged by the publication and textbook production system. The inclusion of secondary teachers is not so much a detour - it is included to illustrate the unhappiness of secondary school teachers who inherit students produced through a faulty system from the primary school. The views of secondary teachers reinforce the views of primary school teachers. The reason why I say this system is faulty is that the people prescribing and requisitioning textbooks are also responsible for developing them. In other words they are the judge and the jury at the same time.

26 primary and secondary teachers comprising 16 English teachers and 10 SiSwati teachers were interviewed. Although the sample is small, certain observations, trends, tendencies and patterns were observed and these I would like to convey to the MoE. I fully acknowledge that a study involving a large sample of teachers would be necessary to validate the assertions I make. In my conclusions I recommend that the observations and tendencies in this small-scale study be pursued in more depth in a much larger study. The problem of textbooks and learning materials constitute one of the most difficult areas in the implementation of the curriculum.

6.3 Publishing of school textbooks in Swaziland - the monopoly

There is only one publisher appointed by the Ministry of Education to publish and supply school textbooks in Swaziland. The National Curriculum Centre (NCC) designs the curriculum and syllabi used in schools in Swaziland. Furthermore, the Curriculum Designers write textbooks and teaching materials. Ideally, publishers translate the curriculum and policies already provided by the state into practice by providing textbooks suitable to that education system. If the curriculum framework is clear and guidelines are lucid the publisher will deliver the correct textbooks and learning materials required. Sometimes these requirements are not always ensured. The sole publisher commissions the materials designers at the NCC to write school textbooks thus the publisher participates in deciding what becomes official knowledge in the curriculum. This arrangement seems unethical because the publisher as a co-sponsor with the MoE of the NCC dictates the curriculum. The publisher has an advantage over other publishers through its involvement and collusion with the MoE in planning the curriculum. The publisher was awarded the monopoly to provide school textbooks while other publishers were excluded. In this study I will investigate how such monopolistic practices influence curriculum development and affect the quality and standard of textbooks produced, and in turn, the quality of education in Swaziland.

6.4 Aims of the interviews

Apple and Christian-Smith (1991:5) say, "textbooks, for better or worse, dominate what students learn". In addition, language educationists, for example, Macdonald (1990), Langan (1993), Vinjevold (1999), ELTIC (1997) and Bamgbose (2000), argue that one of the biggest obstacles to good language teaching is the lack of suitable language learning and teaching materials and textbooks.

In this section my aims are:

- To collect and evaluate a sample of language teachers' views on the role of SiSwati and English language textbooks in teaching SiSwati and English in the primary school curriculum.
- To establish the extent to which SiSwati and English textbooks support, interpret and explain the LiEP.
- To establish how SiSwati and English textbooks assist teachers and students in promoting effective language teaching and learning practice.
- To determine the efficacy, sufficiency and desirability of one publisher in supplying school textbooks that promote effective language practice (i.e. enabling students to acquire proficiency in English).

Textbooks are at the core of language teaching and learning, and textbooks can and should be made available to teachers and students in rural and urban schools. In the interviews, the teachers tended to refer to specific prescribed textbooks in the schools. However, the aim of my study was not to analyse a particular textbook or textbooks but rather to get general views of the teachers about the efficacy, sufficiency and desirability of textbooks. Therefore, the points raised by the teachers about particular textbooks need to be pursued in another study in which a detailed socio-cultural analysis and criteria of selecting suitable textbooks may be used.

The following section attempts to examine the quality of textbooks used in the schools. The results of the interviews are reported in the table below. Following this table is a detailed interpretation of the data, including a discussion of some points raised by the teachers during the interviews.

6.5 Table 40. Teachers' understanding of the role of SiSwati and English textbooks (10 English secondary, 5 SiSwati + English primary & 10 SiSwati secondary teachers)

Category of analysis	Question	Responses from teachers:	Key issues arising out of these responses as a basis for further interpretation under 6.6 on pages 197-216.
1. Decisions on which textbooks are to be bought.	1. Who decides which textbooks are to be bought in your school?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 11 English subject secondary teachers said the Ministry (MoE) prescribes textbooks. • 4 English subject secondary teachers said the departments within the school decide. • 5 English subject primary teachers said the MoE prescribes textbooks. • 10 SiSwati teachers said that the MoE or the SiSwati panel prescribes SiSwati books. 	3 Types of decisions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The MoE decides • Some schools decide • English medium (EM) schools can decide or supplement textbooks
2. Suitability of textbooks to the curriculum.	2. Do the textbooks meet the requirements of the curriculum and the Language-in-Education Policy?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 11 English secondary teachers said textbooks partly meet the requirements. • 5 Primary school teachers said textbooks do meet the requirements of the curriculum. • 7 SiSwati teachers said they were unsure. 	2 Types of decisions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 11 English teachers said textbooks partially meet the requirements • 7 SiSwati teachers were unsure
3. Effectiveness of the textbooks.	3. Do the English textbooks promote effective language learning in English?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 11 English subject teachers said using one textbook does not promote effective language learning. • 5 Primary school teachers said using one textbook is inadequate. • 7 SiSwati teachers said the textbook is too difficult. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Using one textbook is inadequate and ineffective.
4. Teachers' views on having a variety of textbook publishers.	4. Would you prefer a variety of publishers to supply your school textbooks?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 11 English teachers said they would prefer a variety of textbook publishers • 5 primary teachers said the NCC textbooks were very inadequate. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All the teachers said a variety of publishers were necessary for diversity of references/resources

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 9 SiSwati teachers did not know the name of the publisher. 	
5. Benefits of using more than one textbook/textbook publisher.	5. How would language teaching be affected if you had more than one textbook publisher?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 11 English teachers said if the MoE had more than one textbook publisher, publishers would compete and teachers would choose the best books. 4 English teachers said that it would eliminate corruption where some MoE officials prescribe their own books. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Competition is more likely to ensure quality textbook content.
6. Effectiveness of the methods of supplying textbooks.	6. Does the textbook supply system at present promote effective language teaching?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 11 English secondary teachers complained that the supply is not good. SiSwati teachers said the system is ineffective. 5 Primary English teachers said the system does not promote effective language teaching and learning. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Deficiencies could be avoided if the supply was not monopolised by one publisher.
7. The role of the language textbook.	7. What do you understand as the role of the language textbook?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 10 English secondary teachers said textbooks were used as guides. Primary teachers said they use textbooks very closely. 9 SiSwati teachers said they use the textbook very closely, chapter by chapter, unit by unit. 	<p>2 types of responses</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Some English subject teachers use textbooks as guides. The primary school teachers follow textbooks very closely.
8. Need for additional textbooks to supplement the main textbooks.	8. Do you use other books in addition to the main textbooks for learning English/SiSwati?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 10 secondary school teachers said they always use other books in addition to the prescribed textbooks. 6 under-resourced secondary schools only use the prescribed textbook. Primary school teachers sometimes use other books for teaching. 9 SiSwati teachers said they only had the prescribed textbook. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Urban teachers of English use other available books because the prescribed textbooks are inadequate, but under-resourced schools have no other sources. Primary teachers do not always have supplementary textbooks and references. SiSwati teachers only use the prescribed textbook.
9. The quality of the SiSwati/English textbook in terms of challenging the learners' intellect.	9. How do you rate the quality of the language textbook in terms of challenging the learners' intellect?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 15 Secondary English teachers stated that the textbook was inadequate and not challenging. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The textbook does not enable pupils to become proficient in English.

		<p>inadequate and not challenging.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 4 Primary teachers said language textbooks needed to be supplemented because the authors of these primary school textbooks are not primary school teachers. • 10 SiSwati teachers said the textbook was too difficult to use/understand the concepts introduced. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The SiSwati textbook was too difficult.
10. Suitability of English textbooks in teaching critical thinking, problem solving and analytical thinking.	10. Are the existing textbooks teaching the children life skills e.g. critical thinking, problem solving and analytical thinking?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 5 primary school teachers said the textbooks do not challenge the students' critical thinking. • 11 secondary teachers said the textbooks did not teach students to become critical thinkers. • 5 SiSwati teachers stated that literature textbooks partially assisted teachers in teaching critical thinking, problem solving and analytical thinking. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Textbooks do not develop critical thinking and problem solving and analytical thinking skills.
11. Value of the textbook to teach critical thinking, problem solving and analytical thinking using the textbook.	11. Do you find it difficult to teach critical thinking, problem solving and analytical thinking using the textbook?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 9 English subject teachers said the textbooks were very shallow, hence, were not suitable for teaching those skills. • 5 primary teachers said they were not sure if their textbooks assisted in teaching those skills. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The textbook does not include these skills and thus is not appropriate for teaching them. • Pupil's proficiency in English is low.
13. Values reproduced in textbooks.	13. Do the English/ SiSwati textbooks reproduce universal values or African values versus Swazi values?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 6 Secondary teachers said English teachers partially cover universal values, but students find universal values difficult to understand. • 10 SiSwati teachers said that SiSwati textbooks predominantly reproduce Swazi traditional views only. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Universal values were difficult to understand because the pupils are not proficient in English. • SiSwati literature textbooks are confined to Swazi values.
15. Accessibility of values transmitted in the textbooks.	15. Do teachers and students find values easily accessible in the language textbooks?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 11 English teachers said students find Swazi values easy to understand because the English 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Swazi values were accessible but primary school teachers did not identify the values transmitted in the

		<p>textbook is very simple.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 10 SiSwati teachers said that students and teachers find the values in SiSwati literature / stories easily accessible because they are based on local Swazi issues and all the teachers and students are Swazis. 	<p>textbook.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Textbooks partially cover universal values but the universal values are difficult for the students to understand, especially in Eurocentric textbooks.
16. Suitability of textbooks in terms of curriculum explanation and implementation.	16. How would you compare the textbooks used in terms of curriculum explanation and implementation?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 15 Secondary English teachers said the language of the textbook was below the language level required for studying the curriculum at that level. • 5 primary teachers said the textbooks were what their syllabus required them to teach. • 10 SiSwati teachers said the grammar textbook did not have a syllabus but the literature textbooks were fine. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The textbook was below the language required for studying the level of curriculum at that level.
17. Suitability of the textbook in promoting cognitive development, emotional and social understanding.	17. Do the textbooks stretch the imagination of students so as to promote cognitive development, emotional and social understanding?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 11 secondary English teachers said the textbook did not help students in these areas. Primary teachers said textbooks do not meet any of these functions. • 5 SiSwati teachers said only the literature set books partially stretch the pupils' imagination. • 3 SiSwati teachers said those skills were underdeveloped in textbooks. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Textbooks were very limited in developing cognitive development, emotional and social understanding.
18. Relevance of the textbook to the language LiEP?	18. Does the English language textbook articulate the Ministry's LiEP.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 9 Secondary English teachers said the textbook was unsuitable for achieving the LiEP. • 5 SiSwati teachers said the SiSwati textbooks were irrelevant to the LiEP because they only concentrate on the teaching of grammar. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Textbooks minimally help to articulate the LiEP. • The textbook alone does not assist students to become proficient in English. • The poor school and community environments further impedes the students' proficiency in English.

6.6 Interpretation of data captured in Table 40

6.6.1 Decisions on the textbooks to be bought

Three kinds of decisions were established from the teachers' responses. Most of the teachers from rural schools and a few urban schools stated that the Ministry of Education, through the various subject panels, prescribes school textbooks. Only the English medium primary and secondary schools, which were mostly found in urban areas, had the opportunity to use additional textbooks. These teachers added that these were their reference books, in addition to the prescribed ones from the MoE.

DeBolt (1992:144) notes that teachers are not always consulted when policy level decisions about textbooks are being considered. As a result, a large number of primary school teachers are left out of these decisions. The fact that decisions concerning the choice of textbooks are confined to the MoE has contributed towards the use of poor quality textbooks. Urban English medium schools reported that because they decide for themselves which books to use, they put into their lists additional textbooks, especially readers, because the Swaziland English course books for Grade 1 were predominantly picture books. Some of the textbooks prescribed by the ministry were deficient because they did not give learners the opportunity to read written text. Some English medium urban teachers reported that the *Grade 1 English Pupils' Book*, posters/ picture charts, and word cards were the MoE's standard teaching materials that were designed at the NCC. However, the head teachers and class teachers from the EE urban schools stated that they had supplementary reading books. These were the *Keywords Reading Scheme* series similar to the *Ladybird* Series. They also used other readers published by Nelson, Oxford, Heinemann, and Maskew Miller Longman Publishers. The EE urban school heads said they bought these books from their own budget because the MoE charged school fees that only catered for the standard textbooks. The SiSwati rural teachers reported that Grade 1 learners used pre-readers (reading readiness picture books) prescribed by the Ministry. Similarly, SiSwati secondary teachers said the SiSwati Panel prescribed all their textbooks. These were textbooks designed and developed by the various subject specialists.

6.6.2 Suitability of textbooks to the curriculum

Eleven secondary English urban teachers said that the English textbooks partially meet the requirements of the curriculum. When the teachers said the textbooks suit the curriculum, they basically meant that they suit the syllabi. They seemed to use the terms interchangeably, yet they are not the same. The curriculum document is not available to teachers in schools. The NCC develops the curriculum and produces syllabi that are then disseminated to schools. Five rural primary school English teachers said the NCC textbooks cover the skills that are specified in the English syllabus as stated in the Nine Year Programme for English Instruction. They explained that the NCC books also have Teachers' Guides, which help the teachers to teach English. In that sense the rural primary English teachers were satisfied with the textbooks that they were using. Urban primary English teachers said because they had the power to choose their own books, they often chose more suitable ones.

Seven SiSwati teachers reported that they were unsure if the textbooks suited the curriculum. However, they assumed that the textbooks were suitable. They said they adhered to textbooks very closely, thus attempting to ensure that they were very close to the requirements of the curriculum. At times textbooks can be regarded as the curriculum because the curriculum is not very elaborate. The SiSwati teachers stated that one of the problems about their SiSwati grammar textbook was that it had no specific syllabus both at Junior Certificate (JC) and at O' Level. This problem also relates to the problem of the inexplicitness in policy.

The following quotation explains the status of the SiSwati textbook

Teacher BH: *Ngeke sengisho kutsi tiyayifeza letincwadzi ngesizatfu sekutsi mhlawumbe tibhatwa ehlatsini. Le syllabus lekunguyona yona ayikho. Nguloyo uyatibhalela nje incwadzi. Yebo kona ngeke ibhalelwe kutsi iku syllabus but lokutsi nanabothishela abatikhutsati kutsi babhale mhlawumbe betingaba more relevant. Babhala nje bese kudzingeka kutsi tsine silandzele bona bona labo bantfu labo. Ukhandze kutsi nalencwadzi ite ema objectives laka based ekutseni, la mitha emademande ecurriculum. Nanawe ukhandze kutsi sewufuna kuyi twista, kuyibuyisa*

kutsi ayifeze natiya tidzingo te curriculum ngoba wesaba kutsi nayiya i-exam itawichamukaphi sewutawuzama kutsi ulandzele lencwadzi le prescribed. Ufole kutsi lencwadzi ishintjile, iyefika but le curriculum ayika revise-zwa. Akuvumelani. Nyalo nje kuyenteka kutsi sifundzisa incwadzi, ayikho le curriculum le suit-ha lencwadzi. Nyalo nje losekwenteka kuphindze kucelwe lombhali kutsi ente i-proposal or tentative curriculum lesingahle sicishe siyisebentise nasenta lencwadzi yonkhe.

(Teacher BH: I can't say that they meet the requirements of the curriculum because there is no proper syllabus for it. The authors write on their own without guidance from the curriculum. At times a book is not always written for a curriculum.... The authors write for themselves, then we just follow what they write. You find that the book is not written with the objectives of the curriculum. You then twist it a bit to meet the requirements of the curriculum because you do not know how the examination will be; you also try to follow the prescribed textbook. You also find that the textbook is new. There is no relationship between the curriculum and the textbook. As it is now, we are teaching a textbook but we don't have a revised curriculum to suit the new textbook. Right now, the author of the new textbook has been asked to write a proposal or tentative curriculum, which we can use when teaching this textbook.)

Although the teacher did not differentiate between a syllabus and a curriculum he used the two terms interchangeably. The teachers said they were faced with a problem of not knowing how much to teach of this textbook at the junior or at the senior levels. The lack of an appropriate syllabus for the textbook in question poses a problem for the teachers, thus they have to teach every topic that is in the textbook. In this respect, it was difficult for them to judge the suitability of this textbook in terms of the curriculum. One of the implications of this finding is the apparent reliance of teachers on textbooks. Teachers often slavishly adhere to textbooks in order that they do not leave out sections that may be very important for examination purposes. The response of this teacher also gave evidence of the anomaly of writing a textbook without a curriculum. Thus there is an indication that the textbook was written on request and hence it is not surprising that the teachers do not know whether it is suitable to the curriculum. Taylor (1999:107) states that "a curriculum framework guides textbook writers about what materials they should provide to support the teachers and students".

The ideal role of textbooks is to interpret the curriculum, but in this case the textbook served both as a teaching tool as well as the curriculum. Seven SiSwati teachers were unsure if the textbook was suitable for the curriculum. This seemed to be caused by the

problem that the SiSwati curriculum and the textbook were not clearly distinguished in the Swaziland Education system. When the correlation between textbooks and the curriculum is invisible, textbooks often become the curriculum.

6.6.3. Effectiveness of the textbooks

The teachers across the three categories said that using one textbook was ineffective and insufficient. Eleven secondary English urban teachers stressed that they were disgruntled about the prescribed English Language textbook because of its deficiencies. They said it was too shallow and was not good for teaching English efficiently. They reported that they were very frustrated that there was nothing they could do about the textbook except to supplement it with other textbooks, because the MoE ruled that the new English language textbook should be used by all the teachers for teaching English at JC. The teachers said they had resolved to keep the textbook with its problems and to look for more information from other textbooks in order to give their students a better opportunity to learn English effectively. Their responses indicated that the MoE forced them to use the current language textbook even though it was ineffective in teaching English. It seemed that unless teachers supplemented this textbook, it was an ineffective language teaching and learning tool.

The textbook in question is a new language textbook used in all secondary schools in Swaziland for teaching English. The teachers indicated that some good aspects of the language textbook were that it was learner-centred. They said that although the content of the textbook was good, the problem with it was that it was not challenging to the pupils, hence, it did not effectively teach students to master English. For instance, secondary English teachers in urban schools argued that,

“... if you try to follow it in class they’ll (students) finish in a few minutes. The lesson is just too short. There are few questions, which are just too simple. So, it’s not challenging. It’s below the scale.” The teachers also noted that, *“... textbooks are only for students, and we use other books to support these. We use any other material that we feel we should use to supplement what is in the textbook. Not one book is sufficient. No one book will give you all that you want. If you want to teach effectively as a teacher you have to take pieces of this and pieces of that. So that’s what we normally do. ... We have the textbooks for our students, but as teachers we keep referring to other textbooks.”*

The English teachers' responses suggested that the prescribed textbooks were inappropriate for teaching English. This means that the use of one textbook can have many disadvantages. The teachers protested against the Ministry's decision to introduce the new textbook but they continued with the textbooks they used previously. In some English urban schools the teachers said that the new textbook was only used as a reference book.

Rural secondary English teachers observed that the prescribed textbook was good because it used a communicative approach, which involved students in activities. However, they also expressed that it was deficient in terms of enabling pupils to acquire proficiency in English. They also wanted a textbook suitable for students learning English as a second or foreign language that teaches aspects of English grammar. In a personal communication in August 2002, one of the textbook authors visiting Cape Town at the time of writing this thesis indicated that they were aware of the problem with the textbook and they were preparing a revised edition.

6.6.4. The role of the SiSwati and English language textbooks

Vinjevoold (1999:182) suggests that learning materials ought to:

- Focus on a few key conceptual goals and should address concepts, processes and skills in terms of incremental cognitive complexity.
- Take into account the depth and breadth of teachers' current subject knowledge and the needs of the curriculum.

Two kinds of interpretation were synthesised from the responses, namely, that some SiSwati and primary school teachers followed textbooks very closely. Secondary English urban teachers said they only used the textbooks as guides. They said:

"... If you rely on the textbook the thinking of the students would be very narrow. By using only the textbook you deprive them of a lot because other books will tell you probably more than another book didn't cover."

The English urban teachers noted that textbooks that were used previously were not learner-centred and taught a lot about language as opposed to using language. They also

said the new textbook attempts to use the communicative approach to language teaching and learning but it does not succeed if it is used as the only textbook that teachers follow. It seems that those teachers who used the textbook very closely had less opportunity of teaching successfully. English teachers preferred the textbooks used previously because they gave students language practice. The teachers preferred textbooks that could be used for assessing students' knowledge through giving them exercises.

SiSwati teachers said that they did not have a variety of textbooks. For some schools the textbooks were the only available tools for learning and therefore they needed to follow them closely. Biemer notes that

Even though every 20 years or so, the state produces a syllabus on which teachers base their curriculum, the textbook more often than not becomes the curriculum. Why? One reason is the availability of many good textbooks which coincide with the state syllabus. Second, the textbook becomes the curriculum because elementary school teachers, not specialists in four or five areas they are expected to teach, find it expedient to use it (1992:18).

Sometimes "the textbook becomes the curriculum, or perhaps is seen as the syllabus itself" (Biemer, 1992:18). If the SiSwati curriculum was clear it would be easy to define the role of the SiSwati textbook. This was not the case with the SiSwati textbook because it was not written in line with the curriculum and therefore teachers did not know whether to use it as a reference or not. The SiSwati teachers said they were still very uncertain about the style of questioning to be adopted in examining students on the new textbook. They feared that not following the textbook very closely was going to be very risky or going to impact negatively on the students' performance in the examinations. These arguments show the centrality of the textbook in schools. Teachers said that they work through the textbook page-by-page, chapter-by-chapter because they regard it as the principal authority in the area of SiSwati grammar. Another reason for slavishly following the SiSwati textbook is that it is very long and does not give room to explore other texts. The teachers said they did not know how much to cover in the junior level because even at the senior level they still had to teach the same concepts using the same textbook. This problem indicates that textbooks are used as examination guides.

Altbach and Kelly observe that teachers over-rely on textbooks because

Textbooks stand at the heart of the education enterprise. Teachers rely on them in order to set parameters for instruction and to impart basic educational content. Students' work begins (and in some schools ends) with the textbook. Textbooks constitute the base of school knowledge, particularly in Third World countries where there is a chronic shortage of qualified teachers (1988:3).

The above quotation suggests that the teachers adhere closely to texts using them as the sole source of school knowledge, assigning students lessons contained in the text and testing students only on the knowledge contained in the textbook. Textbooks are also a means of interpreting the education policy in any nation or state. Since teachers have no access to the education policy they find themselves having to rely on textbooks. In table 40 in Section 6.5, nine SiSwati teachers said they used the textbook very closely. They also suggested that they needed to know their curriculum because, if they knew it well, they would use the textbooks as guides and may be able to identify other useful sources instead of having to rely solely on one prescribed textbook. The SiSwati teachers also noted that a textbook should be written in line with the curriculum. Presently, there is no explicit SiSwati curriculum except the SiSwati syllabus. In my view there seems to be a vague understanding of the curriculum. I think that there is a need to develop the SiSwati curriculum more explicitly. A SiSwati teacher stated that a forum for discussing the curriculum was necessary. He presented the problem as follows:

Teacher BH: *I-textbook ifanele kutsi ibe in line with the curriculum. Inkinga kutsi in fact kute nale forum lapho le curriculum ilungiswa khona. Kute konkhe. Kube beyokhona le forum yayo, singabitelani ema poems ku workshop. Singabitelani kuto discuss-a ema terms. Sibitelane kutsi sesito revise-a icurriculum.*

(The textbook should be in line with the curriculum. The problem in fact is that there is no forum to discuss the curriculum. We do not have anything. If we had the forum we would discuss it, instead of calling teachers to discuss poems or SiSwati terms in a workshop. We should be called to revise the curriculum.)

De Bolt (1992) differs from Altbach and Kelly (1988) in that he lays the responsibility to use a textbook on the teacher. He argues that:

Whether or not a teacher views textbooks as tools, resources, guides or controlled paths depends upon the individual's background and comfort with that particular content area. Some teachers seem to see textbooks as important paths of their daily lives in elementary classrooms. They see textbooks as sources of content information, reading assignments and independent practice (1992:143).

This argument refers to the teachers' inadequacies in some classroom situations. Teachers who are under-prepared may find the textbook very convenient to use as they can conceal their own limitations; sometimes they cannot decode the language of the textbooks and they use it exactly as it is. De Bolts' argument emphasises the importance of having teachers who are properly trained, whose conceptual knowledge of their subject enables them to handle any deficiencies that may occur in a textbook. Hence, the role of textbooks would be to guide and not to be used as blueprints.

6.6.5. Additional textbooks used to supplement the main textbooks

Primary and secondary English teachers in urban schools reported that they used additional textbooks. However, under-resourced schools did not have the option of using additional textbooks. English secondary teachers in urban schools said that they found that the prescribed textbook was not the best and they always used other books in addition to the prescribed textbook. They added that using different sources helps students get additional information especially because one textbook may be too simple.

The teachers said that they needed to cater for the different kinds of students in their classes since the current textbook assumed that pupils were all at the same level. However, the reality was that students were at different levels and the teachers said they needed a textbook that would be challenging to all students. The English secondary teachers in urban schools mentioned that the lessons in the prescribed textbook were too simple and therefore the textbook was below the required level. They said the textbook was also not helpful in teaching creative writing, as in the following quotation:

Teacher MET2: *These textbooks are only for the students and we use other books to support these. We teachers use "Understand and Communicate" and any other material that we feel we should use to supplement what is in the textbook. No one book is going to be sufficient. No one book will give you all that you want. If you want to teach effectively as a teacher you have to take pieces of this and pieces of that. So that's what we normally*

do. We have the textbooks for our students, but as teachers we keep referring to other textbooks. ... I foresee a problem if a teacher uses one textbook. As I have just said. I feel it's not enough to concentrate on just one textbook. If a teacher doesn't have any other material to use, I don't see him doing a thorough job as a teacher because we definitely need to use other textbooks as well. So I think those teachers who use one textbook, if at all they are, I think they are not doing a thorough job.

Five Primary English teachers noted that the Swaziland primary English language textbooks need to be supplemented because they were seemingly developed by authors who were not involved with teaching primary school children, and who have no in-depth knowledge of how primary school children learn. The teachers said they use other textbook, some of which were removed from the prescribed lists because the current ones were too shallow. One of the interviewees said:

Teacher Z2: *Ne "Rainbow English" siyayisebentisa. Siyacaphuna lobonako kutsi kuyahambisana naletopic loyifundzisako, but ukubona kutsi i-shallow, kantsi for labantfwana wena ufuna kutsi labantfwana batofika kule next grade. Thishela utobona kutsi ukucover-ile, kantsi uyabona wena kutsi kule grade yakahko bakukha etulu, bese wena uyabhala loku lokutfolile kuletiletinye tincwadzi letake tasetjentiswa.*

(We also use "Rainbow English. We extract those parts that are relevant to the topic that you are teaching, which is shallow in the main textbook because we want those to be very clear when they reach the next grade. The teacher in the next grade will assume that you covered the topic in the previous grade, yet in your grade textbook it is very shallow. It is then that as a teacher you will consult other textbooks that were once used before this one.)

The point raised by these teachers is crucial and is also emphasised by Altbach and Kelly (1998) who say that "textbook writers are a special group; individuals who have expertise in a number of areas relating to education". They add that

Textbook writing takes special skills and there must be an appropriate pool of authors ready to write them. An author must have detailed knowledge of the process of schooling, of the nature of the curriculum, of the psychology of learning as well as the subject matter and the sequencing of books in the field. He or she must be able to write and express ideas clearly for students at the appropriate grade level. (1988:8)

Both secondary and primary teachers stated that they use other textbooks in order to broaden the minds of the learners.

6.6.6 How would language teaching be affected if there was more than one textbook publisher?

English teachers from secondary and primary schools in rural and urban schools stated that if more than one publisher was engaged in publishing and distributing textbooks there would be competition. Competition among publishers is more likely to ensure quality.

Altbach (1993:6-7) notes that the provision of textbooks is a highly complex matter that involves education authorities as well as publishers. In many African nations the production and distribution of texts have been placed in government hands, creating problems for emerging private sector publishing. He adds that the textbook market must be adequately supplied with books and should be recognised by governments as a key priority. Altbach and Gopinathan (1993:207) also observe that “increasingly government agencies have taken a direct role in textbook production and distribution, in the interest of producing books more cheaply and ensuring that they meet the requirements of the educational system”. However, this has both positive and negative effects. One of these negative effects is that quality is often compromised, as pointed out by the teachers in this study.

English secondary teachers in urban schools said that diversity in the supply of school textbooks is necessary because teachers usually refer to several textbooks when they prepare lessons. They added that a teacher who relies on one source limits his/ her pupils only to the material he/ she has access to. The English teachers added that if there was more than one textbook publisher, the publishers would compete to present good textbooks and teachers would choose the best books. They also said that competition promotes free market enterprise and reduces the possibility of corruption where some MoE officials prescribe their friends’ book or books they have authored. The principle of “selection” is a complete misnomer. The textbooks are not selected but are written on demand or request, as was noted about the SiSwati textbook in Section 6.6.2. Those textbooks submitted for publishing are assured of prescription. Marshal (1991) says the concept of influence is a major factor in textbook operation. He states that

Education policy making is a competitive process, the essence of which resides in the interplay of influence. He adds that although the concept of influence is related to concepts of power and control careful distinctions are to be noted. Power is a bureaucratic design component of the overall system. Control is seen as the way in which decisions are constrained by the rules and guidelines of the system itself (1991:56).

This quotation suggests that professional educators make initial decisions and the MoE and subject panels have the power to alter or overturn those decisions.

6.6.7 Selection of textbooks

The question of the suitability of the textbook relates to the question of whether or not textbooks are evaluated before they are prescribed. Under the present system textbooks are not selected but they are prescribed by the MoE. This happens as a result of the system by which the government awarded one publisher the rights to publish school textbooks. The NCC acts on behalf of the MoE. Joubert (1993:60) notes that governments should not be directly involved in publishing. He notes that it often leads to committing allegedly unethical “inducements” in various forms, such as offers made to educational authorities and officials. He argues that the channeling of vast amounts of money through a single and centralised educational network leaves such a network wide open to corruption. Awarding one publisher the monopoly of school textbook publishing in Swaziland compromises quality of teaching and learning. The majority of rural schools in Swaziland cannot buy extra textbooks to supplement the prescribed textbooks. They also have no access to libraries and reference books. In some English medium schools English teachers identify additional textbooks to use in their schools because of the shortcomings observed in the prescribed one. These are the only schools where students pass the Junior Certificate examination exceptionally well. The teachers teach their students more language content than is contained in the prescribed English textbook.

English teachers in rural schools said there were some notable differences between students in rural areas taught using the prescribed English textbook and students in towns taught using other textbooks. Teachers in rural areas said they were disadvantaged by being under-resourced schools and by virtue of their location in rural areas, away from

libraries and reading materials such as newspapers. Some of the teachers in rural schools said that students in rural areas only read textbooks. They added that although students can read the textbook by themselves and participate in-group discussions, their proficiency in English did not improve. In other words, the textbook alone does not extend the students' vocabulary.

It seems that the prescribed textbook only equipped students with a passive knowledge of English and did not cater for other aspects of language learning. Although some teachers said it was based on the communicative approach it did not enable students to learn to speak, read and write English proficiently. Teachers of English in urban schools gave the following reason for using additional textbooks:

Teacher EB3: *Sometimes the reason why we use other books is in terms of content. We use additional books because some of the textbooks do not elaborate much on the subject material. For instance, let's say you want to deal with subject or verb agreement. A certain book is shallow, maybe another book is more detailed. So, as you become an encyclopaedia you tend to use different books.*

The monopoly granted to one publisher reduces the opportunities of good language teaching and learning in under-resourced schools. Although the MoE prescribes the English language course book, urban schools add on readers to their lists of textbooks. Pupils in rural areas could not read because they did not have any readers. Textbooks constitute the resources that can be made available to every school if the MoE has a good policy for doing that. The emphasis on the availability of good textbooks does not preclude other factors that need to be standardised, but the textbooks are among the conditions that need to be equalised in an education system.

6.6.8 Suitability of English/ SiSwati textbooks in teaching critical thinking, problem solving and analytical thinking.

Literacy refers to a multiplicity of abilities, hence the use of the term "literacies". Qorro (1999:20) explains that having literacies means having access to the world and knowledge through the development of multiple capabilities to make sense of our world. She argues that different forms of literacies include critical literacy, cultural literacy, visual literacy, media literacy, computer literacy, etc. Critical literacy is further defined as

the “ability to respond critically to intentions, contents and possible effects of messages and texts on the reader” (ibid.: 29). In the hands of skillful teachers textbooks can be used for teaching critical thinking, problem solving and analytical thinking. However, with the handicaps in teaching, Dow (1992:32) notes that “it remains largely a textbook-driven enterprise”. This means that a new generation of textbooks can address these skills because they are high-order skills. For them to be taught the teacher must have in-depth conceptual knowledge of his or her subject. If this knowledge is missing, students cannot learn these skills.

The English and SiSwati teachers said that the textbooks they were using were unsuitable for teaching critical thinking, problem solving and analytical thinking. Kapp says

Critical theorists such as Bourdieu (1991) and Bernstein (1990 and 1996) show that schooling is not just about learning content knowledge, but about cultural reproduction: learning the norms and values and behaviour patterns deemed appropriate by the dominant members of particular societies. Thus, through schooling, social identities and unequal power relations are produced and reproduced (2001:17).

The SiSwati teachers said that their textbooks did not promote the teaching of critical literacy. They argued that their culture teaches them to be uncritical. They said:

Teacher NK: *Nakona lokutsi singabi critical kuyi culture yawo ema Swati kutsi abindze nje neproblem bangete bayi solve-a. Lena njebayibindza ngemabomu.*

(It is the Swazi culture to be uncritical. It is Swazi culture to ignore those who complain and to purposely leave the problem unresolved.)

According to Swazi law and custom, which is also not documented but is known by all Swazis, to question authority is “unSwazi” and is a sign of disrespect for authority. The teachers argued that the lack of critical perspectives in the textbook was due to the dominant SiSwati cultural topics in the textbook, a major hindrance in promoting critical thinking. Although this was the opinion of the teachers, I think that SiSwati cultural topics have potential to teach critical thinking if the users have critical and cultural literacy, provided that the prejudices and negative conceptions about SiSwati culture are eliminated.

In the field of literacy studies literacy is “not only a set of neutral, technical skills learnt in formal education, but a social practice ‘implicated in power relations and embedded in cultural meanings and practices’” (Street, cited by Kapp, 2001:15). In my opinion, culture can sometimes trap and devour its own people if it is used as an obstacle to prevent development and if it is accepted uncritically. Negative attitudes to African languages and culture can exist; the result of which might be language prejudice, ethnic exploitation and abuse of language differences because culture is not static. Those who question the notion of culture are not against culture as such but are against the ways in which culture is sometimes used to exploit the lives of those who may want to promote it. For example, the values in SiSwati novels perpetuate male domination and patriarchy. Hence, critics question the notion of culture in school textbooks because it perpetuates and reproduces norms, values and behaviour of the dominant members of a society. Some teachers do not understand how culture is taught in a critical approach in school textbooks. They take culture as something that ought to be accepted or rejected. In school textbooks culture is projected negatively and is not criticised. Hence, many people think that it should not be taught in school textbooks.

De Klerk (2000:199) explains that “while culture is usually delineated in terms of nationality, ethnicity or language, some definitions give it the individual focus, and include such factors as gender, age, religion and education. Individuals can thus be viewed as composites of multiple identities”. She also cautions that “culture should not be viewed as deterministic or autonomous: different individuals are free to draw from culture in unique ways, depending on personal affiliations, and this is particularly pertinent in the event of intercultural and interlinguistic contact”. Schirato and Yell (2000:190) define cultural literacy as “the knowledge of meaning systems combined with an ability to negotiate those systems within different cultural contexts”.

In my view, textbooks should not be confined to Swazi local values but should have a deep understanding of mainstream cultures. Hirsch adds, “cultural literacy is the ‘oxygen’ of social intercourse” (1987:19). The teachers said that the textbooks sometimes teach

critical literacy. However, in my view the critical literacy approach or outlook can only be accessible if the teachers themselves also possess cultural literacy. The urban teachers of English complained that the students were struggling with communicating in English and therefore doing critical thinking in English was a difficult task pupils could not undertake.

Cummins (1994:49) proposes that within a critical pedagogical orientation, educators encourage development of the “student voice” through critical reflection on experiential and social issues. Language use and interaction reflect and extend student experience and are focused on generating knowledge rather than on the transmission or consumption of socially sanitised information. Critical educators are also focused on creating conditions that open possibilities for student empowerment and transformation of oppressive social structures. Cummins derives it from Vygotsky’s notion of the “zone of proximal development”²¹ (ZPD) (Cummins, 1994:49).

SiSwati and other African language textbooks have failed to function in cognitive areas pertaining to abstract thinking because of the curricula used for teaching many African Languages. The SiSwati textbooks do not engage students in higher order thinking skills. Most SiSwati textbooks tend to end with the descriptive phase, which only deals with information contained in the text, and does not imply any abstract thinking. By concentrating on the less controversial issues of life and the deliberate avoidance of complex issues, it ends up not challenging the minds of the users of SiSwati textbooks. My view is that the present curriculum does not promote the development of critical thinking skills and because of this the textbooks also do not have it.

²¹ According to Vygotsky the ZPD is viewed as the distance between children's developmental level as determined by individual problem solving without adult guidance and the level of potential development as determined by children's problem solving under the influence of, or in collaboration with, more capable adults (Cummins, 1994:45).

6.6.9 Suitability of SiSwati and English textbooks in promoting cognitive development and emotional and social understanding

Bellis and Rosdeth (cited by Qorro, 1999:32) both say, "When the curriculum is seen as primarily to do with content, then education and training are seen primarily as a process of transmission. Curriculum models either fall into a content-based or process-based curriculum. In most education systems there is a severe use of the transmission teaching and behavioral rote learning systems". In lessons observed, the transmission curriculum was evident. Pupils were often required to repeat what the teachers wanted them to learn. The following excerpt is from a lesson that was observed at school DER4 on 07-06-2000:

The teacher puts a poster on the board and the lesson proceeds as follows:

[The teacher points to a person on the poster and asks]

Teacher: *Who is this?*

Teacher: *These are the Gule's at home.*

Who is this? (points) It's Dudu.

Class: (in chorus) *It's Dudu*

Teacher: *Who is this?*

Class & Teacher: *It's Dudu*

Class & Teacher: *It's Mrs Gule*

Teacher: *Who is this?*

Class & Teacher: *It's Mr Gule*

Teacher: *Who is this again?*

Class & Teacher: *It's Mr Gule*

Teacher: *Is Dudu a man?*

Class: *No he isn't*

Teacher: *Is Dudu a boy?*

Class: *No he isn't*

Teacher: *Is Dudu a woman?*

Class: *No he isn't*

Teacher: *Is Vusi a man?*

Class: *Yes he is*

Teacher: *Again, who is this class?*

Class: *Mrs Gule*

Teacher: *Is Mrs Gule a man?*

Class: *No she isn't*

Teacher: *Is she a boy?*

Class: *No*

Teacher: *Is she a woman?*

Class: *Yes, no*

Teacher: *Ngivile labanye sebatsi no. (I heard some of you saying no.) Who is this?*

The Swaziland LiEP focuses on English and tends to ignore the promotion of cognitive development and emotional and social understanding in SiSwati because the language that is emphasised is English only. In my view pupils cannot easily achieve high levels in these areas by using a foreign language. I think that these skills need to be developed first in the students' home language, and then later developed in the additional languages. Textbooks constitute a major component of the curriculum. They reflect the dominant culture and reinforce values of the ruling group. Kwong notes that

The school curriculum is not just packaged with information for students to learn. It has overt and covert contents that reflect the dual role of education as a transmitter of knowledge and social values. The former incorporates the syllabi or knowledge recommended by the ruling authorities aimed at mainly preparing the young to become useful members of the community. The covert curriculum includes, besides the written texts, the organisation and activities of the schools aimed at mainly social values to students to facilitate their acceptance of the *status quo* (1988:227).

Curriculum development that may address issues of promoting cognitive development and emotional and social understanding is the first step towards having them in textbooks. I think that the design of textbooks and curriculum development should be in synchrony with each other. The textbooks are less suitable for developing these issues because these concepts are not part of the curriculum. The teachers said these issues were not visible in the textbooks. I think that the reason why they are invisible in the textbook is because they are invisible in the curriculum. As already noted, teachers teach what is in the curriculum.

6.6.10 Relevance of the SiSwati and English textbooks to the Language-in-Education Policy

Together with the curriculum, the LiEP also influences what should be included in school textbooks. English textbooks often contain exercises, compositions, discussions,

dialogues, debates, essays, summaries and letters. The secondary teachers of English said although the new textbook contains activities such as debates, students often do not hold them successfully because of their lack of proficiency in English. They also reported that the students often do not understand the textbooks, thus teachers are compelled to read with the students in class so as to explain the content of the textbook. English teachers added that textbooks were often irrelevant to activities that take place outside the classroom. There was also a widespread belief among teachers that students needed grammar textbooks and exercises in order to improve their English. Most teachers and curriculum developers attach a lot of importance to grammar; this was missing in the prescribed textbooks. However, the communicative approach discourages the explicit teaching of grammar. Krashen (1994:48), for example, says that language learning occurs when there is comprehensible input. Krashen argues that comprehensible input or understandable input is effective in increasing proficiency. This hypothesis states that language is acquired by understanding messages presented through comprehensible input. If the acquirer is at state “i”, it is hypothesised he/she can acquire a second language if he/she understands the “i + 1” (where “i” means comprehensible input).

Teachers were dissatisfied with the textbook and the approach used in it. Quite often they said that learners do not very readily infer knowledge of the language system from using only the communicative approach. Hence, they said learners need to be taught the grammar of the language.

The connection between the LiEP and textbooks seemed not to be maintained. For example, SiSwati textbooks predominantly focused on grammar and tended to ignore communicative language learning. The consequence arising from ignoring teaching other aspects of SiSwati in a communicative approach has negative effects on learning English. Secondary teachers of English often say students need to learn grammar. In my view the lack of knowledge of English grammar is not the major problem. Rather, it is the students' lack of practice in reading and writing SiSwati. I argue that emphasising one language in the LiEP, is a mistake, because learners are deprived of the opportunity to learn English better. If the connection between learning SiSwati and learning English is

not maintained, the skills in the MT, which could be transferred to English, will not be utilised. Therefore, the lack of relevance of the SiSwati textbooks to the LiEP deprives students of the advantage of transferring skills from SiSwati to English. Textbooks do not attempt to make this connection between the two languages because the LiEP does not recognise it either. In my opinion, the LiEP should place emphasis on the maintenance of both languages in an additive bilingual approach so that when textbooks are developed the resource of the L1 is considered.

Clayton (1999:147) says that language policies on publishing in Africa are influenced by “elite closure”. He explains that according to linguist, Carol Myers-Scotton, “The African elite believe that, ‘competence in world languages is necessary for participation in situations which yield power’ in postcolonial Africa”. Clayton further argues that “education is the primary venue for the acquisition of world languages and since education remains an elite institution in much of Africa elites are able to engineer a distinct sociolinguistic stratification and a ‘closure’ on access to power, through their support for ‘world language policies’”.

In my observations as a SiSwati teacher and through interviewing teachers, I established that SiSwati is not regarded as an important language at school and in the job market. Therefore, there are no efforts to develop SiSwati textbooks in ways that define or explain the LiEP. Only the English textbooks were designed with it in mind. Extra effort is put into producing English textbooks. Few SiSwati textbooks focus on the teaching of reading in the primary schools, and in the secondary school the textbooks focus only on aspects of culture and SiSwati grammar.

Swaziland’s LiEP does not seem to promote proficiency in SiSwati. Instead, it focuses on proficiency in English. That appears to be the reason why SiSwati is not appreciated beyond being taught as a subject. If the LiEP were to promote fluency in the two languages, the SiSwati textbooks would contribute towards the LiEP. At present, the teaching of SiSwati is isolated from the teaching of English and the LiEP.

The English teachers mentioned that “students were struggling with English especially because of their environment”, which is not conducive to using English as the medium of instruction despite the fact that the textbook was based on a communicative approach. They said the new language textbook did not equip the students with the language required to pass the Cambridge examination. All the English teachers said they worked very hard to find good teaching materials in order to improve their students' standard of English in order to meet the requirements of the LiEP and the standard of the Cambridge examination.

6.7 Issues that need to be addressed in order to improve the quality of SiSwati and English textbooks

6.7.1 Abolishing the monopoly given to one publisher

The teachers in this study stated that the SiSwati and English textbooks were of low quality. This problem was created and worsened by the fact that there is only one publisher that supplies school textbooks. The teachers suggested that if other publishers were also to publish in Swaziland, this could break the monopoly and open up opportunities for other books published elsewhere to be selected and prescribed as school textbooks. Obviously, if one publisher has the monopoly there will be a possibility that even poor quality textbooks can easily find their way into the school system. As already noted, textbooks are not selected using clearly stated criteria, but they are written and published on request. The Ministry should open up the system to allow other publishers to submit their textbooks and let the selection committees do their work. By ending the monopoly and thereby ensuring competition, the relevance and standard of content of textbooks would be raised.

6.7.2 Curriculum development

Curriculum development in Swaziland is over-dependent on the publisher appointed to provide school textbooks. Instead of textbooks being instruments of explaining the curriculum they are often seen as the curriculum itself. For example, the assertion by the SiSwati teachers interviewed that the SiSwati grammar textbook does not have a syllabus

is an indication that the textbook was written on request and therefore it had to be prescribed. Hence, the teachers struggle with it because it is unsuitable for the students' level. The teachers said that it was suitable only as a reference book for teachers and not as a textbook for school pupils.

In my view the problem is not only with the textbook but it is also with curriculum development. The textbook is regarded as a curriculum or syllabus because the curriculum or syllabus was not revised prior to the textbook being prescribed. The secondary teachers evaluate the textbooks from time to time and supplement it as the need arises. The LiEP, curriculum and textbooks have to be in synchrony with each other in order to provide an effective system of education.

6.7.3 Misconceptions created by the Language-in-Education Policy

The Swaziland LiEP needs to be reconsidered because the textbooks used in the schools do not interpret it correctly. The LiEP assumes that all pupils have similar levels of English. However, the textbooks do not cater for the various levels of proficiency that the students have. The LiEP creates a belief that English is an important language in the education system but the textbooks do not meet this need. Teachers do not simply neglect SiSwati in primary schools because they think it is unimportant but it is the lack of good SiSwati textbooks and invisibility of SiSwati in the LiEP that degrades SiSwati as a subject. In my view the poor quality of textbooks is caused by the low status attributed to SiSwati in the Swaziland Education system through the LiEP. There are some misconceptions, which manifest themselves in negative attitudes towards SiSwati in the LiEP and in the minds of some people, including policy makers. These misconceptions, negative attitudes and prejudices against SiSwati are transmitted into the textbooks. Some SiSwati textbooks deal with trivial issues, which do not present SiSwati as a serious subject worth studying. The result is that many stereotypes are conceived. Therefore, there is a need to create the perception that SiSwati has a fundamental role to play in the learning of English. This must be clearly articulated in the LiEP, textbooks and in the curriculum.

6.8 Summary of findings in this chapter

The observations made in the study were based on a limited sample of 26 teachers. Therefore, these findings cannot be used to generalise about what takes place in other schools in Swaziland. The observations, patterns and trends were indicative of what other teachers may be doing in other schools in the country. The findings should be followed up in another study to validate them. This chapter showed the role played by language textbooks in effective language teaching and learning. It also showed that the lack of good textbooks and good teaching materials causes difficulties in implementing the curriculum and in achieving the LiEP. It showed the monopolistic role played by the sole publisher in promoting its textbooks that do not meet the needs of the pupils and teachers. The lack of an explicit curriculum enables textbooks published by the sole publisher to be construed as blueprints for or synonymous with the curriculum. This chapter recommends that the curriculum should be developed independently of the publisher and that textbooks should sufficiently articulate and explain the curriculum and LiEP. It also recommends that the monopolistic policy should be dropped because it compromises quality teaching and production of school textbooks, which presently stand at the heart of the education enterprise. There is no provision in Swaziland that ensures that textbooks are evaluated before they are prescribed. Committees that evaluate textbooks must be established because if textbooks have obvious deficiencies, they should not be used. The monopoly in the textbook policy system in Swaziland prevents other publishers from participating in producing a variety of textbooks in a free market context. Competition among the publishers is more likely to ensure quality textbook content. The results of not having an open market policy have far more detrimental consequences than the costs that the government claims to reduce by giving the single publisher the rights to publish school textbooks. In fact the costs incurred through this monopolistic system are higher because quality is compromised. In other words, there is waste of government funds as a result of learners not succeeding in school because they use textbooks and learning materials of a poor quality.

CHAPTER 7

A REPRESENTATION OF THE PARENTS' VIEWS ABOUT WHY THEY SEND THEIR CHILDREN TO ENGLISH MEDIUM SCHOOLS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter attempts to answer the fourth main Research Question stated in Chapter 1. The question is stated as follows: What is the role of learning materials and textbooks and what effects do these have on language learning and teaching? As already noted, Swaziland's primary schooling system uses English as a medium of instruction. According to the *de jure* Language-in-Education policy, Transitional Bilingual Education is used in Grades 1 and 2, and from Grade 3 the medium of instruction becomes fully English. There are certain difficulties with this since some children have no English until they encounter it at school for the first time. The *de facto* policy, where English is used from the first year also has its problems. Children from the two approaches have to write unitary CA Tests each year throughout their primary careers. They also write the same norm-referenced examination at the end of Grade 7.

The role of parents in choosing schools for their children cannot be over-emphasised. Some parents, particularly in urban areas, consciously choose schools for their children to attend. Parents in rural areas have less choice, and they usually trust and passively accept what the MoE offers. Urban parents prefer private English medium schools where the MoE has no influence on their children's education. Surprisingly, even officials in the MoE send their children to private schools. In 2000 Brocke-Utne, a Norwegian Aid and Development (NORAD) consultant at the Ministry of Education in Swaziland, held an interview with the Principal Secretary (PS) of Education in Swaziland about why a *de facto* policy seems to be used in schools instead of the *de jure* policy. The PS said the MoE did not want to enforce the policy because parents did not like it and preferred English from the start.

I set out to interview some parents about why they preferred to send their children to English medium schools. The aims of the interviews were:

- To explore in more depth the reasons why parents send their children to English medium schools,
- To investigate parents' views, perceptions, beliefs and attitudes about the schools that they regard as offering their children the best quality education, and
- To establish the parents' perceptions of the role of English in education.

7.2 The context of the parents' interviews

Studies by Rapeane and Matlosa (2002) and de Klerk (2000, 2002) show the attitudes of Basotho and South African parents towards English medium schools. For example, de Klerk (2000, 2002) shows the attitudes of Xhosa speaking parents towards English medium schools in Grahamstown, in the Eastern Cape. This study showed that there were an increasing number of speakers of indigenous African languages who saw English as the language of prestige and something to be aspired to. In South Africa, for example, the driving force behind the unequivocal search for English is located in the legacy of Apartheid. The Bantu Education Act of 1953 was designed to force blacks to learn in their mother tongue. This was planned and executed so that the indigenous languages were not developed beyond just being used for giving an inferior education to their speakers. Heugh says

The Apartheid policy of separate education in the mother tongue, despite its potential to promote African Languages, failed dismally owing to under-resourcing, overcrowding, and impoverished curricula, in combination with a deep suspicion to subject blacks to whites and to produce a confined and isolated semi-literate labour force (Heugh, cited by de Klerk, 2000:3).

The notorious Bantu Education Act of 1953 was rejected by the vast majority of South African people. Few parents who went through that system wanted their children to be subjected to mother tongue education.

The 23 parents approached in this investigation all had their children in government English medium schools and in private English medium schools in Mbabane, Manzini and Nhlngano. This is a very small sample, which does not represent all the views of all parents in Swaziland. However, their responses indicate what many parents in Swaziland would say. When some rural parents were contacted, their responses showed that they did not deliberately choose schools to which they send their children. Schools in rural areas are often community schools built so those children do not have to travel long distances. Parents therefore do not have to make conscious choices, not only because they tend to be uncritical, but because many of them cannot financially afford the monies entailed by seeking alternatives. They may also not be aware of all the debates about quality and standards in education. Children who attend rural schools often transfer to other schools only where there are no secondary schools in their communities. The National Education Review Commission (NERCOM, 1985) points out that rural schools are often under-resourced and have shortages of school equipment. In this study I selected those parents who made deliberate choices about the schools to which they send their children. While I knew that parents in rural areas, who are often less educated, might have different opinions and valuable inputs to the study, my questions were designed for parents who had children in English medium schools and parents who knew the differences between an EE school and a DE school. I was satisfied that the responses of uneducated parents would concur with the views of the educated parents because the former often look up to the latter as their role models. Hence, the respondents in this study were educated parents comprising 11 teachers, a police officer, a businessman, a banker, a psychologist, a librarian, an accountant, a secretary/receptionist, a home economist, a tourism officer, a writer, a salesman and an HIV-AIDS counselor. Their profiles included diploma holders, degree holders and post-graduates.

7.3 Table 41. Parents' views of the schools attended by their children (N = 23)

Category of Analysis	Questions asked	Parents' responses to the questions asked:	Key issues arising out of these responses as a basis for further interpretation under 7.4, pages 225-239.
Qualities sought by parents in their children's education.	1. What are the qualities that you look for in your children's education?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 10 parents said they look for the learning of practical skills. • 6 parents said they look for education that provides children with great opportunities for the future. • 6 parents said they look for an opportunity to learn English 	<p>Two types of responses</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parents want a skills-based education and • Proficiency in English
Parents' definition of "quality education".	2. How would you define "quality education" (QE)?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 8 parents defined QE as education that balances academic and practical skills • 6 parents said QE is knowledge that makes a child to be confident, independent, positive-minded and capable to make informed decisions. • 5 said QE is education relevant to a child's life. • 5 said QE is education in English. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The parents suggested that QE blends academic, practical and social skills • QE is relevant to the child • QE means learning good English
Qualities in a school considered by parents.	3. What are the qualities that you consider in a school attended by your children?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 10 parents said they consider if the school prepares children to cope with challenges in the outside world. • 10 parents said they look for a school that has a history of success. • 9 said they look for a school that has good leadership, disciplined staff and children, and produces socially acceptable people who are Christians • 6 said that they consider schools that have adequate facilities and qualified teachers. 	<p>Four types of qualities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Successful schools • Knowledge of practical and basic survival skills • Disciplined teachers and pupils • Good facilities
Schools preferred by parents in terms of language mediums.	4. Would you prefer your children to attend English medium (EM) schools only or SiSwati and English medium schools?	<p>i) 17 parents said they prefer SiSwati and English medium schools because:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • SiSwati is preserved. • Children learn the MT plus English. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 17 parents wanted their children to maintain their cultural identity • 6 parents preferred English because of its status and role in education society.

		<p>ii) 6 parents said they prefer EM schools only because:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • English is a high status language • English is a passing/ failing subject • SiSwati is not used in any career 	
Parents' beliefs about whether English is the best language for giving the best education.	5. Do you believe that English is the best language for giving your children the best education?	<p>i) 11 parents said English was the best language for giving education because:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • English is an official language & MoI in schools in former British colonies • English is the MoI for teaching other subjects • English is a language used in all jobs <p>ii) 11 parents said English is not the best language for giving their children the best education because:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Only those who do not know think that SiSwati is useless in education. • All languages are equal and are capable of being used in education. • MTs are not used because they were not developed for use as MoI. • English is a stumbling block to higher education. 	<p>Two types of beliefs</p> <p>Parents for the belief said:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Beliefs determined by the official status and role of English in Swaziland's general language policy and the role of English in education/schools. <p>Parents against the belief said:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • English wrongly determines success or failure of their children. • English prevents their children from receiving further education. • Parents said some languages were not developed for being used as MoI.
Reasons why parents send their children to English medium schools.	6. Why do you think some parents send their children to English medium schools?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 12 parents said that EM schools offer students the opportunity to learn English very well. • The 12 parents added that the quality of education in EM schools was better. • 10 parents said EM schools have good learning facilities. • 9 parents said EM schools have high pass rates and good results • 3 parents said EM schools teach according to international standards. 	<p>Three Types of reasons were given</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parents said EM schools teach English well. • English is high status international language • English opens the door to more job opportunities and a "better life".
Parents' opinions on schools that offer better schooling	7. In your opinion do English medium schools offer better schooling that mixed SiSwati and English schools?	<p>i) 14 parents believed that EM schools offer better schooling because:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • EM schools have better results in examinations and enable children to 	<p>There were two types of responses</p> <p>i) 14 parents seemed to equate better schooling with proficiency in English and</p>

		<p>pass English.</p> <p>ii) 6 parents said English medium schools do not offer the best education because:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • EM schools only excel in teaching children English. • EM schools are only prestigious schools attended by children from middle and upper class homes. • Parents said both types of schools have advantages and disadvantages. <p>iii) 3 were not sure.</p>	<p>passing examinations.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They said EM schools offer better schooling because they excel in teaching English. <p>ii) 6 opposing parents said it was due to indoctrination to think that using English as MoI is better.</p>
Quality and training of teachers in English medium schools	8. In what ways do teachers in English medium schools differ from teachers in other schools regarding quality and training?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 16 said that teachers in EM schools were as good as those in other schools • 7 said some EM school teachers have better qualifications while some teachers in SiSwati and English schools are poorly trained. 	<p>There were 2 types of responses</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 16 parents said all the teachers were good. EM school teachers were privileged with regard to facilities and working in environments conducive to teaching and learning English. • Parents said EM school teachers were diligent, organised & motivated.
Teaching approaches used in EM schools	9. In what ways do EM schools differ from other government schools regarding the teaching approaches?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 10 said that the EM schools used the government's curriculum as a base or guideline but added more. • The parents said EM teachers teach for life beyond the classroom, i.e. "they are willing to go an extra mile unlike other schools which only teach what is in the syllabus". • EM schools have excellent teaching facilities e.g. children use libraries. • EM teachers give remedial classes • Teachers in EM schools give a lot of homework. 	<p>Four types of responses</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • EM schools use the curriculum as a guide. • Parents said teachers in EM schools had used a variety of teaching methods. • Teachers have good teaching facilities e.g. computers, videos and small class sizes. • EM teachers were perceived to be committed.
How EM schools differ with regard to parents' income	10. In what ways do EM schools differ with regard to parents' income?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 16 said that EM schools are very expensive, however in the good ones "you get your money's worth". 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parents said school fees in EM private schools were too high. • Parents acknowledged that in order to get quality one must be prepared to pay a high price.

7.4 Interpretation of data captured in the above table

7.4.1 Qualities that parents look for in their children's education

The majority of parents (N = 16) said they sought for a skills-based education. This choice was based on the belief that education should enable a person to earn a better living. The parents said they send their children to schools to learn practical subjects that they hope will equip their children with skills that can assist them in opening opportunities of self-employment. Parents in this study pointed out that the current system of education in Swaziland did not focus on subjects that are practical, one of the qualities needed in education. According to these parents the system of education mostly caters for white-collar jobs and people who can manage to study at university. NERCOM (1985:33) recommended to "the government to consider more seriously re-organising the curriculum or diversifying it in order to provide for alternative examinations for different people".

In my view, one of the reasons for the education system to produce people skilled for white-collar jobs is that the system is based on models that emphasise knowledge in academic subjects rather than practical subjects. The reality is that most children in Africa do not proceed beyond the primary level. Therefore, those children whose education ends at primary level have no opportunity to succeed because their education has focused on academic subjects. The well-paid jobs available are only for those skilled in white-collar employ. That is the reason why the parents said that they therefore sought for skills-based education, so that even those children who end at primary level manage to learn some skills that will enable them to start businesses so as to earn a living.

Swaziland's education is based on the British model, with a strong emphasis on English. English is also the MoI throughout the education system. The problem with this British-based education system is that English is only attainable by a small minority of the children who go to school.

7.4.2 Parents' definitions of "quality education"

Eight Parents defined "quality education" as maintaining the balance between academic and practical skills education. Their definition was based on the many challenges that people are faced with. Parents always want their children to live better lives than theirs by

learning skills that can make this possible. Six parents said “quality education” is knowledge that develops a child to become confident, independent, a positive thinker and someone who can make informed decisions. They said people who have not received a good education lack creativity when faced with problems because they fail to extend their thinking so as to find alternative approaches to a problem. My interpretation of this is that parents were interested in progressive schooling. Taylor (1999) states that “progressive models” of the curriculum fall under Bernstein’s competence model. Competence models of the curriculum require that,

Schooling should equip learners to exhibit independence and initiative in directing their own learning. They should be able to ask questions, evaluate evidence, defend arguments, and apply their knowledge to situations. In short learners should acquire higher order thinking skills that go beyond recall recognition and reproduction of information, to the evaluation, analysis, synthesis, production and application of ideas (1999:109).

The parents added that English medium schools teach about life in general and so the children can adapt easily, adjust themselves and live with all kinds of nationalities. Parents said English medium school children were accommodating. This means that they learn to tolerate other people and ideas different from their own. Quality education combines all these characteristics and coping strategies.

Five parents added that, “quality education” is “education that is relative to the individual”. Some parents recognised the fact that education needs to be put into use according to the needs of the individual. The successful learning of English was another factor that enables children who have received a good education to cope very easily. At this stage five parents said English was a measure of quality education. However, some responses indicated that not all parents perceived English as an equivalent of quality education.

The parents’ expectations of the role of the school were pitched high above what schools were presently able to offer. The qualities cited by the parents were qualities that might be achieved only if an appropriate curriculum was developed. The parents who said quality education is relative to the individual also seemed to echo the same concern that the education system should provide education that is relevant. In my view this type of

education was mostly not available in the public schools and thus parents looked towards the English medium school to teach some of these skills to their children.

7.4.3 Qualities considered by parents in a school they chose for their children

The qualities that parents said were important in the school they chose for their children were classified into four types, as shown on number 3, in Table 41 under 7.3. The parents cited the following examples:

- Successful schools
- Knowledge of practical and basic survival skills
- Disciplined teachers and pupils
- Good facilities

Parents wanted their children to be successful in their lives by either finding jobs or starting their own businesses. Therefore, when parents chose a school for their children, they chose a school that had a history of high pass rates and produced learners who eventually held high positions and contributed to the country's economy.

The job market's demand for English, especially in the government and foreign companies, continually perpetuates the myth that economic success is hinged upon mastery of English. These assertions are consolidated by the dependency that African countries have on the west. For example, the loans that are secured from multinational companies, such as the World Bank, dictate the terms of how the money is to be used through the programme of "structural adjustments". The World Bank does not promote the use of other languages to develop the economy and therefore the parents see that in order to gain access to a good job one has to have English. Lin (1996) argues that in Hong Kong,

The job market's demand for English is at least part of the production of the government's English-dominated policies. On the other hand foreign business interests join the government to orchestrate a powerful chorus that both creates and legitimises the high foreign language demands imposed on a predominantly Chinese society (1996:58).

The demand for English in the jobs market is therefore one of the clearest indications that parents will not opt for education in any other medium. However, the other side of the coin presents a gloomy picture whereby we only see a few people successful in the job market. The economy is currently being controlled by only an elite few.

Politics, education and the economy are closely linked. Parents know that in order to become successful one needs to succeed in school. The type of schooling that was received by the elite and some politicians was usually good and often attained from overseas. Therefore, the parents said they chose a school that has very high standards, one that can compete internationally. The parents were therefore prepared to expose their children to English as early as possible. Some parents were prepared to invest very large sums of money in order to secure quality education for their children.

Other qualities in the parents' responses were related to discipline and good facilities in the schools. I think that these qualities were rather secondary to the fact that parents wanted an education that will end up benefiting their children economically. Parents are not educators and therefore they do not so much look at the psychological perspectives; they only look at the end product.

7.4.4 Schools preferred by parents in terms of language mediums

Parents' views may be classified into two types. Seventeen parents preferred SiSwati and English medium schools. These parents wanted their children to maintain their cultural identity. They also believed that a person's identity is essential for his/her existence. Six preferred English medium schools because of their status and role in education. The functional purposes that English serves guided parents towards making their choices concerning the language mediums and schools for their children. The status and role of English is the most important guiding principle.

The parents who preferred SiSwati and English medium schools believed that education should not alienate a child from his/her culture. They believed that culture is important in distinguishing groups who share abstract knowledge, views, values and norms, manners and customs and orientations towards social and interpersonal relations. They also believed that a person's identity is essential for his existence. Pierce, quoted by de Klerk, (2000) argues that

Language is an important aspect of the intertwined system of values, attitudes, beliefs and norms that give meaning and significance to both individual and collective identity. Therefore, language is a powerful symbol of heritage and identity because it is through language that a person negotiates a sense of self within different social encounters, and 'gains access to- or is denied access to- the powerful social networks' (de Klerk, 2000:200).

Mkanganwi (cited by Rapeane and Matlosa, 2002:1) also says that language is "the principal factor of culture enabling individuals to become fully functional members of the social group into which they are born".

I observed that although seventeen parents indicated that they preferred SiSwati and English medium schools, their children were not necessarily attending those schools. All the parents that were interviewed had their children in English medium schools. There seemed to be a contradiction between their beliefs and their actual choices. Bamgbose observes that "attitudes" towards a language affect the speakers' choices. He says that

With years of indoctrination, many people have come to accept that 'real' education can only be obtained in a world language such as English. Even the idea that a child will benefit if his or her initial education is given in the first language is disputed by many so called educated parents (2000:88).

Studies about language attitudes (e.g. de Klerk, 1996, Iannici and Kok, 1999 and Dyers, 2000) show that attitudes play a major role in the way languages are considered and used. An appeal for English is patently evident among non-MT speakers of English. They embrace it with enthusiasm. Beliefs and ideologies shape attitudes. For example, the claim that black parents do not want their children to learn using African languages is not surprising in South Africa, given the legacy of Apartheid. Parents need to be educated on such issues so as to be able to make the right choices. In Swaziland and other countries where Apartheid was not a problem, parents need to be educated that the assumption that there are no job opportunities for SiSwati should be dispelled. Jobs should be made available where SiSwati speakers should be a requirement, including jobs made available by foreign investors.

The parents may have been pragmatic in choosing schools but they also believed that the SiSwati and English schools were their ideal schools. This contradiction also tells a lot

about the role of English in the Swazi society. The contradiction between a preference and the actual choice showed an undercurrent where parents were saying we accept that the best schools for our children are the SiSwati and English schools but there is more than just the language issue involved when making a choice. Parents' responses show ambiguous attitudes towards SiSwati and English, but the role that English plays as a language of running the economy supersedes the parents' preference for SiSwati and English medium schools. English dominates the economy, technology and education. That makes it the language that most parents want for their children.

Seemingly, SiSwati and English medium schools were ideal schools only in principle, but are not necessarily good in practice. Although the parents acknowledge the belief that the mother tongue is the best medium of teaching and learning, they were not pragmatically committed to those schools. One of the respondents who preferred SiSwati and English medium schools said she would only prefer the SiSwati and English schools "if only they were well organised". While it is true that the English medium schools may be organised, the question worth asking is, what are the factors behind this organisation? The possible answer is that they are organised according to the availability of resources, hence parents thought that English medium schools were better.

The parents were torn between a natural preference for their mother tongue and the appeal of English and all that it represents. The parents' choices seemed not to necessarily reflect ideal choices but rather practical and necessary choices. The parents also pointed out they often look at the products of those successful schools. Parents who prefer English medium schools sometimes do so because they see the products of an English medium education getting rewards in terms of lucrative jobs and upward social mobility. Bamgbose (2000:88) says

Suppose the knowledge of African languages is required for certain positions, it will not be surprising if there is a mad rush to acquire that language and if the prestige of the language rises phenomenally. Policy makers therefore have a duty to add prestige to the study of African languages and their use as media of instruction.

This might change the views of many parents. However, as long as all the key positions and good jobs are held by fluent English speakers, parents' views are unlikely to change.

7.4.5 Parents beliefs about whether English is the best language for giving the best education

Nearly half the number of parents (eleven) said English was the best language for giving their children the best education. Parents based their decisions on the status and role of English in Swaziland's Language-in-Education policy. For example, they gave three reasons verbatim to support their position:

- *English is an official language and medium of instruction in schools in Swaziland, a former British colony.*
- *English is used for teaching other subjects*
- *English is the language used in all jobs*

Parents believed that English is a language of wider communication. One of the reasons why colonial languages were maintained in Africa after independence was that few locals needed to be trained to take over the positions in the Civil Service after the colonial masters had left. Mkhonza (1987:29) clarifies that during the colonial era the education policy looked down upon indigenous languages of Africa, derogatorily referring to them as "vernaculars", primitive languages that were not fit to be taught in white schools. The claim by some parents that English is the best medium in education, because it is an official language, seems an uninformed assumption. It is made in the absence of knowledge of how it became official and also in the absence on information of whether or not it is successful in the society in which it is used. This does not mean that parents must abandon English, but it means that they need to know whether English indeed is the best language for giving good quality education. The claims also need to be weighed against the evidence available as to whether or not every child is succeeding in getting the jobs he/she hopes for, and is succeeding in using English for academic purposes, as is purported by the policy.

The high status of English seems to be the reason that persuaded parents towards thinking that English was "the language not to be missed". A similar response was given by parents interviewed by de Klerk who argued that "English was the South African medium, the most important language in our schools" (de Klerk, 2000:205). Parents did not know if the South African language policy was working for everybody or if it was

only working for the minority of the population, thereby creating a small clique of successful matriculants or graduates.

Parents' fears need to be allayed by both policy makers and educationists. Parents need to be properly advised and guided with evidence and sufficient knowledge that using a foreign language in circumstances where the use of that language is not well-resourced does not mean a good education. Parents need to be told that English as a second language and as a language of instruction can work, all things being equal, for a group of children who have adequate resources, materials, exposure to English in schools, homes and the extra-curricular environment.

Eleven parents also said that English was not the best language for giving children the best education. Bamgbose (2000:67) says parents are always opposed to education through an African language medium. However, some educated parents have an understanding that mother tongue education is good. Given the present limitations of the MT some parents think it is not a viable language for giving children the best education. The advocates of MT education argue that the factors that militate against it include the negative attitudes towards, and the lack of teaching resources and textbooks in African indigenous languages. Bamgbose (2000:88) sees parents' problem as mainly a question of indoctrination. In keeping with Bamgbose's observation, some parents said:

- *Only those who do not know, think that SiSwati is useless because other countries use their own languages in education.*
- *All languages are equal and are capable of being used in education.*
- *Some MTs are not used because they were not developed and prepared to be used as MoI.*
- *English is a stumbling block to higher education.*

These eleven parents were of the opinion that if SiSwati was developed it would be the best medium for giving better education. The responses indicated that modernisation and development of the indigenous languages are needed to make the languages suitable for use in education. Given the "costs argument" in developing resources in MTs, policy makers often think that maintaining English is cheaper. Considering the fact that at present fewer children enter higher education, English is possibly not the best language for giving the best education to all.

7.4.6 Reasons why parents send their children to English medium schools

The parents gave three types of reasons. The most popular reason given by twelve parents for sending their children to English medium schools was that these schools teach English very well. The parents added that, by taking your child to an English medium school, “you are giving your child a chance to a better life”. *“SiSwati asinamali, ngesiNgisi sihola ngaso. Ehhovisi sibhala ngaso izincwadi.”* (SiSwati has no economic benefits, with English we earn salaries.) The parents believed that English is the language that gives children a competitive edge since it is a language that is most widely used in the workplace.

Twelve parents said that the quality of education in English medium schools was better than in schools using SiSwati and English. In attempting to unpack this statement, the parents seemed to equate quality education with English medium schools. These parents took it for granted that their children already knew SiSwati. One of the parents said that her child corrects her SiSwati-English pronunciation because he speaks so well in English. The parents captured it in the following words:

“Sometimes my child helps me with correct pronunciation. My child does not run short of vocabulary. A child must have a wide vocabulary for communication and should not be ‘stuck’ or run out of English words. His teacher in Grade 1 is Mrs McIntosh, a white person.”

The parent seemed convinced that teachers who are English first language speakers are in a good position to teach their children English. This aspect of the parent's response is very ideal. However, it is a luxury that many schools and the MoE cannot afford. Even English medium schools have difficulty with finding teachers who are English first language speakers. In fact, this parent had her children in one of the very expensive private English medium schools in the capital city. Therefore, what this parent was saying was not the norm but an exception in Swaziland schools. The parent's desire for her child to “become English” was visible when she continued to say:

Parent: *Ngifuna sikolwa lapho basebentisa siNgisi ekucaleni.*

(I want a school which uses the English from Grade 1)

Ngoba umntfwana uba ne command ye English uma ayitfole nasacala sikolwa from the first grade.

(Because a child gets a good command of English if he gets it at the beginning of schooling from Grade 1)

Manje umntfwanami yafunda i English ka Grade 1.

(Right now my child reads English fluently in Grade 1)

SiSwati akasati and I don't care. It's not a problem because he knows it after all.

(He doesn't know SiSwati and I don't care. It's not a problem because he knows it after all)

Interviewer: Uyasifunda?

(Is he learning it?)

Parent: Cha angifuni asifunde siyomsiza ngani.

(No, I do not want him to learn SiSwati. How is it going to help him?)

As a parent angisiboni sidzingo seSiSwati, it can come later not now.

(As a parent I do not see the importance of SiSwati. It can come later on.)

SiNgisi basisebentisa throughout the day, everyday, even during play, singabikho sikhatsi sesiSwati noma baya ka swimming baswim-e nge English.

(They use English throughout the day, everyday, even during play, there should be no time for SiSwati even when they go for swimming, they swim in English [we both laugh]).

These responses can be explained through the respondent's perceptions of "symbolic power" and "habitus". The parent was very proud that her child attended an English medium school where teachers were not Swazis. The parent seemed to want a total assimilation into English. According to this parent the non-mother tongue English teachers do not teach English properly. Parents were prepared to pay any amount of money in school fees even if it meant more than E1000.00 per month. In a personal communication (on 24-05-2002) with one parent at another private primary school in Manzini, he said the school fees were up to E1600.00 per month or E4800.00 per term for a child in Grade 1. He said he sensed that this was excluding parents from a low socio-economic background from the schools because of the high fees.

Ten parents said that the English medium schools also have good learning facilities, which enable pupils to learn better and thus perform very well in examinations. Some parents said English medium schools were good because they teach according to international standards.

Although Heugh (2002:180) queries the view that some parents want their children to be "anglicised", parents choose English because it has social and economic benefits. Parents weigh the benefits against those of compromising their indigenous languages, and finally decide that knowing English has more benefits than keeping one's language for the sake of one's cultural identity. Cultural identity is more of a secondary benefit for them.

Parents acknowledge the benefits of the MT but also want the obvious advantages of English. English serves as an instrumental role that is predominantly used in higher domains. The mother tongue is only used in lower domains such as among family communications.

7.4.7 Parents' opinions on schools that offer better schooling

There were two types of responses. Fourteen parents said English medium schools offer better schooling because they often produce good results in examinations. Because the education system is examination-oriented parents think that if the children can pass English, then they must be at a good school.

Six parents said English medium schools do not offer the best education. Parents said both types of schools have advantages and there were certain misconceptions about whether English medium or mixed SiSwati and English schools were better. In my view parents are not adequately positioned to give opinions about pedagogical applications because they do not know how children learn. It might be true that at present many jobs are available to those who are proficient in English, but the implication of what parents want might be shielded by other factors beyond the parents' power or jurisdiction. Somehow parents are misguided to believe that they can make valuable pedagogical decisions.

According to Bourdieu's theory, "symbolic domination" seems to be the main impetus behind the parents' choices. He argues that symbolic violence is gentle, invisible and unrecognised. He adds that

The development of institutions enables different kinds of capital to be accumulated and differentially appropriated, while dispensing with the need for individuals to pursue strategies aimed directly at the domination of others: violence is, so to speak, built into the institution itself (ibid.: 23).

Lin (1996:58) says there are myths and facts about English medium education. For example, in Hong Kong, the argument that has been used to legitimise using English as the MoI in all higher education institutions in Hong Kong, is that English is the language of science, technology and international scholarship. She points out that this argument is absurd in the sense that it suggests that many prestigious universities and other non-

English speaking universities and countries are substandard internationally. She also maintains that high scholastic standards will be attained in Hong Kong as a result of using Chinese, the language much more familiar to the majority of students (ibid.:59).

In my view parents should not be blamed for their belief because this is what the system of education seems to inculcate in their minds. The Swaziland Education system creates an assertion that English medium schools offer better schooling because SiSwati and English medium state schools are under-resourced. The government is unable to provide the necessary facilities for teaching because its funds are either scarce or are misappropriated. In the previous chapter, I noted that textbooks and materials do not meet the requirements of the curriculum and of the LiEP. The MoE could ease the disparities between English medium schools and SiSwati and English schools by developing a workable LiEP and supplying quality textbooks that will give equal opportunities to all the children in Swaziland. This may also narrow the visible gap between schools using the two approaches as I argued in Chapter 5. It would also relieve parents from the expensive option of sending children to private schools.

7.4.8 Quality and training of teachers in English medium schools

The quality of teachers is one of the most important variables in terms of the teachers' conceptual knowledge. Teachers' low levels of conceptual knowledge plays an important role because, if their grasp of subjects is low, there are likely to be a range of errors in the content and concepts presented in lessons. Taylor (1999:105) notes that "the quality of student learning is influenced by many factors: home background, individual aptitudes, school culture, teaching quality, availability of resources and quality of teachers".

Sixteen parents said the qualifications of teachers in English medium schools were the same as those in other schools. Seven parents said teachers in SiSwati and English schools were poorly trained. The majority of parents said the differences between English medium and mixed SiSwati and English schools were only in terms of facilities and working environments. Quality of training seemed not to make any difference, but the parents also stated that teachers in English medium schools were more resourceful.

It is easy to understand why teachers in English medium schools are resourceful because they have all the equipment that they need in order to make their teaching very good,

lively and successful. The parents noted that the English medium school teachers had their scheme books and lesson plans very well kept. Not only that, but they have a variety of resources to execute their teaching plans and are well motivated by the co-operating school administrators and willing parents etc. English medium school teachers have manageable class sizes (for example, twenty to thirty students as opposed to the mixed SiSwati and English schools which have class sizes of about fifty to sixty learners). The parents added that teachers in English medium schools were regarded as good or better teachers because they have other incentives and resources, which make them to be efficient, creative and innovative in their work.

The parents' responses suggested that there were major differences in teachers' working environments. For example, private English medium school teachers are committed because their employers pay them good salaries. Parents repeatedly said that the teachers were not simply committed because they were teaching in English medium schools and earning good salaries, but it was because they had facilities and small class sizes. In contrast, teachers in mixed SiSwati and English medium schools were under-resourced, dissatisfied with their conditions of service and hence they were very unproductive.

The parents' responses indicated an interdependency of variables, especially the availability of resources and teaching quality. While some parents thought the qualifications of the teachers were the same in both types of schools they also pointed out that quality of teaching was influenced by the resources. Some parents mentioned that resources and teaching facilities in English medium schools were of very high standard yet the quality of materials in government mixed SiSwati and English schools were low.

7.4.9 Parents' opinions about the teaching approaches used in English medium schools

Four types of responses were elicited concerning the methods used by teachers in English medium schools. The parents said the English medium schools were different in the following respects:

- English medium schools used the curriculum as a guide.
- Parents said teachers in English medium schools used a variety of teaching methods.
- Teachers had excellent teaching facilities e.g. computers, videos and small class sizes.

- English medium teachers were perceived to be committed.

The parents said that English medium schools used the government curriculum only as a guide, but often added to it. Their curriculum was very diverse. Public schools only offer the main curriculum and often do not have funds to buy the expensive equipment needed for a diversified curriculum. Pedagogy also refers to how teachers use teaching approaches and methods in classrooms. This includes whether or not teachers use learner-centred methods. If teachers are using learner-centred methods, it is important to distinguish whether they are merely going through the motions or whether these pedagogies promote deeper understanding of conceptual knowledge, more positive attitudes, and more skilled performance (Taylor, 1999:107).

In SiSwati and English schools, teachers can only teach what is in the syllabus and teach for children to pass the examination. Their teaching is shallow as a result of the constraints that they have. Parents perceived teachers in English medium schools as resourceful because they also had remedial classes. However, this expectation cannot be met in public schools because facilities are often inadequate and class sizes are often very high. Parents also perceived teachers in English medium schools as committed because they give a lot of work and they require parents to help their children with homework but in non-English medium schools teachers do not put a lot time into their work. Children in rural areas only read at school because in their homes they have other chores such as looking after cattle, babies and doing household duties such as cooking or working in the fields etc.

7.4.10 How English medium schools differ from mixed SiSwati and English schools with regard to parent's income

Education is expensive and can only be afforded by a few parents who are middle class. The parents in the study alluded that "quality education is expensive". Parents in Swaziland are often urged to invest in their children's education. However, this plea can only be answered by middle-class parents who already have the "cultural capital". Parents acknowledged that in order to get quality education, one must be prepared to pay a high price. However, some the parents are unable to send their children to English medium schools, especially private schools. None of the children of average working class parents attend these schools. Therefore, it seems that only the children of the wealthy are likely to

succeed in learning English very well. De Klerk (2000:211) also notes that it is "... only the children of the wealthy, who can afford the cost of private tuition, may be able to make the shift to English successfully".

English medium schools have become *de facto* determinants of the differences in social classes. Hence education is viewed as one of those institutions that perpetuate social inequality. The unintended consequence of the cost of education leads to "elite closure". Myers-Scotton, cited by Chick and Wade (1998:1), say this refers to "the widespread tendency for socio-political elites to exclude the masses from effective participation in economic and political arenas by establishing language prerequisites, such as competence in an ex-colonial language".

7.5 Summary of main findings from the interviews with parents

- An equal number of parents (eleven) were on both sides of the argument as to whether or not English is the best language for giving quality education.
- The parents stated that they sought for schools that would give their children a "better chance in life".
- Parents believed that English medium schools were "quality schools" only in terms of providing good opportunities of learning English, and good facilities.
- Parents believed that English is a language mostly used in the workplace, and is the language of science and technology, therefore opening the doors to more job opportunities and giving a child a competitive edge in these domains.
- Parents said that English medium schools were very well equipped had better facilities, e.g. libraries.
- Parents believed that SiSwati had no economic benefits except in social communication.
- Some parents acknowledged that there were misconceptions about English due to indoctrination. There is a fallacy that English medium schools are the "best".
- The Swaziland Education system, through the LiEP, inculcates the assumption that English medium schools are better by inadequately providing resources and textbooks to government-funded schools.

- SiSwati is good for national and cultural identity but English is good for job opportunities.
- Parents' choices were not their desired/ preferred choices but were only pragmatic choices.
- Parents said the quality of teachers is the same in all schools, but a lack of resources, facilities and impractical conditions in SiSwati and English schools added to poor teaching standards in these schools.
- Teachers in English medium schools were seen as efficient because they have the means, facilities and support from parents and the school authorities.
- Parents said quality education is characterised by academic and practical skills, needed for job opportunities.
- English medium schools ensure the successful learning and mastery of English.

7.6 Summary of the chapter

The sample size of this study is not large enough to warrant broad generalisations. However, if the parents' responses are representative, and I suggest they may be, they indicate possibilities of findings that need further validation in an in-depth study. This chapter discussed the main arguments and views of parents in favour of English and their choice of English medium schools. Findings in this study indicate that there was convergence and consensus among parents on the view that English medium schools were equipped with excellent facilities for teaching English, the language used to gain access into top jobs. The parents strongly believed that the economic market was predominantly accessible to those who had the "symbolic capital" and whose "habitus" was English. As Bourdieu argues, there was symbolic domination among parents. Parents' responses also show that Language-in-Education is not divorced from politics and capitalism. Schools and language education policies are sites of inequality; hence they are engaged in symbolic violence. The next chapter will conclude the work done in this thesis.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 Introduction

In this thesis I aimed, firstly, to characterise teaching and learning in Grade 1 rural and urban classrooms using the Early English and Delayed English approaches in the Swaziland Education system. Secondly, I aimed to determine the impact that each of the two approaches has on pupils' performances on the common CR Test. Thirdly, I sought to examine the pedagogical and wider educational implications for the Swaziland Education system of the use of these two approaches. This study also examined the role and extent to which SiSwati and English textbooks enabled pupils to acquire proficiency in English, based on the premise that textbooks and learning materials have a significant role to play in language teaching and learning. The LiEP and its impacts were examined in relation to the pupils' performances on the unitary CR Test. Parents' perceptions towards SiSwati and English were elicited by analysing reasons why they send their children to English medium schools. Through the literature survey, classroom observations, interviews and questionnaires, I have established that the conditions inherent in the EE and DE schools, thus the inputs to and outputs from the two schooling approaches, were not equalised.

What follows are the major conclusions flowing from this research and proposals as to what should be done to improve the pupils' performance in rural and urban classrooms in Swaziland. It addresses, particularly, the policy interventions necessary to provide equal opportunities for all learners in Swaziland and suggests that one system should be identified, policies developed and implementation strategies specified. It is also argued that the MoE should ensure that that the proposals made herein be supported with sufficient and appropriate learning materials, textbooks and trained teachers with good conceptual knowledge of their subjects. Finally, recommendations for further research and interventions are suggested. A critical assessment of the research methodology used and the contribution to knowledge made in this thesis are stated.

8.2 Conclusions from the study

8.2.1 The Early English and Delayed English approaches used in the Swaziland Education system are not equitable due to the lack of standardisation of variables in various schools.

The CR Testing method and the SPC examination taken at the end of Grade 7 seem to privilege learners taught using the EE approach over those taught using the DE approach. The two approaches produced different results because of the lack of standardisation of resources in the various schools such as learning materials, exposure to English, facilities, quality of teachers, conditions in the schools, and external social and environmental factors. The learners start at different points. Hence, using a unitary system to assess all learners, who do not begin at equal starting points and who have significantly varying exposures to English, does not fairly reflect their capabilities in subject learning and English proficiency.

8.2.2 SiSwati and English as mediums of instruction, versus English only as a medium of instruction: Ways of dealing with Swaziland's dilemma in its Language-in-Education Policy.

Through the inexplicit policy of the MoE, there are implications of inequity within the Swaziland Education system that have been observed through this thesis. The Ministry seems to be deliberately encouraging an elitist system and the maintenance of the *status quo*. In the Swaziland context, using English as a medium of instruction by both teachers and learners who do not have English as their home language was a daunting task. The attitudes and expectations of the teachers, parents and the MoE, were much greater than the teachers and pupils could achieve in reality. The MoE adopted a policy whereby English is used as the MoI because it is the language of educational and socio-economic advancement. It is the dominant "symbolic resource" in the "symbolic market" (Bourdieu, 1991). English is used in many key situations such as educational and job settings in which the social actors must have the capital (knowledge and skills) in order to gain access to valuable social, educational and eventually material resources. For example, a student in Swaziland must have a credit in English (Symbol A, B or C) to be admitted

into the University of Swaziland and other tertiary institutions. Furthermore, a student's lack of a credit in English means that he/she will not get a government scholarship for tertiary education. Therefore, passing English seems to be a criterion for selection for what is supposed to be a right for all citizens in Swaziland wanting tertiary education. The use of English as a gatekeeping strategy is unfair because education is a right that must be made available to all the children in Swaziland, regardless of their proficiency in English and their socio-economic class.

8.2.3 The majority of teachers in Early English and Delayed English Schools preferred English as a medium for teaching content subjects such as Maths and Science.

Many teachers thought that English was a better language for use in education than SiSwati. Some teachers stated that if SiSwati were used as a MoI, for example, to teach Maths and Science, concepts were likely to be inaccurately represented. Some teachers expressed the concern that this may also lead to the distortion of some concepts and thus result in giving students misleading information and inaccurate facts. The teachers seemed comfortable with using SiSwati only as an annotation to English. They argued that the originality and accuracy of every scientific or mathematical concept might be ensured if English were used. Hence, they believed that English should be used as the MoI. This view is widely held by many people who argue that the discourse of Mathematics and Science is not everyday language; it is very specialised. However, in countries such as Japan, this is not necessarily the case. Language is not finite and therefore there is nothing to prevent teachers from borrowing the scientific terms. A concept can be coded in any language.

8.2.4 Teachers believed that pupils' performance would be better if English were used as the medium of instruction from Grade 1.

The teachers' responses to the questionnaire strongly suggest that English could be learnt better if it were used from Grade 1 as a MoI. The reason advanced for this position was that teaching materials are written in English. Secondly, the CR Tests and the SPC Grade 7 examination are also in English. There is an assumption that if the children use English as a MoI straight from Grade 1 they have more chances of doing well in the examination.

In other words, learning materials and structures of assessment pre-suppose that learners are proficient in English. The teachers therefore see their role as having to teach proficiency in English as a requirement for success because the LiEP has a strong bias towards English. However, I think that their beliefs might change if, for example, SiSwati were used for examination purposes instead of English. Beliefs are much stronger than theory and tend to inform practice more powerfully.

8.2.5 Textbooks and learning materials provided by the Ministry of Education and produced at the National Curriculum Centre lack quality assurance.

The teachers reported that the textbooks produced at the NCC were inadequate for teaching. They complained that they were not of a good quality or standard. Problems with efficacy and suitability of textbooks and learning materials originate from the MoE school textbook publishing policy. The teachers observed that there was an anomaly arising from the prescribed textbooks because these do not enable students to learn English very well. They reported that the MoE unilaterally prescribes textbooks for them, and very few English medium schools said they had the privilege of buying their own textbooks. DE schools rely on the textbooks supplied by the MoE whilst the EE schools sense the deficiency of the system used by the MoE and in the textbooks produced at the NCC. Hence, English medium schools make a conscious effort to supplement their textbooks with support materials. They buy additional textbooks and readers for their students to assist them in becoming proficient in English. The supply of learning materials is another variable that was not standardised and equalised in DE and EE schools.

8.2.6 The "textbook *selection* process" appears to be a complete misnomer.

The teachers complained that they had problems with some of the textbooks prescribed by the MoE. They said they were sometimes compelled to use a textbook just because it was a prescribed text. They complained that some textbooks were difficult to use because the syllabus did not specify how much to cover in the textbook. The teachers said that in the case of one textbook, the textbook writer was asked to draft a proposed syllabus for it. They also said that the textbook writer and a team from the MoE went around conducting workshops in the regions for the teachers on that textbook because the teachers found it

unworkable yet it was already prescribed for teaching. The writer and the MoE attempted to salvage the situation by running the workshops. The textbook selection process seems a complete misnomer because textbooks are not selected by teachers and schools, but are prescribed by the MoE. In fact they are written on request. Hence, they cannot be rejected once they are written. To abolish the monopoly held by one publisher would allow good textbooks to be selected from a wider choice of books of several competing publishers. Competition among the publishers is more likely to ensure quality through a selection process.

8.2.7 There was insufficient and unequal exposure to English in the pupils' homes and extra-mural environments.

The home environments and extra-mural environments in the two schooling approaches were very different. According to the teachers, estimates of the pupils' exposure to English in the different homes, classrooms and extra-mural environments could not be standardised. External and environmental factors that contributed to the learning of an additional language such as English were predominantly unfavourable in some pupils' homes and extra-mural environments. This was partly a result of English not being the home language of many pupils and because of the differences in social and economic backgrounds of the pupils. There was a lack of a print-rich environment in the pupils' extra-curricular environment. Many teachers reported that pupils were not being exposed to listening, reading, speaking and writing English out of the school. The teachers reported that the pupils did not have role models of English speakers. Muller and Roberts (2000:22) observe that "parenting practices is the first and most important contextual resource". They add "middle class families with already substantial social and cultural capital will be the ones most likely to be able to afford the market-based education" (ibid.:24). Krashen (1993:42) also says that exposure to reading in homes is crucial to learning reading and writing in English. Reading at home is one of the factors that promote reading.

8.2.8 There was a particularly significant lack of exposure to English in Delayed English school environments.

In the DE school environments there was an acute shortage of reading materials. Role models of speakers of English, especially teachers, were not available in DE schools. There were many instances of code-switching in classrooms and its use was often unsystematic and *ad hoc*. Code-switching has both negative and positive effects. The main disadvantage is that the learners have nothing on which to model their own speech. Furthermore, learners who are solely dependent on their teachers do not have a good opportunity to learn to use English elsewhere. The DE teachers reported that pupils did not speak English to each other, so were never able to apply what they learnt in the classroom.

8.2.9 There was a lack of a correspondence between the Language-in-Education Policy and textbooks.

The textbooks that were provided by the MoE did not adequately articulate the LiEP. It seemed that the LiEP and the textbooks were not in synchrony with each other. The teachers stated that they often had to consult several other textbooks because they felt that the prescribed ones did not enable students to become proficient in English nor did they equip children with the necessary skills to learn effectively. They also said that although the new English textbooks used the communicative approach, they were inadequately trained to use this approach to teach pupils good English. Some teachers stressed the need to have grammar exercises in the textbooks because they believed that students need more practice in English. However, this claim is not necessarily the only problem that causes students' low proficiency in English. Students do not only need knowledge of grammar to know a language, but also to use and practise the language. Many teachers still think that grammar is the necessary element in language teaching because they were also taught through a system that emphasised grammar. Methods of second language teaching, such as the CLT approach advocated by applied linguists such as Widdowson (1991), Larsen-Freeman (1986, 1991), Richards and Rodgers (1986), Brumfit (1979) and others, are not understood by some teachers who prefer the older methods such as the Grammar Translation method. While it is true that the communicative approach has

certain limitations, teaching grammar is not an appropriate solution to the learners' language proficiency problem.

8.2.10 Most teachers had no conceptual knowledge, nor understanding of the psychological benefits of using SiSwati in education.

The literature review in Chapter 2 on Bilingual Education indicated that the benefits of using the pupils' home language in schooling were not understood by the opponents of Bilingual Education. It also showed that African languages were often not used in education because of the negative attitudes towards them and the lack of economic benefits associated with them (Bamgbose, 2000). The teachers' responses did not reflect an understanding of these benefits. Many teachers did not understand how SiSwati could be used as a language for teaching besides being used occasionally to explain or clarify difficult concepts. Reading and writing were taught using English because there were no good materials to teach reading and writing in SiSwati. In the CR Test students could not read and understand the instructions as expected because they were not proficient in English. Cummins' psycholinguistic theory of linguistic interdependence explains the difference between BICS and CALP and shows that learners who do not possess CALP struggle with a language if it is used as a MoI. In practice, the teachers used SiSwati and code-switching. Although English was used in some lessons, the learners did not improve in reading English. This observation is similar to that made by Williams (1996) in Malawi and Zambia in Year 5 classrooms (Cummins 2000:186).

8.2.11 Language teachers seemed to have been trained with a very strong bias towards English language teaching at the expense of using SiSwati as a language.

According to the Nine Year Programme of instruction for English in Swaziland (p. 2),

- English is the core subject area for both academic and vocational streams.
- Fluency in English enables students to perform better in all other subjects.
- English is the service language across the curriculum.

Teaching and learning in Swaziland English is based on a Subtractive model of Bilingual Education. However, schools often do not have sufficient facilities for teaching. On the basis of these statements teachers were obviously trained with a bias towards English.

Teachers are also not given the conceptual knowledge needed for developing competence in English and SiSwati because of the assumption that "fluency in English enables students to perform better in all other subjects" and the assumption that "the earlier English is introduced the better". These assumptions could be seen as fallacies because the medium of instruction issue is not the only problem that needs to be addressed in an education system. Policy makers, teachers and parents assume that if English is introduced early, or it is used as the MoI, pupils will do better than if SiSwati is used. Tollefson (1991), Dutcher (1995), Obanya (1999) Bamgbose (2000) and Clayton (1999) say these assumptions result in the exclusion of the majority from participating fully in the national resources and thus their education perpetuates inequality. Psycholinguists, for example, Cummins (1996, 2000), Luckett (1992) and Baker (1996), suggest that Additive Bilingualism may alleviate this problem.

8.2.12 There was an unconditional acceptance among parents of English and its symbolic domination in education. They believed that English was a better language than SiSwati for the provision of quality education.

In Swaziland the language prized in education is English. Some parents acknowledged that in Swaziland, through years and years of indoctrination, many people have come to accept that English is the language through which quality education can be provided. One of the reasons why many people, especially parents, believe that English is better is that it is also regarded as "symbolic capital". There is a lot of prestige or honour associated with using English, so that it serves as cultural capital and "thus certain educational qualifications can be cashed in for lucrative jobs" (Bourdieu, 1991:14). Bourdieu's work emphasises that children from disadvantaged groups, with a "habitus" incompatible with that presupposed in the school, and children of the socio-economic elite do not compete from equal starting points, thus social stratification is reproduced. The study has shown Swaziland as an example of "symbolic violence", whereby many parents insist that English medium schools are equal to quality education. The MoE seems to affirm the parents' observation by not providing equity in education. Parents continue to fight for places for their children in English medium schools despite the fact that their children do not understand English. One of the parents said they were "all labouring under the misconception that English is better". Lin (1999) says parents "have steadfastly accepted the symbolic representation that English medium is equal to good schools". According to

Phillipson (1992) and Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) “linguicism” is another explanation for domination through language. The existence of two approaches in one system perpetuates inequality and the retention of the *status quo*.

8.3 Recommendations to the Ministry of Education

I propose the following recommendations:

8.3.1 That the MoE should adopt an Additive Bilingual approach to its Language in-Education policy and its classroom implementation as a strategy to ensure the learning of English and maintenance of SiSwati as languages needed in the education of a Swazi child. To achieve this end, the MoE should design an explicit Language-in-Education Policy that does not limit the provision of education for all.

Based on the research conducted in this study and the results obtained about pupils’ proficiency in English, Additive Bilingualism can best serve the needs of pupils and teachers in most primary schools in Swaziland. English should continue to be taught as a subject until Grade 4, the reason being that in these grades only the basics of communication in English are still being taught using the CLT approach, which involves students using English in communicative learning contexts. I suggest that when the children are reasonably fluent in English, they should begin using English as a MoI from Grade 5. Additive Bilingualism is more likely to promote better learning on the basis of two language value systems, one from the L1 and another from the L2. This learning approach would ensure that learning English is built on a firm foundation provided by the MT. In order to facilitate this suggestion, the MoE needs to design an unambiguous LiEP which allows learners to use their L1 as a resource and as a springboard towards learning other languages. The strategy to achieve Additive Bilingualism is explained in section 8.3.6 below.

8.3.2 That the publisher currently granted the rights to publish school textbooks and teaching materials invites teachers in schools who have the necessary experience in teaching in primary schools to work with the NCC staff on writing learning materials and textbooks.

The findings in Chapter 7 indicated that some school textbooks were ineffective because they did not meet the requirements of the LiEP and curriculum. Currently, textbooks and materials are developed at the NCC by educators who are not necessarily trained in materials development and who may not even be primary school teachers. In my view, if classroom teachers work with the NCC curriculum developers in compiling and writing up learning materials, they can incorporate the best materials that will increase the efficacy of those textbooks in teaching.

8.3.3 That the MoE permits other publishers to publish textbooks in competition with the present sole publisher/provider of textbooks, because the existing monopoly in the textbook publishing industry in Swaziland seriously compromises good quality education.

The teachers in this study noted that if other textbook publishers were allowed to publish and supply school textbooks in Swaziland, there might be competition among them to provide very good textbooks. The present system, whereby only one publisher has the right to supply school textbooks, totally compromises quality in the provision of school textbooks. It is recommended that the MoE urgently revisits this policy and considers whether or not it should be revoked. If one publisher is the sole supplier of textbooks, unethical practices are unavoidable. A system by which textbooks are written on the basis of a given curriculum framework independently formed without publishers' involvement, is necessary so that textbooks meet the criteria of selection (as opposed to the present system of writing textbooks on request). These textbooks automatically end up in the schools' prescription lists. The system of providing textbooks should not be centralised, because relying exclusively on one publisher perpetuates too much control by the MoE. Currently, the MoE through the NCC is the judge and the jury at the same time, hence quality cannot be assured. Instead, the MoE should allow other publishers to participate in developing school textbooks and also provide money for buying textbooks that have

been written and published by competent publishers that meet the criteria of selection that ensures quality.

8.3.4 That the INSET Department of the MoE prioritises teaching and learning materials development as a crucial part of in-service training for teachers and ensures that funds are available for this training.

One of the problems identified by the Curriculum Developers was that teachers could not design or improvise teaching materials. Although in the colleges of education teacher-trainees are taught how to design and use their own teaching/learning aids, their training seems to be insufficient. This study showed that teachers using the two teaching approaches had different perceptions about the materials produced at the NCC. Teachers in EE schools had better opportunities to select and identify better resources outside the prescribed list of the MoE. In the light of this situation, the MoE should provide the teachers with the necessary skills for materials development and use through in-service training programmes.

8.3.5 That the MoE ensures that the implementation of the curriculum and values of the society can be attained through an unambiguous universal education approach that does not discriminate against certain sectors of the society, such as discriminating against the poor and giving an advantage to the rich.

Although a similar curriculum was used in all schools in the study, there were two teaching approaches used in various schools. The existence of the two teaching approaches created a division in the Swazi society and produced learners who succeed and those who do not succeed in education because of the different levels from which they all begin. Education in countries such as Swaziland is an important determinant of access to jobs and better living. This was evident in the types of schools that parents said they chose for their children. The government has a responsibility to its citizens to design a suitable curriculum through the MoE. The CR Test and the examination system seemed to give an advantage to students taught using the EE approach. Even though this seemed to be the case, the majority of learners were unable to achieve the required levels of proficiency in English because of the learning conditions in their schools and outside their schools.

8.3.6 That the MoE designs a strategy to implement Additive Bilingualism and considers the following points:

Although Additive Bilingualism looks like a lofty ideal, it has great potential and long-term benefits for learners who are not MT speakers of English, the language used in education. When the costs of using Additive Bilingualism are weighed against the costs of not using it, there are more benefits, provided that there is political will and preparedness to invest in the initial stages of the programme. In the Swaziland Education system the costs of Additive Bilingualism are perceived as follows:

- That the provision of learning materials and textbooks in SiSwati and English and the ensuring that teachers are fluent in English and SiSwati are expensive.
- That providing in-service training for teachers of how to teach systematically using SiSwati and English is also expensive.

An analysis of the costs of Additive Bilingualism shows that the cost of not doing it will drastically drop production and literacy levels in English and SiSwati. The potential benefits of having Additive Bilingualism are as follows:

- It will raise learners' proficiency levels in the two languages.
- There will be greater use of SiSwati in education.
- New terminologies and written texts will be available in both languages (SiSwati and English).
- It will change the mindset that monolingual education is the best.
- Additive Bilingualism is good for a person's cultural identity and the development of positive attitudes towards SiSwati.
- It will increase the quality of education and improve opportunities for employment.

When benefits of Additive Bilingualism are weighed against its costs, it is feasible to implement the programme in Grades 1 to 4 from the country's existing economy. There is evidence that suggests that Swaziland is not a poor country, given the analysis of its economy. Swaziland has a population of about 1 million. According to the Central Bank's Annual Report for the Financial Year 2000-2001, Swaziland's gross income was

\$448 million. Expenditure was 506.9 million including capital expenditure of \$147 million. The real growth rate estimated in 2001 was 2.5%. According to media reports in August 2003, Swaziland spent E94 million on a 3 day expensive Smart Partnership International Dialogue Conference held in the tiny Kingdom. In September 2003 the country afforded to send a huge delegation of 40 members to the 3rd International Conference on African Development in Japan, costing the government over E3 million for only 5 days. A few months ago Parliament dismissed the government's intention to spend E270 million on buying the Kings' private jet. Other royal expenditures reported in the newspapers indicate that Swaziland is not a poor country. These expenditures show that Swaziland can afford Additive Bilingualism if the resources are carefully distributed in view of the country's political, social, and educational needs.

8.4 Recommendations for further research

Recommendations for further research are:

- That an independent body should conduct an in-depth study to investigate implications of the textbook monopoly and its impact on the education of children in Swaziland.
- That the sample used in the study was limited to 20 schools in two groups of schools. Therefore, a more widely based study to validate these findings is recommended.
- That longitudinal studies be conducted to follow these primary school children into high school to assess the impact of the two approaches on their entire careers so that more concrete conclusions can be made.
- That studies on the development and status of SiSwati should be undertaken. The development of SiSwati should be prioritised and the development of SiSwati teaching and learning materials should be undertaken in order to facilitate using SiSwati in education.
- That classroom-based research should be conducted to investigate the benefits of the use of SiSwati in education and its possible effects on the learning of both SiSwati and English.

8.5 A critical reflection on the research methodology adopted for this study

The research methodology adopted for this study was discussed in detail in Chapter 3, namely a qualitative ethnographic case study research involving 20 Grade 1 teachers based on classroom observations, a CR language proficiency test, teachers' and parents' interviews and a beliefs and attitudes questionnaire. The approach adopted in this research can be summarised as follows:

- The rationale and research problem were presented and gave rise to the four research questions that were asked in the study. Data were collected using different instruments in order to answer the main research questions.
- Data were collected in two phases. The first phase was focused on the twenty Grade 1 classrooms and their teachers. The second phase comprised follow-up interviews on matters arising from the first phase of data collection. In the second phase teachers' views on the role of textbooks were elicited and parents were interviewed on why they preferred to send their children to English medium schools.
- The teachers' beliefs, attitudes, opinions, perceptions and views were elicited through interviews and a questionnaire. Discussions and interviews were also held with the NCC curriculum developers. Face-to-face and group interviews were conducted with teachers and parents.
- Classroom observations were made for three months before conducting the CR Test.
- Data were coded and analysed using qualitative methods, namely the analysis of speech utterances, and putting them into categories using the Halliday's social semiotic model and the Gumperz approach to analysing code-switching.

Given the nature of data required in this study, the selected approach proved very successful in gaining an insight into classrooms in Swaziland and in providing data to answer the research questions. Although ethnography has certain limitations, it allows one to conduct an in-depth study of the kinds of discourses and interactions that often occur in classrooms.

There were several shortcomings with the adopted approach, such as:

- When I started the research I had hoped to compare the DE and EE approaches in order to identify which approach offers better learning opportunities. I then realised that it was going to be impossible to do a fair comparison of the two approaches because the variables inherent in successful language learning could not be standardised across these two approaches. The variables in the schools were different considering the quality of teachers, teaching materials and textbooks, different levels of exposure to English and the socio-economic conditions of the learners. This problem has been acknowledged in Chapter 1. I then substituted the comparison with a case study research.
- It would also have been useful to get the views of learners but because of their age and the grade in which the study was conducted, it was not possible to conduct any reasonable investigation and interviews with learners of their age. All that was possible was to look through their exercise books, observe how they participated in class and look through their answers to the test. Opinions about pupils were informed by the teachers' estimates, and inferences were made from the teachers' responses.
- Administering the CR Test was also very challenging, given the age of the learners and their proficiency in English. Despite these difficulties the data from parents and teachers gave a reasonable picture of teaching and learning in rural and urban classrooms in Swaziland. Since ethnography requires longer interactions with the participants, my previous experience as a lecturer in a teacher training college in Swaziland also contributed to my familiarity with the context and sometimes reflected my own subjectivity. The time taken to do the study was the three years of my PhD registration.

8.6 Contribution to knowledge

- The innovativeness of this thesis lies in my analysing and highlighting the fact that the two approaches operating in the Swaziland Education system are not comparable and therefore cannot be expected to yield equitable results. In fact they are a result of an implicit confusion in the LiEP. The study maps previously uncharted territory wherein no empirical study has been conducted to determine the impact that the two approaches have and the wider educational implications of this situation on the

Swaziland Education system. This study recommends that educational reform be carried out whereby the LiEP is made explicit and an implementation plan provided in order to ensure uniformity and that differing interpretations are not made. Having revealed that the MoE favours the Early English approach, this study recommends that this must be clearly articulated by the policy, and suitable textbooks, materials and teacher training programmes be provided which are congruent with the selected approach on the basis of theory, research and availability of resources. The study recommends the adoption of an Additive Bilingualism approach, in order to provide access to English by providing a firm foundation in SiSwati.

- This study highlights the fact that the present LiEP is too implicit and undocumented. Hence, it is inaccessible to teachers and schools. This implicitness leads to different approaches and various interpretations of that policy in urban and rural schools. It also creates the existence of different approaches within a major system. The standard CR Testing and SPC examination perpetuate disadvantages, entrench inequality in the school system and create a subtle form of apartheid/discrimination on social class and economic grounds. Most parents who can afford the costs of private education and English medium schools choose the EE route whilst poor parents who cannot afford it are discriminated against.
- My research gives a sharp focus on the need to emphasise that a good education system should not allow any inequalities. It seems obvious that the MoE wants an EE system, yet the policy is ambiguous. This works against equality in implementing that policy. Ambiguity, fluctuation and arbitrariness seem unavoidable at the classroom and textbook levels. Consequently, it is strongly recommended that the MoE ensures that the LiEP be developed explicitly, stating that everybody should have equal access to English throughout the schooling system. The MoE should also provide finances for the independent production of textbooks by competent writers in order to support and show commitment to that policy. The study provides empirical evidence demonstrating the weaknesses inherent in letting the NCC simultaneously develop textbooks and the curriculum through a monopolistic textbook publishing policy. The research has further shown that the monopolistic textbook supply has detrimental effects on good language teaching and learning.

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APPENDICES

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Appendix 1

Swaziland Grade One English Test

Term Two

Your Name _____

Your School _____

Today's Date: _____

This test was developed for the Swaziland Ministry of Education's Continuous Assessments (CA) Programme by the CA unit based at the National Curriculum Center. Funding was provided by the Ministry of Education, Mbabane Swaziland.

tomato

book



orange

ball

2.

lion

cow

goat

dog



1.

zebra

lion

cat

horse



3.

5.

girl

father

mother

boy



4.

dot

cup

cat

pot



University of Cape Town



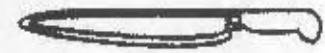
happy



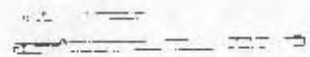
sad



angry



10.



11.



Grade 1 English Test
Lara Tveit

Grade 1 English Test
Lara Tveit

4



on
next to
under

12. The bottles and books are _____ the table.
 13. The ball is _____ the table.
 14. The dog is _____ the table.



- A. They are drinking
 B. They are walking
 C. They are eating



- A. The boys are eating
 B. The boys are playing
 C. The boys are singing



- A. It is sleeping
 B. It is drinking
 C. It is eating



- A. She is playing
 B. She is eating
 C. She is reading

18.



- A. He is reading
- B. He is sitting
- C. He is sleeping

20.



The boys are _____

21.



The cow is _____ grass.

19.



She is _____

19.



The man is _____ a car.

Unit 1 English Test
Page 2

Unit 1 English Test
Page 2

Appendix 2

SWAZILAND GRADE 1 ENGLISH TEST

TERM TWO-

TEACHER'S INSTRUCTIONS

This is an achievement test being developed by the National curriculum Centre with funding provided by the Ministry of Education, Mbabane Swaziland

General Instructions

The instructions below in bold should be read to students. Feel free to clarify the Instructions whenever students seem lost. You will give instructions for each item in every level since these are beginning students.

Prior to distributing the test booklets, please:

1. Print each student's name school and date of testing on their test booklets.
2. Read through this teacher instructions manual and the test booklet to be sure you are familiar with them.
3. Make sure you have all the required materials that are needed to administer the test.

The letter (P) stands for a practice question, i.e., the first question that you do together with the students.

Give each student his/her test booklet and make sure that they all have pencils. Ask students if they can read their names on the covers of the test booklets.

Specific instructions

Turn to the first page of your test booklet. In this part of the test I will see how well you can find the name of each picture. You will do this by making a circle around the word that names the picture.

P. Look at the letter P. Now look at the picture next to P. Find the word that names the picture. Make a circle around that word. The picture shows a cat. Have you all circled the word cat? Ok.

Go around checking whether students have done the right thing then say:

1. **Let us all look at the number 1. Now look at the picture next to number 1. Look at the four words below the picture. Which word names the picture? Make a circle around that word.**

Pause to allow pupils to circle their answers. Then say:

2. **Now look at number 2. look at the picture next to number 2. Look at the four words below the picture. Which word names the picture? Make a circle around that word.**

Pause to allow pupils to circle their answers. Then say:

3. **Turn to page 3 of your test booklets. Do you see the next to number 3. Ok I want you to look at the four words below the picture. Which word names the picture? Make a circle around that word.**

Pause to allow pupils to circle their answers. Then say:

4. **Now look at number 4. Do you see the picture next to number 4? Look at the four words below the picture. Which word names the picture? Make a circle around that word.**

Pause to allow pupils to circle their answers. Then say:

5. Let us look at number 5. Look at the picture next to number 5. Then look at the four words below the picture. Which word names the picture? Make a circle around that word.

Pause to allow students to circle their answers. Then say: (for questions 6 to 8)

6-8. Turn to page 4 of your test book lets. In this part of the test you will tell about the faces that you see. There are three faces here. Below the faces there are three words that tell about the faces. Draw a line from the word to the correct face.

Pause to allow students to draw their lines. Then say:

P. Turn to page 5. Now, look at the letter P. Next to this letter are two knives. The knives are not the same. I want you to tick the knife that is bigger. Have you done that? Ok.

Check whether they have ticked the correct answer. Then say:

9. Look at the two cups. They are not the same. Tick the cup that is smaller.

Pause to allow students to tick their answers. Then say:

10. Look at the two sticks. They are not the same. Tick the stick that is longer. Pause to allow the students to tick their answers. Then say:

Pause to allow students to tick their answers. Then say:

11. Now look at the two trees. They are not the same. Tick the tree that is taller.

Pause to allow the students to tick their answers. Then say:

12-14. Turn to page 6 of your booklets. Now, I want you to look at the table. Do you see the table and the other objects around it? Ok. Look at the three words near the table. The words are On, next to and under. Below the picture are three sentences that are not full. Make them full by writing the correct word you choose from the three words near the picture.

Pause to allow the students to write their answers. Then say:

P. Now, turn to page 7 of your test booklets. In this part of the test, you will choose the correct sentence that tells about each picture. Let us do the first one together. Look at the letter P. Do you see the picture next to P? What are the cows doing in this picture? Ok. They are eating. Now let us all make a circle around the letter next to the correct sentence. So have you all circled C? Ok.

Check whether the students have circled C. Then say:

15. Now look at the next picture. What are the boys doing? Circle the letter next to the sentence that tells what the boys are doing.

Pause to allow the students to circle their answers. Then say:

16. Now look at the dog. What is the dog doing? Circle the letter next to the sentence that tells about the picture.

Pause to allow the students to circle their answers. Then say:

17. Now, look at the picture of the girl. What is the girl doing? Circle the letter next to the sentence that tells about the picture.

Pause to allow the students to circle their answers. Then say:

18. Now, turn to the next page of your test booklet. Look at the picture. What is the cat doing? Circle the letter next to the sentence that tells about the cat.

Pause to allow the students to circle their answers. Then say:

P. Now, let us all look at the letter P. Next to the letter is a picture of a girl. Below the picture is an incomplete sentence. We will look at the picture and find a word that tells what the girl is doing in the picture. What is the girl doing? Ok. She is cooking. Write the word on the line.

Check the students' answers. Then say:

19. Look at the next picture. The picture shows a man. Find a word that tells what the man is doing. Write the word to complete the sentence.

Pause to allow students to write their answers. Then say:

20. Turn to the next page. Look at the picture of the two boys. Find a word that tells what the boys are doing. Write the word on the line.

Pause to allow students to write their answers. Then say:

21. Now, look at the picture of the cow. Find a word that tells what the cow is doing. Write the word on the line.

Pause to allow students to write their answers. Then say:

You have now finished this part of the test. I will collect our booklets.

SCORING

Level A Test Items

1. cow
2. ball
3. pot
4. mother
5. kraal

Level B Test Items

6. angry
7. happy
8. sad

Level C Test Items

- P. The knife that is bigger
9. The cup is smaller
 10. The stick is longer
 11. The tree is taller

Level D Test Items

12. on 13. under 14. next to

Level E Test Items

- P. They are eating.
15. The boys are playing.
 16. It is drinking.
 17. She is reading. 18. It is sleeping.

Level F Test Items

- P. She is cooking.
19. The man is driving a car.
 20. The boys are playing.
 21. The cow is eating grass.

DECISIONS

Test Items	Masters M	Borderline B	Non-masters NM
Level A	4-5	3	0-2
Level B	3	2	0-1
Level C	3	2	0-1
Level D	3	2	0-1
Level E	3-4	2	0-1
Level F	4-5	3	0-2

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Appendix 3

Parents' Interview Questions

Kindly answer the following questions. You are welcome to answer the questions in English or SiSwati.

1. What are the most important qualities that you look for in your children's education?
2. How would you define 'good quality' education?
3. Are there other qualities that you consider to be necessary in a school attended by your children?
4. If you had a choice, would you prefer your children to attend English medium only or SiSwati and English schools? Please explain in each case.
5. Do you believe that English is the best language for giving your children the best education?
Yes no uncertain Please elaborate.
6. Why do you think some parents send their children to English medium schools?
7. Why do you think some teachers in public schools send their children to English medium schools?
8. In your opinion, are English medium schools offer better schooling than SiSwati and English?
9. In what ways do English medium schools differ from other government schools regarding:
 - a) quality and training of teachers
 - b) textbooks and teaching resources
 - c) teaching and learning approaches
 - d) extramural activities
 - e) medium of instruction
 - f) discipline
 - g) parental involvement
 - h) income level/s of parents
9. What do you as a parent regard as strengths and weaknesses of English medium schools?
10. What are your perceptions of how English medium schools function?
11. English medium schools are sometimes described as "culturally diverse." Is this diversity an important part requirement for quality education?
12. How do English medium schools extend learning from school to the children's homes compared with the schools which use SiSwati and English as media of instruction?
13. Some children who pass well in English medium primary schools do not succeed in secondary schools. In your opinion what causes this problem?
14. In what ways do you think English medium schools prepare children for education compared with the SiSwati and English medium schools?
15. Some children who attend SiSwati and English medium schools succeed very well. In your opinion, what advantages do they have?
16. What other qualities are the majority of parents who send their children to English medium schools looking for?
17. In your opinion, which schools offer better schooling? English medium schools or English and SiSwati schools?
18. Which schools do you think parents prefer? English medium schools or English and SiSwati schools?
19. Why do you believe parents prefer English medium schools or SiSwati and English schools?
20. Please give your answer to Question 20.
21. a) Do you think teachers of English medium schools are better teachers than those in English and SiSwati schools? Yes No
b) Do you think teachers in SiSwati and English schools are better teachers than those in English medium schools? Yes No
22. Give reasons for your answer to 22 (a) and (b).

Appendix 4

SiSwati and English language teachers' text book evaluation interview questions

1. How do students get textbooks in your school?
2. Who decides on what textbooks are to be taught or bought? Is it
i) Teachers or ii) The Ministry of Education?
3. In your opinion, is this system working efficiently? Please explain your answer.
4. Do the textbooks meet the expectations of the curriculum? Please explain your answer.
5. In your opinion, do the textbooks promote good language education in
a) SiSwati and b) English? Please explain your answer.
6. Would you prefer other publishers to supply your school textbooks? Explain your answer.
7. In your opinion, what would be the situation if you had more than one textbook publisher?
8. Does the textbook supply system used at present promote good language education /teaching?
Please explain your answer.
9. Do you use any additional books to the main textbooks for language teaching in
SiSwati and English?
10. How do you find the new language textbooks compared to the ones that you used before in a)
SiSwati and b) English?
11. Are the language textbooks teaching the children life skills (e.g. critical thinking, problem solving
and analytical thinking.) Please explain your answer.
12. Do teachers find it easy or difficult to teach critical literacy/ critical thinking, problem solving and
analytical thinking?
13. Do the textbooks you use reproduce and transmit values of society. Please refer to
a) SiSwati and b) English language/literature textbooks.
14. What are the social values transmitted by the textbooks you are using?
15. Do the teachers and students find these values easily accessible in the textbook?
16. In your opinion how would you compare the books used before with the ones presently used? Are
they the same, better or worse? Please explain your answer.
17. Do the SiSwati textbooks stretch the pupils' imagination enough to include cognitive
development, emotional and social understanding? Please explain your answer.
18. Do the English textbooks stretch the pupils' imagination enough to include cognitive
development, emotional and social understanding? Please explain your answer.

Appendix 5

Teachers' Questionnaire

Kindly answer the following questions about your own practices used for teaching in Grade 1. In answering questions please choose one answer and circle the number that marks your answer to each question. Please give as much detail as you can where you are requested.

1. In which of the following areas is your school located? (Circle the number that marks your answer).

- 1.1 Urban area (City or town)
- 1.2 Rural area (in a remote area out of town or a city)
- 1.3 Semi-urban (outside the or town)

2. What is/ are the language or languages spoken by pupils in your school in the classroom:

i) when pupils speak to the teacher?

- 2.1 English only.
- 2.2 SiSwati only.
- 2.3 English and SiSwati.

ii) when they speak to each other?

- 2.4 English only.
- 2.5 SiSwati only.
- 2.6 English and SiSwati.

3: What languages or languages do pupils use in class most of the time? (i.e. more than 50%)?

- 3.1 English only.
- 3.2 SiSwati only.
- 3.3 English and SiSwati.

3.4 How much of the time in a day is SiSwati spoken by learners in your class?.....%

3.5 How much of the time in a day is English. Spoken by learners in your class?.....%

4: What language or languages do you use in class most of the time? (i.e. more than 50%)?

- 4.1 English only.
- 4.2 SiSwati only.
- 4.3 English and SiSwati.
- 4.4 How much of the time in a day do you use SiSwati
- 4.5 How much of the time in a day do you use English.

5. What language or languages do you use when teaching Grade 1 learners reading and writing? (Circle the number that marks your answer)

- 5.1 English only.
- 5.2 SiSwati only.
- 5.3 English and SiSwati.
- 5.4 Please explain why you use this/these languages.

.....
.....

6. Do you think that pupils should be encouraged to use the mother tongue (MT) in Grade 1 in learning reading and writing? (Circle the number that marks your answer.)

- 6.1 Agree
- 6.2 Disagree

6.3 Please explain your answer.

.....
.....

7. Pupils would achieve high grades in the curriculum in primary and secondary school if they were taught in English as a language of instruction from the start. Do you agree or disagree? (Circle the number that marks your answer.)

7.1 Agree

7.2 Disagree

7.3 Please explain your answer.

.....
.....

8. Which language or languages do you prefer when teaching language work in grade 1.

8.1 English only.

8.2 SiSwati only.

8.3 English and SiSwati.

8.4 Please explain why you prefer using this/these languages.

.....
.....

9. Are there opportunities for using the MT for teaching language work in Grade 1 (Circle the number that marks your answer.)

9.1 Yes

9.2 No

9.3 Please explain how you use these opportunities.

.....
.....

10. Are there opportunities to use the children's MT in teaching Science and Maths in Grade 1?(Circle the number that marks your answer.)

10.1 Yes

10.2 No

10.3 Please explain how you use these opportunities.

.....
.....

11. How fluent are your pupils in speaking the language(s) used in your class, given the following descriptions: (Circle one letter that marks your answer)?

A Very Fluent Speak more than one sentence without assistance.

B Fluent Speak a phrase without assistance.

C Weakly Fluent Speak individual words and phrases with assistance.

D Not Fluent at all Cannot say a word at all without assistance.

11.1 in English?

A Very Fluent B Fluent C Weakly Fluent D Not Fluent at all

11.2 in SiSwati?

A Very Fluent B Fluent C Weakly Fluent D Not Fluent at all

Question 12. How fluent are your pupils in reading the language(s) used in your class?
(Circle one letter that marks your answer)?

- A Very Fluent Read phrases and simple sentences correctly.
- B Fluent Read some individual words correctly.
- C Weakly Fluent Sometimes read words but not always.
- D Not Fluent at all Cannot read at all.

11.1 in English?

A Very Fluent B Fluent C Weakly Fluent D Not Fluent at all

11.2 in SiSwati?

A Very Fluent B Fluent C Weakly Fluent D Not Fluent at all

Question 13. How fluent are your pupils in writing the language(s) used in your class?
(Circle one letter that marks your answer)?

- A Very Fluent Can copy words correctly.
- B Fluent Can copy some words correctly and others incorrectly.
- C Weakly Fluent Write illegibly
- D Not Fluent at all Cannot at all

13.1 in English?

A Very Fluent B Fluent C Weakly Fluent D Not Fluent at all

13.2 in SiSwati?

A Very Fluent B Fluent C Weakly Fluent D Not Fluent at all

14.1 How often do you give instructions or tasks in English to pupils about language work that they need to do? (Circle one letter that marks your answer).

- A. All the time (75% and above)
- B. Part of the time (50%)
- C. Sometimes (25%)
- D. None of the time/ I have to repeat in SiSwati.

14.2: When you give instructions in English do your pupils follow easily? (Circle one letter that marks your answer)?

- A. All the time (75% and above)
- B. Part of the time (50%)
- C. Sometimes (25%)
- D. None of the time/ I have to repeat in SiSwati.

14.3: How often do you give explanations in English about work they should do? (Circle one letter that marks your answer)?

- A. All the time (75% and above)
- B. Part of the time (50%)
- C. Sometimes (25%)
- D. None of the time/ I have to repeat in SiSwati.

14.4: How much of the time in a day do teachers translate from English into SiSwati when they teach Grade 1 classes? (Circle one letter that marks your answer)

- A. All the time (75% and above)
- B. Part of the time (50%)
- C. Sometimes (25%)
- D. None of the time/ I have to repeat in SiSwati.

Question 15: Do you think it is useful to encourage using two languages in Grade 1? (Circle one letter that marks your answer)

- 15.1 Yes
- 15.2 No
- 15.3 Uncertain

15.4 Explain your answer to 15.

15.5 I you agree please explain how you do that.

.....
.....

16. Do you give written work in English? (Circle one letter that marks your answer)

16.1 Yes

16.2 No

16.3 How often is it given? (Circle one letter that marks your answer)

A All the time (over 75%)

B Part of the time (50%)

C Sometimes (25%)

D Not at all (0%)

17.1 How much time in a day do you use SiSwati and English? (Circle one letter that marks your answer)

A Always (over 75%)

B Most of the time (50-74%)

C Sometimes (Less than 50%)

D Never (0%)

17.2 What change would you like to make with regard to that?

.....
.....

18. What is your opinion about how much Grade 1 pupils read SiSwati outside school? (Circle one letter that marks your answer)

A A lot (Above 75%)

B Some (50%)

C Very little (25%)

D None (0%)

Question 19: What is your opinion about how much Grade 1 pupils read English outside school? (Circle one letter that marks your answer)

A A lot (Above 75%)

B Some (50%)

C Very little (25%)

D None (0%)

Question 20.1: How much do pupils speak English inside the classroom? (Circle one letter that marks your answer)

A A lot (Above 75%)

B Some (50%)

C Very little (25%)

D None (0%)

Question 20.2: How much do pupils speak English outside the classroom? (Circle one letter that marks your answer)

A A lot (Above 75%)

B Some (50%)

C Very little (25%)

D None (0%)

21. How much do you think pupils use English for the following?: (Circle one letter that marks your answer)

22.1 speaking to the teacher?

A- A lot

B- Sometimes

C- Seldom

D- Never

22.2 speaking to each other?

A- A lot

B- Sometimes

C- Seldom

D- Never

22.3 writing

A- A lot

B- Sometimes

C- Seldom

D- Never

22.4 reading

A- A lot

B- Sometimes

C- Seldom

D- Never

23. In your opinion how much are pupils exposed to English in class? (Circle one letter that marks your answer)

- | | | | | |
|----------------|----------|--------------|-----------|----------|
| 23.1 listening | A- A lot | B- Sometimes | C- Seldom | D- Never |
| 23.2 speaking | A- A lot | B- Sometimes | C- Seldom | D- Never |
| 23.3 writing | A- A lot | B- Sometimes | C- Seldom | D- Never |
| 23.4 reading | A- A lot | B- Sometimes | C- Seldom | D- Never |

24. In your opinion how much are pupils exposed to English in their homes? (Circle one letter that marks your answer)

- | | | | | |
|----------------|----------|--------------|-----------|----------|
| 24.1 listening | A- Often | B- Sometimes | C- Seldom | D- Never |
| 24.2 speaking | A- Often | B- Sometimes | C- Seldom | D- Never |
| 24.3 writing | A- Often | B- Sometimes | C- Seldom | D- Never |
| 24.4 reading | A- Often | B- Sometimes | C- Seldom | D- Never |

25. In your opinion how much are pupils exposed to English in the extra mural environment? (Circle one letter that marks your answer)

- | | | | | |
|----------------|----------|--------------|-----------|----------|
| 25.1 listening | A- Often | B- Sometimes | C- Seldom | D- Never |
| 25.2 speaking | A- Often | B- Sometimes | C- Seldom | D- Never |
| 25.3 writing | A- Often | B- Sometimes | C- Seldom | D- Never |
| 25.4 reading | A- Often | B- Sometimes | C- Seldom | D- Never |

26.1 What curriculum materials (e.g. readers, and/or textbooks) exists for Grade 1 pupils in your school for learning SiSwati?

.....
.....

26.2 What curriculum materials (e.g. readers, and/or textbooks) exists for you as a Grade 1 teacher in your school for teaching SiSwati?

26.3 What curriculum materials (e.g. readers, and/or textbooks) exists for Grade 1 pupils in your school for learning English?

.....
.....

26.4 What curriculum materials (e.g. readers, and/or textbooks) exists for you as a Grade 1 teacher in your school for teaching English?

.....
.....

Question 26: Does your teaching style differ when you use English and when you use SiSwati?

.....
.....

27. Reading materials for Grade 1 should be available in SiSwati. Do you agree or disagree? (Circle the number that marks your answer.)

27.1 Agree

27.2 Disagree

27.3 Explain your answer to 27.

.....
.....

28.1 How can learners be assisted in learning reading?

.....
.....

28.2 How can learners be assisted in learning writing?
.....
.....

29. Do your pupils understand subject matter better when you use English or when you use SiSwati?
(Circle the number that marks your answer.)

- 29.1 Yes
- 29.2 No
- 29.3 Uncertain

Explain your answer to 29.
.....
.....

30. English is a better language for expressing certain concepts e.g. Maths or Science. Do you agree or disagree? (Circle the number that marks your answer.)

- 30.1 Agree
- 30.2 Disagree

30.4 Explain your answer to 30.
.....
.....

31. Some subjects are better taught in English and some are better taught in English. Do you agree or disagree? (Circle the number that marks your answer.)

- 31.1 Agree
- 31.2 Disagree

31.3 Explain your answer to 30.
.....
.....

32: Which language/languages should pupils use to answer a question that needs a short answer? (Circle the number that marks your answer.)

- 32.1 English
- 32.2 SiSwati
- 32.3 SiSwati and English.

32.4 Please explain your answer to 32.
.....
.....

33: Which language/s should pupils use to answer a question that needs a long answer? (Circle the number that marks your answer.)

- 33.1 Agree
- 33.2 Disagree

33.3 Explain your answer to 33.
.....
.....

Question 34: What language or languages do you use when you want to give information to your pupils in Grade 1? (Circle the number that marks your answer.)

i) instructional information

- 34.1 English
- 34.2 SiSwati
- 34.3 SiSwati and English.

ii) announcements

- 34.4 English
- 34.5 SiSwati
- 34.6 SiSwati and English.

iii) clarifying difficult concepts and ideas

34.7 English

34.8 SiSwati

34.9 SiSwati and English.

34.10 Please explain your answer to 34.

.....
.....

35. Which language/ languages do you predominantly use for classroom management and discipline in Grade 1? (Circle the number that marks your answer.)

35.1 English

35.2 SiSwati

35.3 SiSwati and English.

35.4 Please explain your answer to 35.

.....
.....

36. From your teaching experience, how do children perform academically when they are taught in SiSwati in their first year of schooling? (Circle the number that marks your answer.)

Children taught through SiSwati perform

36.1 Excellently

36.2 Very well

36.3 Average

36.4 Below average

36.5 Very poorly

36.6 Please explain your answer to 36.

.....
.....

37. From your teaching experience, how do children perform academically when they are taught in English in their first year of schooling? (Circle the number that marks your answer.)

Children taught through English perform

37.1 Excellently

37.2 Very well

37.3 Average

37.4 Below average

37.5 Very poorly

37.6 Please explain your answer to 37.

.....
.....

Part B

38. In which category are your qualifications? (Circle the number that marks your answer.)

38.1 Primary Teachers' Certificate.

38.2 Primary Teachers' Diploma

38.3 Bachelor of Education (Primary)

38.4 Other

Please specify.....

39. How long have you taught in Grade 1 classes (including other schools)?

39.1 Over 20 years

39.2 Between 15 and 19 years

39.3 Between 10 and 14 years

39.4 Between 6 and 9 years

39.5 Less than 5 years.

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Appendix 6

Pupils' Performance on Level A Questions

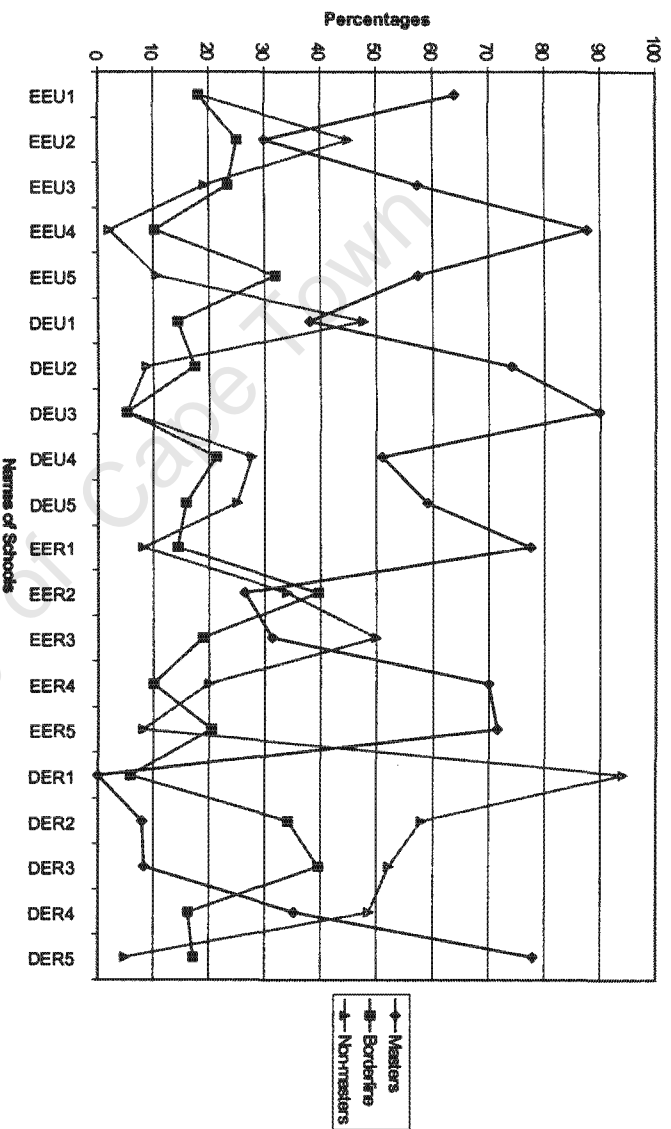


Figure 1.

Figure 2

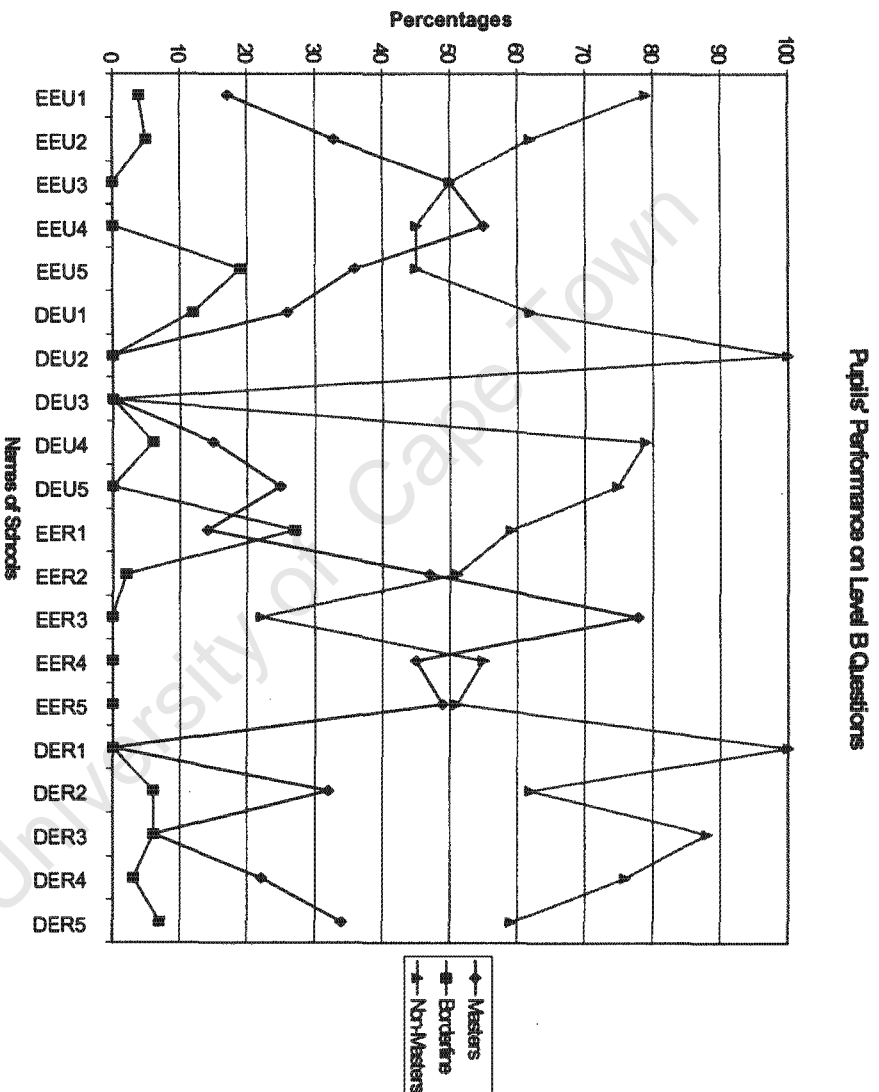


Figure 3

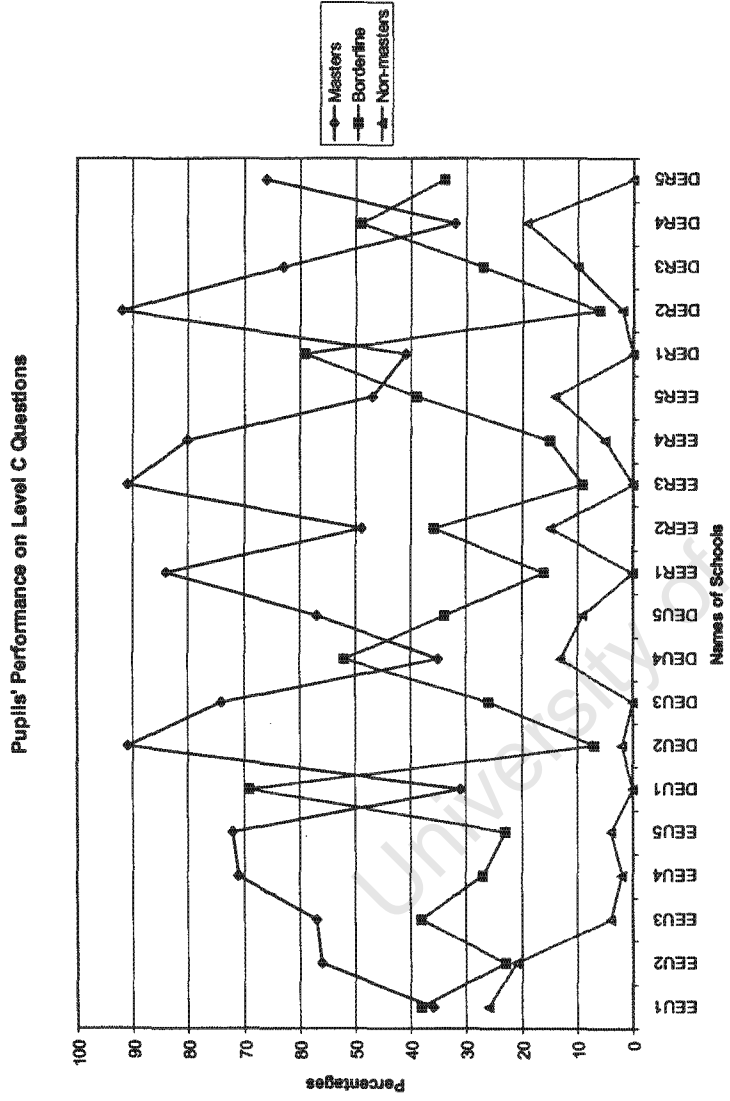


Figure 4

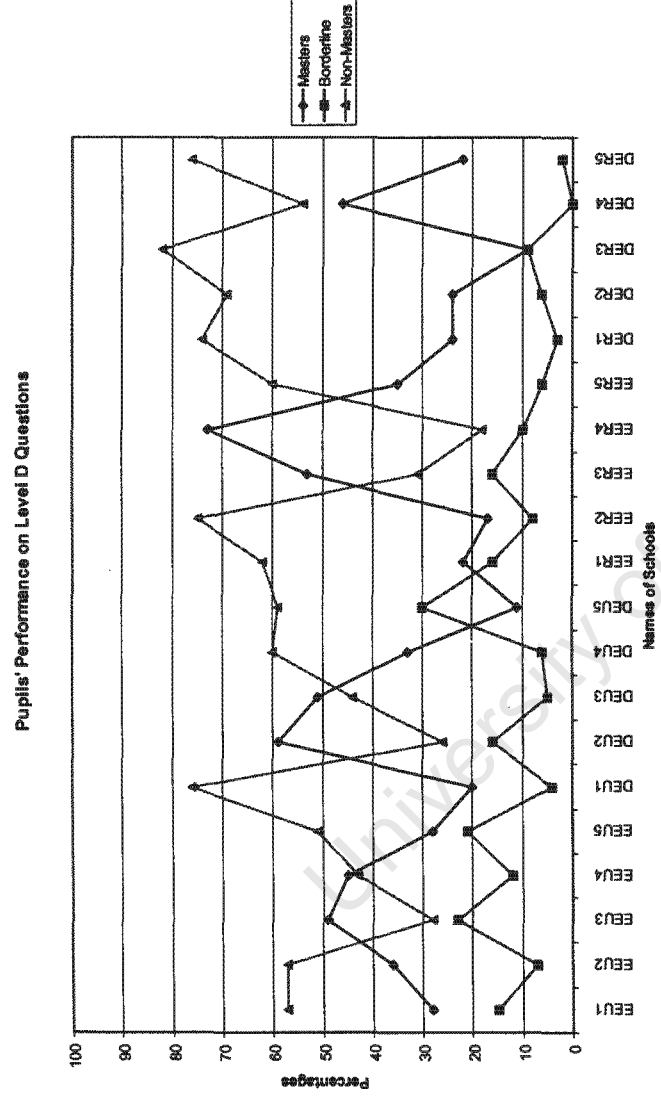


Figure 5

Pupils' Performance on Level E Questions

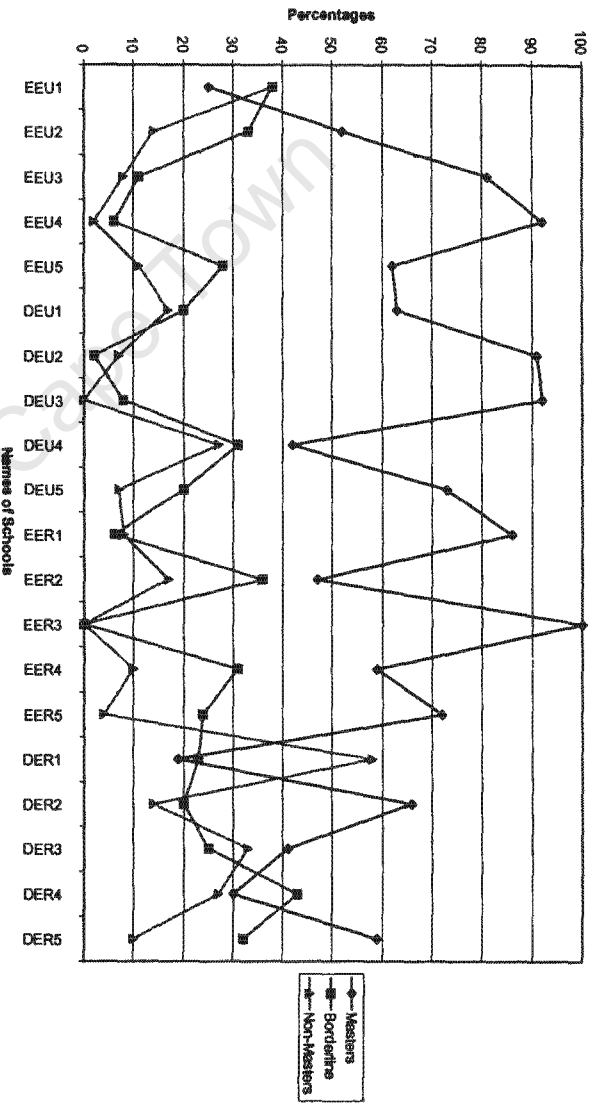
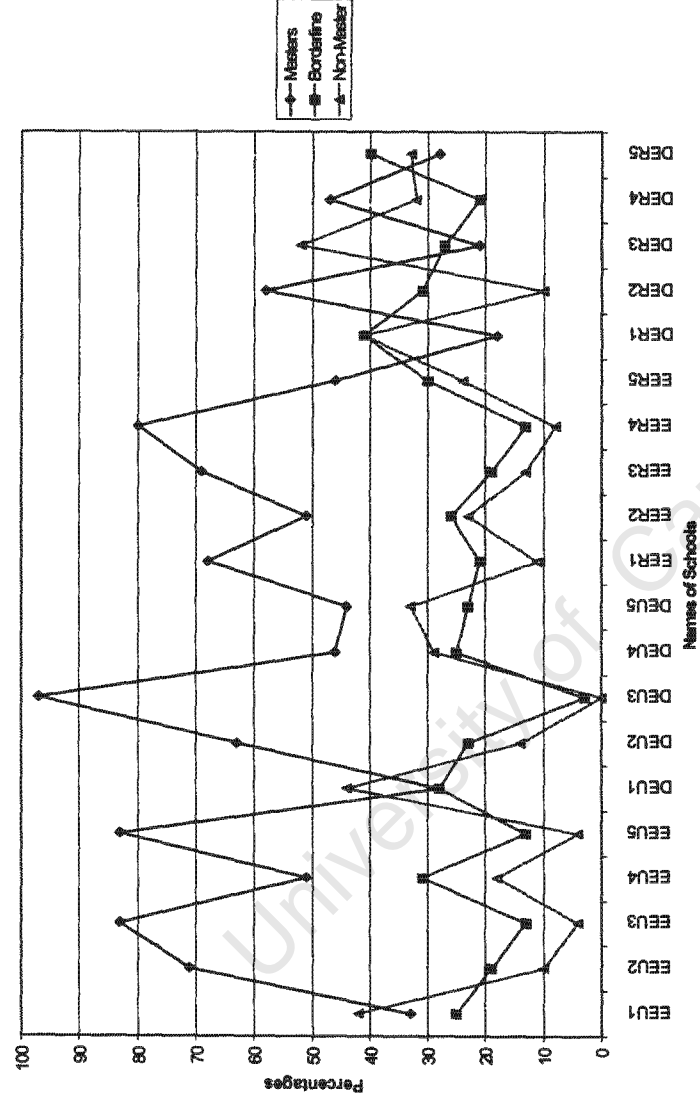


Figure 6

Pupils' Performance on Level F Questions



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Appendix 7

DER5

TRANSCRIPTION

DER5: Now Grade 1 sit down. Turn to page 2. Turn to page 2. Turn to page 2. Here. Page 2. Have you opened page 2?

Class: Yes.

DER5: Yes teacher.

Class: Yes teacher.

DER5: Now listen what you are going to do on page 1 [noise]] Grade 1, quiet! I didn't say you must talk. Do you see this animal?

Class: Yes.

DER5: Do you see this animal?

Class: Yes Teacher.

DER5: There are words under the animal. The words are 'Zebra', 'dog', 'cat' and 'mouse'. [Points] What is the name of this animal?

Class: cat.

DER5: It's a cat. Then you circle the word 'cat.' Here is the word 'cat'

DER5: You circle the word 'cat' Grade 1. You do like this [demonstrates to the pupils how to circle the word] [Noise]

No you only circle the word. The word is written here. 'Zebra', 'dog', 'cat' and 'mouse'.

(Noisy, pupils are [inaudible] You circle the word 'cat'. When you've finished, when you have circled the word cat keep quiet. Malungisa [pupil's name], don't write here. You circle this word only. Malungisa [pupil's name] don't write. Circle the word cat.

[Pupil asks softly] *Leligama leli?* (What is this word?)

DER5: Here, *lapha, lapha.* [here, here] Circle the word cat. *la, la,* (here, here) *nangu cat* [here, is cat] *la, la.* (here, here) OK, Gabsile! Look at number 2. Number 2. What animal do you see?

Class: Cow

DER5: Cow! Point to it Grade 1. *Niyayibona?* (Do you see it?)

DER5: Now here are the words under the animal. *Entasi kwe animal. Niyawabona emagama abhaliwe?* (below the animal there are words written)

Class: Yes

DER5: Now, here are the words under the animal. *Entasi kwe animal niyawabona abhaliwe?* (Words are written below the animal)

Class: Yes.

DER5: There are words under the animal. Do you see? "Lion", "cow", "dog", and "goat".

Circle the word "cow", number 2

Pupil: *Lona ukopa kimi* (He is copying from me)

DER5: Eh! Eh! Quiet! You circle the word 'cow' number 2 'cow'. The lion, cow, goat and dog. Circle the word 'cow' *ukhomise leligama* 'cow'. Circle the word 'cow'.

Pupil: *Uyakopa nangu.* (He is copying).

DER5: Circle the word 'cow'. Circle the word 'cow.'

You circle the word cow (repeats). Only one word, not two words. *Niyeva?* (Do you understand?)

Class: Yes.

DER5: Circle only one word. OK, finished? Number 2 What do you see down there?

Class: *Bhola* [Swazilised form of 'ball']

DER5: It's a ...

Class: *Bhola*.

DER5: Not '*bhola*'. It's a ball.

Class: Ball

DER5: Yes! Here are the words: 'Tomato', 'book', 'orange' and 'ball.'

Circle the word 'ball' (repeats 3 times)

Hands up when you have finished. You put up your hand. The word 'ball'. You circle the word 'ball.'

Pupil: Ball.

DER5: *Gabsile sowuyangilingisela wena.* (Gabsile [pupil's name] you are imitating me.)

You circle the word 'ball' *lapho*. Circle the word 'ball'. Have you finished?

Class: Yes teacher.

DER5: Open page 3. Here here (points) Number 4. *Niyabona?* (Do you see?)

Class: Yes.

DER5: What is that?

Pupil: It's a teapot.

DER5: Not a teapot. It's a what?

Class: Pot.

DER5: It's what?

Class: Pot.

DER5: Now here are the words again. You are to circle the word that names that pot, the word 'pot'.

Here are the words: 'Dot', 'cup', 'pot'. You circle the word 'pot'. [Noise] Sh.....sh.....

Labakhulumako ngitababulala. Have you finished all of you?

Class: Yes,

DER5: Go down to the girl. Do you see the girl?

Class: Yes.

DER5: Do you see that lady?

Class: Yes.

DER5: It's a what?

Pupil: Girl, Mrs Gule.

Class: Mrs Gule.

DER5: Yes, Mrs Gule. Now you are going to circle the name of that Mrs Gule. I told you that Mrs Gule is what? I am a what? girl, father, mother, girl? Is a what? Mrs Gule?

Pupil: Mother

DER5: Don't talk. Circle the word 'mother'.

Sibafundzile bo mother, grand mother nabo grand father. [We learnt about mother, grandmother and grand father.] Circle the word 'mother', 'mother', 'mother'. The word 'mother'.

No copying circle the word.

Now look at the last picture. What is the name of the picture here?

Class: Kraal.

DER5: Circle the word 'kraal'.

Class: Kraal.

DER5: You circle the word 'kraal' *Nkosiyami.* [My God] It's a house, gate, kraal. Circle the word 'kraal', the word 'kraal' bese uyafihla. Bese uvala ngesandla sakho. [Cover your answers with your hand.] Circle the word 'kraal' (2 times)

Now have you finished?

Class: Yes teacher.

LEVEL B TEST ITEMS

DER5: *Basabhala* [They are still writing.] Turn to page 4. Turn to page 4 here. Page 4 *lapha* (Here) Do you see the tree faces on page 4? Do you see them?

Class: Yes teacher.

DER5: Now Grade 1 in page 6, you are going to do like this. Here is the word. *Niyalibona?* (Do you see it?)

Sitawulimesha-ke Grade 1. Niyeva? (We are going to match it Grade 1. Do you hear?)

Class: Yes teacher.

DER5: You are going to draw a line la (here). You are going to draw a line to this one. [to one of the faces] Unjani? (How is he?)

Class: *Muhle* (beautiful)

DER5: *Unjani lapha ebusweni?* (How is his face?)

Class: *Umhlophe* (He is white)

DER5: *Unjani? Uhappy, uangry, usad? Unjani lona losekucaleni?* (how is the first one?)

Pupils: *Ukwatile* (He is angry).

DER5: *Yini kukwata ngesiNgisi?* (What is it in English)

Pupil: *Kwatak* [laughter]

DER5: *Usuke anjani umuntfu nakwatile?* [no answer] *u 'sad'*.

(How do we describe someone who is not happy?) [no answer] *He is sad.*

Pupil; *u 'sad'*.

DER5: *U 'sad'. Phela umuntfu uyakwata uba 'sad'. Akajabuli. Niyeva yini?*

Ungakhulumi nekudlala. Make nakushayile ekhaya ngelusawti uba 'sad' angitsi. Niyambona-ke lona u 'sad'.

(He is sad. When a person is unhappy he is sad. He's not happy. Do you understand? You don't even talk or play. When your mom has beaten you with a stick you become sad. Is it not so? Do you see this one? He is sad.)

Picture number 2, *unjani lona?* (how is this one?)

Class: *U 'happy'*.

DER5: *Happy, kodwa ngumutfu lonjani?* (What kind of a person is happy?)

Class: *Lojabulile.* (He is happy.)

DER5: *Happy ngumutfu lojabulile. Lolosekugcineni-ke?* (That is a happy person. What about the last one?)

Class: *U 'happy'*.

DER5: *Aka 'happy' phela lo. Lo 'happy' nangu.* (That one is not happy. Here is a happy one.)

Pupil: *Smiling.*

DER5: *Aka 'happy'.* (He is not happy)

Pupil 1: *Ukwatile* (He is sad)

Pupil 2: *Ukwate kakhulu* (He is very sad)

DER5: *Very Good. Ukwate kakhulu. Sitsi unjani ngesiNgisi?* (What do we say in English?)

Class: *U 'angry'*.

DER5: *U 'angry' Grade 1. Lo 'angry' lo simtsatse simuse kulo. Lo 'sad' sitamura kulo.*

[This one is 'angry' Grade 1s. We'll take the word sad and draw a line to this one. (Draws a line to the angry face) We will take the word 'sad' to the next one.]

Happy sitamura ku kulo lojabulile. Lonematinyo. Niyabona yini. Condzanisa lamagama. Lo happy lo, condzisa kuye. Ehhe! Angry – ekugcineni. Sad, umbuke. Condzisa kulabantfu. Ehhe! Good. Lo. Condza straight kulomuntfu umtsintsise esilevini sakhe. Good Ziyanda.

(This word 'happy' we'll take it to the happy face. One who is showing teeth. Can you see? Match the faces with the words. Match these words. Match the word 'angry'. Yes the word 'angry' with the 'angry' face. Go to the last one and look. 'Sad'. Match those faces. Alright! Good! Go straight to this one and touch his chin. Good Ziyanda [pupil's name].)

DER5: *Happy. Nangu lojabulile lonematinyo. Happy, ngunangu, Nangu lohappy.*

(Happy. The one showing his teeth is happy. This is the one who is happy.)

Pupil: *Teacher finish!*

DER5: *Raise up your hand. Don't talk. Condzisa kulomuntfu Gabsile. Hhayi kanjalo mani.* (Draw a line to match that face Gabsile. Not like that.)

Happy –ke lo. Sad ngu lo. Uyabuka phela nawe kutsi bajabule kangakanani. Chubekani.

[Happy – this one is happy. The other one is sad. Look at how happy they are. Please continue.]

Pupil: *Uyakopa.* (He is copying)

DER5: *Bani? Gabsile buyela endzaweni yakho.* (Who? Gabsile [pupil's name] Go back to your place.)

DER5: *Sit down. Finish up. Finish up.*

Pupil: *I'm finish*

DER5: *I want the hands up.*

Pupil: *Finish*

DER5: *Finish*

LEVEL C TEST ITEMS

DER5: Turn to page 5. Turn to page 5. Hey, hey! Quiet. Ngitawubona ngesandla kutsi sewuvulile. Page 5. [I will see by your hand that you have opened page 5]

Hands up. Page 5. Now o page 5 look at the two knives. Do you see the two knives?

Class: Yes.

DER5: Now, tick the big knife.

Pupil: The big knife?

DER5: Tick the 'bigger' knife Andile. Niyati kutsi ni thikhaphi? [You know where you should tick]

Pupil: Sengicedzile. (I have fished)

Researcher: This is not a knife

DER5: Musa kungihlotela wena. (Don't be funny) Grade 1 tick a knife only.

Sengatsi uthikha lapho ngingakasho kona. (Why do you tick where I did not tell you to tick?)

Pupil: [Reports a grievance] Mfanukhona uyangishaya. (Mfanukhona is hitting me.)

DER5: Hhayi. Ngitakushaya mfanukhona. Grade 1. Hhayi, hhayi. (No, no Mfanukhona I will beat you. Grade 1 be quiet.) Hands up and be quiet.

[Pupils are busy copying from one another because they don't seem to understand what is going on]

Researcher: Nitawukopa loku wrong. (You'll copy wrong information).

DER5: Utawufeyila wedwana. Aniyi ka Grade 2. [You will fail and not proceed to Grade 2]

DER5: Look at the two cups. Do you see the two cups?

Class: Yes.

DER5: Tick the cup that is 'smaller'.

Researcher: And you hide it.

DER5: Hide it Grade 1. Number 10 Look at number 10. Do you see the two sticks?

Class: Yes.

DER5: Tick the stick that is 'longer' Sengiyaphangisa. (I am now fast). The stick that is longer number 10. Number 11 Grade 1. Do you see the two trees?

Class: Yes.

DER5: Tick the tree that is 'taller', the long one. Tick the tree that is taller. Anisukopa. (Do not copy)

Pupil: [Pupil reports a grievance] Teacher, nangu bekagadza mine bese uyakopa kimi. (Teacher this one waits for me to finish then she copies.)

DER5: Senicedzile? (Have you finished) Finished?

LEVEL D TEST ITEMS

EER5: Turn to page 6. Here, page 6. Page 6.

Class: Yes.

DER5: Listen carefully, carefully Grade 1. Number 12, 13 and 14. Do you see?

Class: Yes.

DER5: Now look at the picture in your booklet. Do you see here? There are words here. 'on', 'next to' and 'under'. Do you see them?

Class: Yes.

DER5: Here are the words 'on', 'next to' and 'under'. Do you see the words? Don't write. Here is the table. Here are the pictures. Number 1, there are bottles., there are books. Where are the books?

Class: On the table.

DER5: Where are the bottles?

Class: On the table.

DER5: Now let's look at number 12. This is the space. [points] You write here. Lapha. (here) 'Under' is here. You write 'under' here. [points] Lapha (here) You write here the same number 13. 'Under'.

Write the word 'under'. Now number 14. Number 14. Lapha. [Reprimands a pupil] Utawubhalela phansi (You will write on the floor). Where is the dog?

Class: The dog is next to the table.

DER5: Bhala 'next to' lapha. (Write 'next to' here). [points on a line] Write only 'next to'. 'Next to'. Write the word 'next to', the word 'next to'. Finish up. Sanele [pupil's name] have you finished?

Pupil: Yes.

DER5: No. You, Sanele Mndzebele. [Two pupils have similar names.]

LEVEL F TEST ITEMS

DER5: Now turn to page 7. Here page 7. Number 1, what is the cow doing?

Class: The cow is eating.

DER5: Eh? Class; The cow is eating.

Class: Yes, circle the word in number 7. There is A, B, C Niyeva yini? (Do you understand?)

Class: Yes.

DER5: A, B, C. There are sentences there:

A says: The cows are drinking

B says: The cows are playing

C says: The cows are eating.

The correct one is C. Circle the letter C. That's all. **Ku C eceleni. Etinkhomeni kuphela.** (Next to C.

Only the sentence about cows.)

The cows are eating. **Circlisha nayi i letter nayi. Angikasho kutsi number 15.** (Circle only this letter. I haven't yet said number 15)

[There is a lot of noise. The sound is inaudible. There seems to be some misunderstanding of what is to circle. Whether to circle the whole sentence or only the letter.]

DER5: Nyalo-ke Grade 1 siku number 15. (We are now on number 15)

Class: Yes.

DER5: The two boys, what are they doing? The two boys.../

Pupil: They are playing the ball.

DER5: Eh?

Class: They are playing the ball.

DER5: Number 15, una A, B, C. [Number 15 has A, B, C] The sentence says:

They are eating. You circle the letter B njenga (like) A, B, C la ku number 15. A, B, C. (You circle the letter B like A, B, C as in number 15.)

You circle the letter B. You circle this letter B.

Niyeva yini? Ngiyagcina-ke manje. Kunitjela. Angisangeni. Seni circlishile?

(Do you understand? I'm telling you for the last time. I will not bother any more. Have you circled?)

Class: Yes.

DER5: [To one of the pupils] **Ciclisha wena.** (You circle.)

Pupil: [one of the pupils says] **Lona akabhali.** (This one is not writing.)

DER5: [Referring to the pupil] **Siku 15 Nkosiyami.** (Oh my God, we are on number 15)

Pupil: **Usengakabhali** (He still has not written)

DER5: **Wentani?** (What is he doing?)

Pupil: **Uyadlala** (He is playing)

DER5: **Ngitamfaka scathulo. Bhala wena. Ngitanishaya lokungalaleli ye Grade 1**

(I will kick him. I will beat you Grade 1s if you don't listen.)

Niyambona number 15 (Do you see number 15)

Class: Yes teacher.

What are the boys doing? Look at number 15. Do you see number 16.

Class: What is this?

Class: The dog is eating.

DER5: Yes the dog is eating.

DER5: Point, **ngitowubona.** (Point at it so that I may see.) **Ehhe!** (Yes) **The dog is eating. Do you see the dog? Number 16. This is a dog. Lalelani** (Listen) **the dog,**

Number A. It is sleeping. Quiet! Lalela! (listen)

Number B: It is drinking.

Number C: It is eating

Circle the correct letter, wena. (you) What is the dog doing? Sewuyati-ke (Now you know) **what the dog is doing.**

Is it sleeping?

Is it drinking?

Is it eating?

Wena-ke khetsa yinye I-answer. (Choose one of the answers.)

Pupil: **Lona usengakabhali.** (This one is not wiring.)

DER5: **Ngiko ngitsi kime fihla.** (That is why I say you should hide your answers) [Teacher checks the pupils' work] **Good, good.**

Bhala kwakho Grade 1 ngoba utawukopa info le wrong. (Write your own answers Grade 1s because you'll copy wrong answers.)

Number 17. Do you see number 17?

Do you see the girl?

Class: Yes

DER5: Do you see the girl?

Class: Yes.

DER5: What is the girl doing?

Class: The girl is reading the book.

DER5: A.: She is eating. B: She is playing. C: She is reading.

You circle the correct word. Laku na (Here there is) **reading. She is reading. Siyafundza.** (We are reading) **She is reading. Naku nje lapha.** (Here it is) [Teacher points on flashcards on the notice board from previous lessons.]

Nawufuna kukopa kopa lapha. Noma sekulaphansi kwenu. Nilibele mani. (If you want to copy, here it is. You can't see even where it in front of you.)

Turn to page 8 [3 times]

We are here Thulani [pupil's name] on page 8. Niyeva yini? (Do you understand?)

Number 18. What animal is that?

Class: A cat.

DER5: What is the cat doing?

Class: Sleeping.

DER5: It is sleeping

You see the first sentence? Number A: It is sleeping.

Number C ekugcineni. Circle, bese uyafihla. Kukhona labakopako. Ungakhomisi lomunye.

(Number C, at the end. Circle it and hide your answer. Someone is copying.)

Sewucirclishile Bheki (Have you circled yours Bheki?[Pupil's name.]) **Kucirclishiwe kwakho?** (You have to circle in your book)

No copying, quiet. Yeyi listen Grade 1! Yewena! Shintja buya uhlale lapha. Sesila ku Girl.

(Hey you! Change and sit here. We are on the word girl. Do you see the girl?)

Class: Yes.

DER5: Nangikhomba nawe uyakhomba khona ungatuwulahleka. (When I point on the words, you should also point on them)

Here is the girl. Do you see the girl? La, you are going to write only one word. What is the girl doing?

Pupil: She is selling.

DER5: No

Class: She is laughing.

DER5: No nali libhodo lapha.

Pupil: She is cooking.

Class: She is cooking.

DER5: You write the word la [here] **Ubhala nje 'cooking'.** (Only write 'cooking'.) **Nali ligama lapha e blackboard.** (Here is the word on the chalkboard) **Ye Sanele** [pupil's name] **You write the word 'cooking' kulomlayini** (on the line). **Bhalani la 'cooking'.** (Write the word 'cooking') **Ngeke ngikutjele kutsi ngu number bani.** (I will not tell you the number) **Write the word 'cooking'.**

Pupil: Nangu lona ukopa kimi. (This one is copying from me)

DER5: Write the word 'cooking'. Wentani Nonsikelelo, sewubhaleni. (What are you doing Nonsikelelo? What have you written?)

Pupil: Ukope kimi. (She copied from me)

DER5: Ubhaleni. Awubhali loku [the pupil has written the whole question] **Ubhala leligama kuphela.**

Awuphindzi, bakubhalele lo "She is....." Wena ubhala 'cooking' kuphela. [pupil seems confused]

Ungakopi Bhala nje one word. [Noise] **Who is making noise?**

(You should not write this. You should write only one word. You do not need to rewrite the sentence because it as been written for you. You should only write 'cooking'. [pupil seems confused] Do not copy from someone else. Write one word. [noise] Who is making noise?)

Pupil: Mbokazi.

DER5: Do you see the car? Do you see the car?

Class: Yes.

DER5: What is the man in the car doing?

Class: He is driving the car.

DER5: Write the word 'driving'. It is on the board. Bhala 'driving' kuphela. (Only write the word 'driving'.) **Use the blackboard 'driving'. Uyashayela.** (He is driving) **On the line. La.** (Here)

Pupil: Teacher

DER5: Write the word 'driving' on the board. Ubuka 'driving' on the board Musa kubuka kwalabanye. Uyambuka 'driving' bese uyambhala. Nase umcedzile you raise your hand.

[Teacher talks to one of the pupils] Yewena, bhala 'driving', write 'driving', write 'driving'. Sesiyacedza, sesitawuya ngaphandle. Sesiyacedza nyalo.

(Look at the board for the word 'driving'. Do not look at others people's work. Look for the word, them write it. When you have finished raise your and. [teacher talks to one of the pupils.] You must write 'driving', write 'driving', write 'driving'.

We are now finishing, we are about to go out. We are finishing.)

Appendix 8

INTERVIEW WITH PARENT 4

Date 20-04- 2002

Age: 40 years

Profession: Secondary school teacher in Mbabane

2 children in EM private schools

Question 1

Parent 4:

- Ngifuna sikolwa lapho basentisa siNgisi ekucaleni. Ngoba umntfwana uba ne command ye English uma ayitfole nasacala sikolwa from the first grade.
- Manje umntfwanami yafunda i English ka Grade 1
- SiSwati akasati and I don't care. It's not a problem because he knows it after all.
- (- I want a school where English is used as the medium of instruction. Because if a child has a command in English if he/she got a good foundation in Grade 1
- Right now my child can read English in Grade 1.
- He doesn't know SiSwati and I don't care. It's not a problem because he knows it after all.)

Researcher: Uyasifunda? (Does he learn SiSwati?)

Parent: Cha angifuni asifunde siyomsiza ngani. As a parent angisiboni sidzingo seSiSwati, it can come later not now. SiNgisi basisebentisa throughout the day, everyday, even during play, singabikho sikhatsi sesiSwati noma baya ka swimming baswim-e nge English. [We both laugh]

(I do not want him to learn SiSwati. How is going to help him? As a parent I don't see the need for SiSwati. It can come later on. I want him to use English throughout the day, even during playtime, there should be no time for SiSwati. When they go for swimming they should "swim in English.")

Researcher: Inani le English? (What's so special about English?)

Parent 4: With English you can communicate with other nations.

So, ngifuna nesikolwa ngifuna lesi-multiracial, nabothishela belungu. Ka Grade 1 kuna Mrs McIntosh Ka Grade 1-3 are all whites.

(So, I want a multi-racial school where English is taught by first language speakers. In Grade there is Mrs McIntosh. They are all white. There is no way that the child communicates in SiSwati. Sometimes my child helps me with correct pronunciation.)

Question 2

'Quality Education'

Parent 4: Yilapho umntwana akhona kuzi express-a in English, angabi short of vocabulary. Asebenzise a wide vocabulary. Angabi 'stuck'. Therefore, kufuneka abe ne wide vocabulary for communication.

(That is where a child can express him/herself in English, and should not run short of vocabulary. He/she should have a wide vocabulary. He/she should not get stuck.

My child ngifuna abe independent in thinking and decision making.

(I want my child to be an independent thinker.)

Researcher: *Angeke yini akwente loku ngeSiSwati?* (Can't your child become all these using SiSwati?)

Parent 4: *Ngeke iEnglish iyamsiza kutsi acabange ngalendlela ngoba lesikolweni bafundiswa kona in English.* (He can't because English helps him to think like that because in school they are taught ow to think in English)

Question 3

Researcher: *Ubhekeni esikoleni semntfwanakho?* (What qualities do you look for in a school for your children?)

Parent 4: *Yilapho umntwana akhona kuzi express-a in English, angabi short of vocabulary. Asebenzise a wide vocabulary. Angabi 'stuck'. Therefore kufuneka abe ne wide vocabulary for communication.*

(That is where children learn to express themselves in English. The child should not run short of words for communication.)

Researcher: *Is there anything else?*

- a) *Pronunciation*
- b) *Exposure of other cultures and other experiences so that my child can know behaviours and mannerisms of other countries*

Researcher: *Why?*

Parent 4: *Behaviours are always important so as to interact in every situation So that my child also becomes broad-minded so that he can easily solve problems in life.*

Question 4

I prefer EM because of the importance of English as an international means of communication, even if you are going to live elsewhere.

Question 5

I believe that English is the best language to give my child the best education.

Researcher: *Why?*

Parent 4: *I want them to be able to stand on their own and now they are responsible. EM children ask questions- that is good because they are developing a survival skill e.g. so as to explain why things happen.*

- *I'm sure that I've seen children from EM schools being 'bold and brave'*
- *Children from EM schools have a positive self-esteem. These are the things we are looking for.*
- *EM school children are exposed that is what we want from them.*
- *But the weakness of EM schools is that they are exclusive schools*
- *I-curriculum yema Private EM schools ibambe konke but is very expensive. (The curriculum of Private EM schools incorporates all these skills)*
- *I-curriculum yabo ivery diversified. Lithalenta lemntfwana libonakala asemncane bese bayali developha. (Their curriculum is diversified. They developed a child's talent and it is identified very early.*

Question 6

- *Some parents are aware that there are other benefits in EM schools*
- *It is only those parents who have money and who themselves are educated*
- *There are assignments that parents must do with their children*
- *Parents must communicate daily with teachers in EM schools.*

[Husband says]: *Parents send their children to EM schools because*

SiSwati asinamali, ngesiNgisi sihola ngaso. Ehhovisi sibhala ngaso izincwadi.

(SiSwati has no money/economic gain. With English we earn salaries. We write letters in English.)

If you send you children to non-EM akabi ne (will not be able to assimilate easily) good assimilation into the workplace.

Because of English the EM children assimilate better than those from SiSwati and English schools. Those assimilate poorly

It seems there is nothing we can do for children in non-EM schools. It seems already predetermined that the non-EM schools won't succeed.

English and SiSwati school children fail because they lack English

Researcher: *Besides English, what else do EM schools offer?*

Husband: *Teachers are very motivated, they devote their time to teaching. They are also committed. They are also discipline which they also impart to the children.*

Question 7

- *Teachers also send their children to EM schools because of the poor curriculum in public schools.*
- *The government is to blame.*
- *Teachers cannot change the curriculum, they are only employees of government. Even if they have ideas they cannot implement them in the present curriculum because it is not workable*
- *If teachers should divert from the given curriculum children will fail the exams. Teachers end up teaching for children to pass exams*
- *Whatever ideas teachers get from EM schools they cannot implement*
- *Same with the government EM school they stick to the prescribed official curriculum*

Researcher: *Which curriculum do the Private EM schools teach?*

Parent 4: *They start the official curriculum in Standard 3 (Grade 5)*

[Her husband joins the interview and says,]

Teachers in non-EM schools realise that they are not doing a good job.

They realise that the education system has some gaps and inadequacies so they send their children to EM schools

Actually the teachers are confirming what we've been suspecting that they are not doing a good job and that they too are victims of the system.

Teachers are saying the education system needs to be overhauled.

Question 8

Yes, there are many advantages e.g English and the broad curriculum.

Question 9

Question a)

- *Teachers are the same, they are from the same colleges. The problem in non-EM schools they follow one prescribed text.*
- *In EM schools teachers are expected to be resourceful.*
- *Teachers in EM schools are committed because a resourceful teachers is a committed teacher.*

b) Textbooks and learning resources

- *The textbooks prescribed by the state are not used in EM schools. EM schools use other textbooks. The prescribed books are only used as reference books in EM schools.*
- *The non-EM schools use the prescribed books because the exam is based on that textbook, but the children's knowledge becomes limited to that text.*
- *The EM schools use other textbooks.*
- *EM schools children for life beyond the classroom. The non-EM schools are limited to the exam. They are shallow because there situations that children have never encountered.*

f) Discipline

- *In EM schools discipline is automatic. Teachers are very strict. The child is taught to be responsible. Talking in EM schools is enough. E.g. children are taught that should anything go wrong the parent would be called to school.*
- *In non-EM schools the parent does not frequently visit the school and the teachers do not correspond with the parents.*

- Children in non-EM schools do as they please because they know parents will never come except to fetch reports. In non-EM schools there is no need to call parents to school.
- In EM schools there is a day-to-day communication with parents. Therefore discipline is always up.
- In EM schools discipline is regarded as highly necessary for good education. In EM schools if a child does not cooperate the child is sent home. If the parents don't come the child is automatically expelled.
- There is discipline in EM schools
- In non-EM schools more time is wasted on attending discipline cases.
- If there is loophole in the management of the school the children take advantage of it.

g) Parental involvement

- Parents are very involved in EM schools. Parents attend PTA and parents run these activities. Parents host those meetings. Parents help teachers in running clubs and competitions.
- In non-EM schools parents are not in the scene.
- Non-EM parents don't even check
- In EM schools parents with ability in Computers, swimming etc and extra-curricular activities.
- PTA is run by parents.

h) Parents' income

That is a hidden agenda. Automatically a parent who has no money cannot cope. Parents' should be educated to do the daily correspondence with the teacher.

Question 10

Strengths	Weaknesses
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - They have facilities - They teach English successfully - They produce children who are confident and independent - Children assimilate easily 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - They are very exclusive- they don't cater for the majority of (e.g. the poor, uneducated parents, underprivileged) - They do not provide education for all' - They are not affordable - They are only situated in urban areas - Children lose their identity/ ubuntu (humaneness) - Children cannot speak SiSwati and lose their cultural values and become 'coconuts'. - Children despise their culture - Many EM schools end in Grade 7. A secondary they is no continuity of the system of learning they have been using at primary school and many EM children do not adjust

Question 11

EM schools are very organized. Mainly follow-is very close.

Question 12

Cultural diversity and multiculturalism is important because

- It widens the children's horizons
- *Kuyasisisza ngoba* (It helps us) it encourages broad thinking. Children learn to accept ideas, which are different from their own. Everything in Swaziland is a "monopoly" so the EM schools help our children learn that opinions need not all be the same. We can allowed to differ in our opinions and need not agree on one issue.
- EM schools prepare children for life out of school, because in their jobs, children will be working with people from other cultures from all over the world.
- EM school children are rewarded for every achievement.
- In other cultures people are complemented and that boosts your self-esteem.

Question 13

In EM schools there's homework everyday

Question 14

EM school children fail in secondary schools because of the prescribed curriculum.

Children in EM schools have not learnt some of the things in the prescribed syllabus

EM school children find that they do not fit into the prescribed curriculum

Note that it is a disadvantage that some EM primary schools end in Grade 7. Those who continue to other EM schools do not take JC exams. They proceed to Matric and O' Level, A' Level or IB or IGCSE

EM schools teach for long-term benefits

Question 16

Those who succeed must have had role models who are parents

Question 18

- *We haven't yet proved beyond doubt which schools are the best. Those who have succeeded in SiSwati and English schools must have had role models who are parents, had parental support or were hardworking.*
- *In EM schools the chances are many but there is no guarantee that they are the best schools.*

Question 19

EM schools, because the EM children learn successfully.

Question 20 and 21

Because of their reputation of

Question 22 a) No, EM school teachers are not the best except that they are very successful.

*Question 22 b) No, because they do not teach quality education. However, their problems are because of the state. The state is responsible for the failure. In non-M schools there is free education. "Free education is requirement for failure." Politicians say they are giving free education when education that is free cannot be quality education. Teachers in non-EM schools are frustrated because even if they go to workshops, the ideas they get from workshops do not work but only work in EM schools where is close contact with parents and children.
giving quality education*

Appendix 9

UTTERANCES TABLE																						
Estimated percentages of L1 utterances												Estimated percentages of L2 utterances										
	Checks & P's attention	Checks pupils' understanding	Praises/Encourages pupils	Criticizes/Disciplines/Reprimands	Presents the questions or Pages	Gives test instructions and repeats	Works an example	Simplifies/Elaborates/Explains	Asks leading questions and gives clues	TOTAL % L1 Utterances	TOTAL L2 Utterances	Checks & P's attention	Checks pupils' understanding	Encourages and Praises pupils	Criticizes/Disciplines/Reprimands	Presents the questions or pages	Gives the test instructions and repeats	Works an example	Simplifies/Elaborates and Explains	Asks leading questions and Gives clues		
DER1	9	0	0	8	5	11	0	20	13	66	34	4	2	1	0	12	7	0	2	6		
DER2	3	3	2	1	2	5	2	30	10	57	43	7	1	0	0	12	9	1	13	0		
DER3	2	4	0	0	7	4	0	18	4	40	60	2	4	0	4	2	4	4	24	13		
DER4	1	4	0	5	1	1	1	5	4	22	78	16	2	0	0	16	18	0	19	7		
DER5	3	4	1	9	1	4	0	9	6	37	63	4	4	1	3	10	18	0	7	17		
EER1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	1	12	1	1	13	18	2	37	14		
EER2	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	97	5	6	0	4	11	28	3	20	21		
EER3	0	4	1	0	3	8	1	17	4	39	61	0	1	0	0	6	16	1	11	26		
EER4	1	6	1	4	1	5	1	13	12	44	56	1	4	5	2	12	4	1	19	9		
EER5	1	0	2	6	0	1	7	1	1	18	83	4	4	0	0	14	18	1	28	13		
DEU1	2	3	1	3	2	7	0	11	3	32	68	11	3	0	0	16	13	1	11	13		
DEU2	1	7	0	11	2	11	0	25	6	64	36	1	2	1	1	4	4	0	10	12		
DEU3	0	4	0	8	0	2	1	20	0	34	66	2	6	0	2	7	9	1	22	16		
DEU4	1	4	0	5	5	14	0	3	6	38	62	6	3	1	0	10	18	1	11	11		
DEU5	0	1	1	5	0	1	0	0	0	8	92	4	8	1	6	8	17	1	23	24		
EEU1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	2	13	1	2	14	15	3	37	14		
EEU2	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	97	4	5	0	4	14	30	3	20	18		
EEU3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	1	12	1	1	13	18	2	37	14		
EEU4	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	97	5	6	0	4	11	29	3	19	20		
EEU5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	2	12	1	2	13	17	2	40	12		

Appendix 10

Countries	National Language Policy	Language-in-Education Policy	Models of Language Education	MT Programmes
Namibia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Namibia has 13 languages. That includes English, German Afrikaans plus 10 indigenous Namibian languages as national languages. Prior to independence SWAPO selected English as the sole official language of independent Namibia. The Namibian national languages are; Oshikwanyana, Oshindonga, Rukwangali, Otjiherero, Ruciriku, Silozi, Setswana, Thimbukushu Khoekhoegowab and Juj'hoantsi.) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The home languages are only to be used as mediums in the first three grades. Grade 4 onwards English becomes the MOI and Namibian languages are taught as subjects. English is the only compulsory language subject, with another language to be taken as a subject from a list of the most recognised Namibian languages. 	Transitional/ Subtractive Bilingualism	8 Namibian indigenous languages have been developed up to Grade 12. The Khoisan languages and Juj'hoantsi are used at Grade 1 only
South Africa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> South Africa has 12 official languages including sign language. The languages are Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, sePedi, seSotho, SiSwati, siTsonga, Setswana, TsiVenda, isiXhosa and isiZulu. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The 1997 DoE's Language-in-education policy recognises the use of 11 official languages as media of instruction throughout the school curriculum. Each student has a right to choose the language medium through which he/she would like to learn. All learners shall offer at least one approved language as a subject in Grade 1 and Grade 2. From Grade 3 onwards, all learners shall offer their language of learning and teaching and at least one additional approved language as subjects 	Transitional/ Subtractive Bilingualism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> SA is presently using both the MT and English in ex-DET schools with a stronger emphasis on English. Ex-Model C schools use English and Afrikaans from Grade 1.

Zimbabwe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Zimbabwe has 16 major indigenous languages. • The three main languages of Zimbabwe are Shona, Ndebele and English. • In Zimbabwe English remains the de facto language of power and economic advancement. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shona and English in all areas where the mother tongue of the majority of the residents is Shona or Ndebele and English in all areas where the majority of residents is Ndebele. • The 1987 Education Act required that in the first three years of primary education, children are to be taught in their mother tongue, namely, Kalanga, Venda, Tonga, Shangani and Nambya. • From the fourth grade English shall be the medium of instruction. 	Transitional/ Subtractive Bilingualism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Zimbabwean government has to some extent afforded recognition to Shona, Ndebele, Kalanga, Venda, Tonga, Shangani and Nambya in the fields of Education and culture. • Few materials have been produced by the Curriculum Development Centre in the five minority languages • Shona monolingual dictionaries are already developed.
Zambia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • English is the official language in Zambia adopted at independence in 1966. • Seven indigenous languages, viz. Bemba, Kaonde, Lozi, Lunda, Lavale, Nyanja and Tonga are used officially in all public domains:- 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • According to the National Policy in Education (1996), basic reading and writing were to be initially learned in a local language, whereas officially English would be the language of instruction. 	Straight for English	<p>Basic reading and writing are learned in the seven indigenous languages, namely, Bemba, Kaonde, Lozi, Lunda, Lavale, Nyanja and Tonga</p> <p>There are implementation problems of the policy of vernacular languages</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Three of the languages, namely Chilomwe, Chiyao, and Chitumbuka are not yet standardized and Chisena and Chitonga have no dictionaries, grammars and orthographies.

Malawi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • At independence in 1964 had three official languages, namely: Chinyanja, Chitumbuka and English. • 1968: The Malawi Congress Party Annual Convention made Chinyanja Malawi's only official language and changed name to Chichewa. • In 1993 the UDF government established the Centre for Language Studies. • In November 1996, Chiyao, Chilomwe and Chisena joined English, Chichewa and Chitumbuka. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The MoE announced in March 1996 that mother tongues should be used as media of instruction in Standards 1 to 4 with immediate effect. • The new policy is to use the mother tongue (including other languages other than Chichewa and Chitumbuka in Grade 1-4 (i.e. Chiyao, Chilomwe and Chisena) 	Transitional/ Subtractive Bilingualism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The MT policy is difficult to implement because of resources and. • Chichewa is the second language for most Malawians. • Lack of standardization hinders the implementation process. • Malawi has numerous policy implementation problems. E.g. problems of materials, guides, and teacher training
Mozambique	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The 1990 Constitution states that in the Republic of Mozambique, the Portuguese language shall be the official language • Portuguese is the official language that was adopted during the armed struggle for independence by FRELIMO. • Eight Bantu language groups exist in Mozambique and 20 languages. • The four African languages widely spoken are e-Makhuwa, Chitsonga, Chinyanja and Chishona, which enjoy equal status and social prestige. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Portuguese is the exclusive medium from first grades onwards, as a well as a subject in primary and secondary education. • Portuguese is the language of formal learning including literacy campaigns • In 1978 then Minister of Education declared that they should be developed in such a way as to bring them in line with the development of Portuguese. • English is taught at secondary school as a subject only. 	Subtractive/ Functional bilingualism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mozambique is presently involved in experimental bilingual Education programmes using the four indigenous languages widely spoken.
Lesotho	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • SeSotho and English are the two official languages 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • English is the language used in Education. Sesotho is taught as a subject from Grade 3. From Grade 1 to 2 there is a <i>de jure</i> policy to use Sesotho as the medium of instruction. 	Transitional /Subtractive Bilingualism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sesotho is taught as a subject

Botswana	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There are approximately 20 indigenous languages in Botswana. • Setswana and English are the two official languages in Botswana. • Some of the languages spoken in Botswana are Kalanga, Chitonga, Hambukushu, Seyeyi, Herero, Setswana, Setswapong, Sebirwa, SeSarwa, Nama, Silozi, Afrikaans and English. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prior to 1994 the Setswana was the language of instruction up to Grade 4, and English was taught as a subject. • From the fifth grade on, English was the language of instruction and Setswana was taught as a subject. • In 1994, the revised National policy in Education recommended that: English should be used as the medium of instruction from standard 1 as soon as practicable. • In 1996 government again recommended that English should be used as the medium of instruction from Standard 2. 	Subtractive/ Transitional Bilingualism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The language question in Botswana has entered into another debate about the rights of the marginalised people in Botswana and their languages. E.g. Bayeyi and Kalanga tribes in Botswana. • Ikalanga has no official recognition. It is not taught in schools in the region where speakers are a majority.
Tanzania	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More than 120 languages exist in Tanzania. • KiSwahili and English are official languages in Tanzania. • At independence, in 1967 Tanzania found it easy to propagate KiSwahili as a lingua franca and official language. • The "Arusha Declaration" of 1967 stated that "anything that promoted a few people to be the 'bosses' was contrary to the ideals of equality." 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • After "Arusha Declaration" of 1967 the role of English in Tanzania was minimised in status, use and instruction to incorporate the principles of "Ujaama." • KiSwahili is used in education system throughout primary schooling. • English begins the medium of instruction in Tanzanian secondary schools. • KiSwahili is taught as a subject in higher education. 	Mother tongue first	Only KiSwahili supersedes the other mother tongues in Tanzania
Kenya	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 42 Kenyan languages exist in Kenya. • KiSwahili is used to "consolidate national unity". • KiSwahili, is a national language • Kikuyu, Kalenjin, Luo, Luhya are a few of the local languages • English is the only official languages in Kenya. • English is a marker of "good education" and modernisation. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • English is the medium of instruction from Grade 3. • In Kenya English is learned in home environments and in school. • There appears a deliberate attempt in Kenya to come as close as possible to what is perceived as the RP when one is reading a text aloud 	Subtractive/ Transitional Bilingual Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In Kenya the ethnically related mother tongues are important, unlike Tanzania where KiSwahili supersedes the mother tongue in terms of official status and use. • The mother tongue functions as a language of "identity" and solidarity. • Knowing KiSwahili is likewise establishing one's identity at national level

Swaziland	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> English co-exists with SiSwati as official languages. Both languages have equal status as official languages, but their use and significance is different. English serves as the principal medium of communication for official, commercial, diplomatic, technical and in education SiSwati is only used as a cultural symbol and in personal or family day-to-day business and traditional activities. SiSwati is also used to preserve the SiSwati customs and the Swazi people seek to protect their language and customs. SiSwati is taught as a subject throughout the education system. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> SiSwati was introduced in schools in 1967. In 1979 was introduced in the Senior Certificate. In the Swaziland education system English is the main language of teaching from Grade 3 onwards through tertiary education. English is the language used in Education. SiSwati is taught as a subject from Grade 3. From Grade 1 to 2 there is a <i>de jure</i> policy to use SiSwati as the medium of instruction. The curriculum says English is the core subject area for both academic and vocational streams. 	Transitional/ Subtractive Bilingualism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Although SiSwati may be used as a MOI in grades 1 and 2 it is taught as a subject. There is a shortage of SiSwati materials. Some SiSwati textbooks are developed by the NCC Few reading materials exist in SiSwati
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Sources for Appendix 10

Countries:

Namibia: Putz (199), Harlech-Jones (1997), Brocke-Utne (1995, 2000), Ministry of Education and Culture

South Africa: Alexander (1999), Taylor and Vinjevoold (199), Macdonald (1990), Macdonald and Burroughs (1991), deKlerk (1995) & Department of Education (1997)

Zimbabwe: Roy-Campbell (2001)

Zambia: IDRC (1997) Internet source, Schmied (1995)

Malawi: Kaplan and Baldauf (1999), Mchazime (1996), Kamwendo et al (1995) & Kayambazinthu (1999)

Mozambique: Kaplan and Baldauf (1999)

Lesotho: Rapeane and Matlosa (2002)

Botswana: Arthur (1994), Nyathi-Ramahobo (1991, 1996, 1999)

Tanzania: Mbise (1994), Abdulaziz (1991) Kanyoro (1991), Qorro (1999), Roy-Campbell and Qorro (1997) & Rubagumya (1990,1994)

Kenya: Abdulaziz (1991), Schmied (1995, 1999), Kanyoro (1991) & Roy-Campbel (2001)

Swaziland: Mordaunt (1990), Mkhonza (1987) & Ministry of Education (1999)

Appendix 11

Summary of teachers' and pupils' profiles in DE and EE schools

		DE Approach	EE System
1	Teachers' Qualifications		
	PTC	8	8
	PTD	2	1
	B Ed	0	1
2	Teaching Experience in Grade 1		
	Less than 5 years	5	3
	6 – 9 years	1	4
	10 - 14 years	0	2
	20 years and Above	4	1
3	Teacher/ Pupil Ratios (Average)	44	45
4	Teachers' estimates of how much pupils speak SiSwati in class most of the time in a day	More than 50%	Less than 50%
5	Teachers' estimates of how much pupils speak English in class most of the time in a day	Less than 50%	More than 50%
6	Teachers' estimates of how much teachers speak SiSwati in a day	Half the time (50% SiSwati & 50% English)	Less than 50%
7	Teachers' estimates of how much teachers speak English in a day	Half the time (50% SiSwati & 50% English)	More than 50%
8	Teachers' estimates of pupils' exposure to listening to English in class	A lot/ Sometimes	A lot
9	Teachers' estimates of pupils' exposure to speaking English in class	A lot/ Sometimes	A lot
10	Teachers' estimates of pupils' exposure to reading English in class	A lot/ Sometimes	A lot/ Sometimes
11	Teachers' estimates of pupils' exposure to writing English in class	A lot/ Sometimes/ Seldom	A lot/Sometimes
12	Teachers' estimates of pupils' exposure to listening to English at home	Often/ Sometimes/ Never	Often/ Sometimes/ Seldom
13	Teachers' estimates of pupils' exposure to speaking English at home	Sometimes/ Never	Sometimes/ Seldom
14	Teachers' estimates of pupils' exposure to reading English at home	Sometimes/ Seldom	Often/ Sometimes/ Seldom
15	Teachers' estimates of pupils' exposure to writing English at home	Sometimes	Sometimes
16	Teachers' estimates of pupils' exposure to listening to English in the extra-mural environment	Sometimes/ Seldom	Often/ Sometimes/ Seldom
17	Teachers' estimates of pupils' exposure to speaking English in the extra-mural environment	Never/ Sometimes	Often/ Sometimes
18	Teachers' estimates of pupils' exposure to reading English in the extra-mural environment	Often /Sometimes/ Seldom	Often/ Sometimes
19	Teachers' estimates of pupils' exposure to writing English in the extra-mural environment	Never/ Seldom	Sometimes/ Seldom
20	Teachers estimates of proficiency in Speaking English at school	Fluent/ Weakly Fluent	Very Fluent/ Fluent/ Weakly Fluent

21	Teachers estimates of proficiency in Reading English at school	Fluent/ Weakly Fluent	Very Fluent/ Fluent
22	Teachers estimates of proficiency in Writing English at school	Fluent/ Weakly Fluent	Very Fluent/ Fluent
23	Teachers' estimates of how often they gave instructions in English	Part of the time/ Sometimes/ All the time	All the time/ Part of the time
24	Teachers' estimates of whether pupils followed instructions if given in English	Part of the time/ Sometimes/ All the time	All the time/ Part of the time
25	Teachers' estimates of whether pupils used English to speak to each other in school	Part of the time/ Seldom/ Never	A lot/ Sometimes
26	Teachers' estimates of how much pupils use English to speak to the teacher	Sometimes	A lot/ Sometimes
27	Provision of school textbooks	Under-resourced	Adequately-resourced
28	Teachers' estimates of whether opportunities are available to use SiSwati when teaching Science and English	No	Yes/No
29	Teachers' estimates of whether English is better than SiSwati for expressing Maths and Science concepts	Disagree	Agree
30	Teachers' estimates of languages predominantly used to give instructional information	SiSwati and English/ SiSwati only	English only/ SiSwati and English
31	Teachers' estimates of languages predominantly used to give announcements	SiSwati and English/ SiSwati only	English only/ SiSwati and English
32	Teachers' estimates of languages predominantly used for classroom management	SiSwati and English	English only/ SiSwati and English
33	Teachers' estimates of how pupils perform academically when they are taught in SiSwati in Grade 1	Average	Average/ Very poorly
34	Teachers' estimates of how pupils perform academically when they are taught in SiSwati in Grade 1	Excellently/ Very Well	Excellently/ Very Well

University of Cape Town

APPENDIX 12

Interview with Curriculum Developer

Curriculum Designer (CD): *Tsine sizama kutsi strike a balance between. We don't go too high and we don't go too low because sicabangela both rural and urban schools. We can't run away from the facts. In fact this is why we even add the instruction lokutsi; feel free to clarify in SiSwati. Sisho lokutsi nibachazele nangesiSwati because nale syllabus isavuma nayo kutsi bangahamba side by side (ngeSiSwati nesiNgisi) but kulapho vele khona lakungena khona lesihlava. Because umntfwana nangabe umfundzisa siNgisi the "earlier the better."*

Researcher: *Oh! The earlier the better?*

CD: *Vele, the earlier the better and tsine we are still trapped in the 'colonial jacket'. We can't free ourselves, we don't want to free ourselves. Vele bayasi criticise-iza.*

CD: *There are many other factors. Kepha nawubuka nje, ngase ngabuka leyase Zambia ngayitsandza. Yona it is good because lomtfwana ucala again-e i-confidence yekufundza lamagama in the MT. Utsi um-introduce-a kulesiNgisi abe asane confidence. Sewu socialize-ile esikotweni. Bese kutsi nasenta lesiNgisi ente i-transference. Mine (I) in all honesty I think that's fair because even the Germans they learn in German. Bahlakaniphe kangaka nje bakha imishini lemikhulu bacala ngale language yabo. Ngeke nje uhambe uva siNgisi. Nema Shayina, all these things are from there. Baya transfer-a to English later because vele throughout the world siNgisi siya domin-etha but lokubamba leconcept uyabona in their own language that is very important.*

Researcher: *Are we ready to do that practically here at home?*

CD: *Oh! We will never be ready especially nyalo. Siyakhuluma kutsi labothishela abakhoni ku meet-ha the standard sekufundzisa nge English.*

Researcher: *Kusho kutsi lama syllabus nawo to a certain extent alukhuni. We sort of want to remove the element ye-eurocentrism. Although sesishintjile kutsi bo Mr Gule but still kunale western orientation.*

CD: *Can you imagine nje kutsi sihleli leni nale English as a passing subject?*

Researcher: *Sesaba kutsi iEnglish yilanguage lephetse yonkhe itechnology.*

CD: *We are living in a technological world, sesiphumile kule academic world. Sekatoba mancane emave la concentrate-a kuEnglish. Ngiko nje sisilela emuva nge development. Because of that reason.*

Researcher: *What have those countries done tsine loku lesehluleka kukwenta?*

CD: *Umntfwana lo very good in Science simetsiya, simetsiye kutsi angangeni e University. Awungitjele, umntfwana lotfole 3 wabo A, nabo 1,2, 3 kuScience bese ngoba ute iEnglish ahlale phansi. Awungitele nje lomntfwana usuke aphiwe lokuhlanganisa ente tintfo akavami kutsi bese uba good kumalanguages.*

Researcher: *Naye phela yi area yakhe leScience.*

CD: *Tsine sifuna lotawuba good kumalanguages, nayo leforeign. IScience itawubese yeyama njani la, naye nje utawubese ufuna kuphuma ahlale ehhovisi. Kantsi lolongasigood kumalanguages ufuna kuhlala ehhovisi, ufuna lokumanipulate-a tintfo, ente tintfo and at the end nguye locontribute-a more. We have a problem as a country because loko ngabe akwentiwa. Umntfwana ngabe kubukwa ngecriteria yekutsi we are going to get the best scientist in the world, abe nurtured.*

Researcher: *So this is a problem because there is a status quo that must be maintained. That is why you end up sewuyibona leproblem yalama rural schools. When we speak in all fairness, sesingakhulumi ngaloku kwemsebenti. Kodwa at the moment akubasiti lokusebentisa SiSwati because the children meet a cul-de-sac ngoba batawutsi basakhuphuka bakhandze siNgisi sibamele. What is the point of lowering the ceiling?*

CD: *Ngiko mine ngitsi vele they [rural teachers] have no excuse yekutsi ngoba umntfwana ubuya emakhaya (rural) ungabe usamkhulumisa ngesiNgisi because the child learns what he/she experiences lakuye. So there is no reason really why bacale ngesiSwati. There is no need. But bona babese babuka kutsi bona basemakhaya. Ngitawubhaca ngalokutsi bona basemakhaya. Ehluleke nje nekwenza ema basic materials.*

Researcher: *Nangisa observe-a in some schools I told the teachers to do as they usually do when I'm not there.*

CD: *Angitsi the teacher automatically feels guilty that they are being observed. Batangibona nje kutsi mine ngisebentisa SiSwati. Naba bomake M na M asekhona batsi baya kulesinye sikolo where the teacher was just teaching using SiSwati. Sewuyezama lokusebentisa iEnglish ngoba uyati kutsi they are coming, sewubabatse 'red' bantfwana batsi 'ibovu'. Atsi 'red' bantfwana batsi 'ibovu' ngalokutsi bayacakeka kutsi madam utsini. [laughter.....]*

An English Translation of the interview held with a Curriculum Developer

CD: *We try to strike a balance between. We don't go too high and we don't go too low because we think for both the rural and urban schools. We can't run away from the facts. In fact that is why we even add that the instruction that teachers should feel free to clarify anything in SiSwati. We say teachers should explain in SiSwati because the syllabus allows that the two languages can be used side by side. That is where things go wrong. If a child is taught English, "the earlier the better".*

Researcher: *Oh! "The earlier the better"?*

CD: *Oh Yes, "the earlier, the better". We are still trapped in the "colonial jacket". We can't free ourselves. We don't want to free ourselves. Yes, we are criticised. There are many other factors, but if you look clearly you'll see. For example, I like the Zambian policy. It is good because the child starts by developing confidence in the MT. When English is introduced, the child already has confidence or has already been socialised into schooling. When the child starts learning English he/she simply transfers the knowledge into English. In all honesty, I think its fair because even Germans learn through German. They are so clever, they even invent machinery because they start learning in their own languages. They won't just be obsessed with English. The Chinese also use their language. All this technology comes from them. They translate them into English later because English is the dominant language throughout the world. The important thing is to understand the concepts in their language.*

Researcher: *Are we ready to do that in Swaziland?*

CD: *Oh we will never be ready, especially now. We are discussing that teachers can't meet the standard of teaching through English.*

Researcher: *Does it mean that the syllabus is too difficult.*

CD: *Can you imagine why we are still keeping English as a failing subject?*

Researcher: *It is because we think that English is a language of wider communication and a language of technology.*

CD: *We are living in a technological world. We are left behind the 'academic' world. Now there will be fewer countries concentrating on English. That is why we are being left behind, because of that.*

Researcher: *We should ask ourselves what the developed countries have done that we are not doing.*

CD: *Here (in Swaziland) a child who is good in Science is assessed in terms of this proficiency in English. That prevents a child from continuing to study at university. A child who gets 3 A symbols (1,2 &3) in Science but because he/she failed English will not be admitted to university. Such a child is talented in practical subjects and is often not good in languages.*

Researcher: *This means that he/she is good in the Sciences.*

CD: *It seems that with us, we want a child who is good in languages, and worse still, one who is good in a foreign language. A child who is good in Science is good in manipulating objects. That child contributes more. We have a problem as country to solve because that should not be the case. The criterion for determining success or failure should not be English but it should be to consider that this child is capable of being a scientist and should be nurtured.*

Researcher: *So this is the problem because what is happening is that the status quo is being maintained. That is why we end up with rural and urban schools teaching different approaches. When we speak in all fairness, SiSwati is not being made to be helpful because those who use it meet a cul de sac because they find English in upper classes as the main requirement.*

CD: *That is why I say rural teachers have no excuse of not using English. They think that if a child comes from rural areas cannot speak English, thus teachers do not attempt to use English with them. A child learns what he/she experiences. So, there is no reason why they teach in SiSwati. There is no need. However, they only consider that a child is from a rural area. They hide behind that and they fail to provide the most basic learning materials.*

Researcher: *When I observe in schools, I tell the teachers to teach in their usual way, as if I'm not there. Are the teachers adequately trained to provide their own resources?*

CD: *The teacher automatically feels guilty when he/she uses SiSwati. Mrs M and Mrs M once visited some school where the teacher was teaching using SiSwati. She tried to use English one day because she knew that inspectors would be visiting. She tried to say 'read' and the children just looked at her. They did not understand what madam was up to.*