

**EXPLORING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AN “ENGLISH-ONLY”
LANGUAGE-IN-EDUCATION POLICY AND BILINGUAL PRACTICES
IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN ZANZIBAR**

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HAROUN AYOUB MAALIM

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Supervisor: Prof Russell Kaschula

Co-supervisor: Dr Dion Nkomo

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that except where due acknowledgement has been made in the text to other materials, the entirety of this thesis is my own original work, and I am the sole author, and this thesis has never been submitted at any university for a degree.

Signed

Haroun Maalim, December, 2014.

ABSTRACT

This thesis reports on the relationship between an English-only language-in-education policy and bilingual practices in secondary schools in Zanzibar. The focus is on language use in the classroom against the backdrop of a top-down and English-only language-in-education policy. The main purpose has been to gain an in-depth understanding of the relationship between the stipulations of the policy which was imposed from above and the judicious bilingual practices which are commonly accepted as the norm in secondary schools in Zanzibar.

The study employed a mixed method approach (QUAL+quant) and embraced elements of ethnography. The data for this study was gathered from two secondary schools which were purposively selected on the basis of parameters that were set in this study. Among other things, these include the secondary schools which have both 'Ordinary level' and 'Advance level', and the schools which teach the same subject using Kiswahili as the language of learning and teaching at one level, and English as the language of learning and teaching at another level. Data were obtained from multiple sources. On the one hand, through ethnography, classroom observations, semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions with teachers and students, and interviews with key actors were conducted. On the other hand, students' test scripts, and students' test and examination results (scores) were analysed. Both purposive and random sampling were used to get the participants. Drawing from Ruiz's (1984) seminal tripartite orientations of language planning (language as right, language as problem, and language as resource) thematic analysis, content analysis, and the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) were used to analyse data.

The findings reveal that the use of bilingual (English and Kiswahili) in English medium subjects is a resource rather than a deficit since an overwhelming majority of students and some teachers cannot function positively in the top-down English-only language-in-education policy. Most significantly, teachers use Kiswahili in English medium subjects as a strategy for teaching terminologies, abstract concepts, and unfamiliar topics, as well as for

clarification of ideas and for comprehension check. The study further indicates that the examinations and tests of English medium subjects do not assess what is exactly intended to be assessed (subject matter), but instead they assess English language. In addition, empirical evidence shows that language is a factor for students' achievements in that students performed considerably better when the subjects were assessed in Kiswahili compared to the same subjects assessed in English. The findings further reveal that Kiswahili is suitable to be used as a sole language of learning and teaching in secondary schools of Zanzibar.

Based on these findings, the study recommends that the use of Kiswahili in English medium subjects should be officially recognised and students should be given options of the language of assessment as an urgent step. Furthermore, given the urgency of the need for improving students' performance, it is now high time to introduce Kiswahili medium of instruction secondary schools in Zanzibar which should co-exist with English medium of instruction secondary schools.

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CHAPTER 1

POSITIONS AND ROLES OF ENGLISH AND KISWAHILI IN EDUCATION, ZANZIBAR

1.1 Introduction

Zanzibar has had a commitment towards teaching English at different levels of education due to a number of reasons. The status of English in the modern world and wide use of this language in trade and commerce, and economic development in general, are some of the reasons. In addition, English as a language of scholarship and research, and science and technology motivates Zanzibar to commit to teaching English. Conversely, Zanzibar also has a commitment to teach Kiswahili, a native language which is the mother tongue of Zanzibaris, at all levels of education. Apart from that, the status of Kiswahili at national and international levels and its significance for trade and commerce as the lingua franca of East Africa has motivated Zanzibar to commit itself to the teaching of Kiswahili. The importance of these two languages has great influence to the selection of the language of learning and teaching in different levels of education in Zanzibar.

This chapter will outline the language situation in Tanzania and Zanzibar. This will include language use in day-to-day life in Zanzibar; and the roles that language users assign to the language they use. It will delineate the position and roles of Kiswahili and English in official policy. Then research and cases regarding language use in different domains especially in education will be discussed; and drawing from that discussion the statement of the problem will be presented. This will be followed by the objectives of the study and, thereafter, the rationale for and significance of the study will be provided. An outline of the context of the study will be provided and the last part of this chapter will present the outline of the entire thesis.

1.2 Language Situation in Zanzibar and Tanzania

Zanzibar is a monolingual island in that the whole population speaks Kiswahili (Brock-Utne, 2012). In this regard, Kiswahili is the mother tongue of almost all Zanzibaris, that is, all children learn Kiswahili at home and commence their kindergarten and subsequently primary schools with reasonable proficiency in the language. Some children learn Arabic language at an early age when they are admitted in *madras preschools*¹ where apart from Arabic they learn the Qur-an, Islamic culture, and basic literacy (Aga Khan Foundation, 2008). These centres which are named as *madras preschools* often formulate their own language policies which generally allow bilingualism which includes Arabic and Kiswahili. Some of them further include English language as a subject and hence they practice multilingualism which includes Arabic, Kiswahili and English.

Kiswahili is the language which is generally used in day-to-day life in most of people's daily business, for example, trade and commerce among Zanzibaris, Tanzanians and even people from East Africa and other neighbouring countries such as Congo, Rwanda and Mozambique, is carried out in Kiswahili (see Section 1.2.1). In government and non-governmental or private organizations the language which is generally used is Kiswahili. In religious settings where people learn Islam (*darsa*) Arabic alongside Kiswahili is frequently used. Mass media such as radio and television which are state or privately owned generally use Kiswahili in their daily programmes. Likewise, the newspaper which is owned by the government of Zanzibar uses Kiswahili. In a nutshell, in Zanzibar Kiswahili is the language which is largely used in official settings, trade and commerce, informal settings, and domestic settings.

In Mainland Tanzania the large majority of the population speaks Kiswahili as their second language after acquiring their own indigenous languages (Mwinshehe, 2003). Tanzania Mainland has more than 150 indigenous languages (Tibategeza & Plessis,

¹ Madras preschools are the centres where children study before they start primary schools. In these centres, Islamic culture and Qur-an are offered apart from other areas of basic literacy. The word *madras* has Arabic origin *darsa* which means the place where one studies.

2012). There are some children who learn Kiswahili as a second language in kindergarten or primary schools. However, Kiswahili is used largely in day-to-day life activity especially in formal settings, trade and commerce, and sometimes in informal settings especial in urban areas. Like Zanzibar mass media that is, newspapers, radio and television in Tanzania Mainland largely use Kiswahili. However, there are two state owned newspapers which are written in English. At domestic level, especially in rural areas of Mainland Tanzania, however, some indigenous languages are used.

1.2.1 Kiswahili in Official Policies

The need and importance of Kiswahili and English in Zanzibar has been explicitly stated in various official documents such as the Zanzibar Constitution of 2010 and Zanzibar Education Policy of 2006. The Zanzibar Constitution states that Kiswahili is the official language of the House of Representatives, in that all official documents and formal transactions, and in official settings Kiswahili has to be used. Likewise, the education language policy of the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training of Zanzibar explicitly states that Kiswahili is the national and official language of Zanzibar. Also, it is the language of learning and teaching in primary schools for some grade levels, that is, from Standard 1 up to Standard 4 and for some subjects up to Standard 7. Kiswahili is also taught as a subject in primary and secondary schools, and tertiary level (see section 1.2.2.1 for detailed explanation).

The Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania does not mention the roles and position of Kiswahili in Tanzania. Instead, the Cultural Policy (1997), which is a government document, states that Kiswahili is a national language in Tanzania though it has not been stated in the constitution. According to this document, the failure of the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania to state Kiswahili as a national language has led to a number of consequences. First, many people are denied their right since almost all legal documents are written in a foreign language (English). Added to this, the high court cases, especially in the court of appeal, are administered in a foreign language (English). Furthermore, there has been a contradiction of official language of communication in government matters.

This document further mentions that although language is the main identity of any nation, there has been a stereotypical belief that the use of Kiswahili will deprive Tanzanians from the development of science and technology. However, this policy underscores that no country has advanced in science and technology without using its national language. Thus, this document explicitly states that Kiswahili is the language of learning and teaching from pre-primary to primary schools. Added to this, Kiswahili will be taught as a subject from pre-primary, primary, to secondary schools as Section 3.4.2 of that document states that “Kiswahili shall be a compulsory subject in pre-primary, primary and secondary education and shall be encouraged in higher education. In addition the teaching of Kiswahili shall be strengthened” (Cultural Policy, 1997:20). The document also includes the statement showing that special plans will be designed to enable the use of Kiswahili in all levels of education. However, a contradictory statement was made by the Minister of Education in 2001 in that a large number of people apply for licences to establish English medium schools, and none of the applications are for Kiswahili medium school. He further claimed that his office will consider the use of Kiswahili as a language of learning and teaching in secondary schools when at least one application for a licence to establish a Kiswahili medium school is sent to the office. This is a contradictory statement especially as it was made by the Minister of Education because it rejects the cultural policy which is itself a government document and the policy of the Ministry of Education. Moreover, the cultural policy mentions that the National Kiswahili Council of Tanzania will be assigned the duty to research and intellectualize Kiswahili language.

1.2.2 English in Official Policies

The role of English has been defined in different policy documents in Zanzibar. English is the language of learning and teaching in secondary schools and at tertiary level (Education Language Policy, 2006); and it is also taught as a subject. It is a compulsory subject in primary and secondary schools whereas at tertiary level it is optional for students. The Constitution of Zanzibar states that Kiswahili is the official language of the House of Representatives and documents shall be written in Kiswahili or English if it is found necessary. This implies that Kiswahili and English are the official languages of the

Zanzibar House of Representatives. Likewise, the Education Language Policy states that English is widely used in international trade and commerce and tourism.

The Cultural Policy of 1997 which was presented by the Ministry of Education of Tanzania explicitly states that English is the language of learning and teaching from secondary school to tertiary level. English will also be taught as a compulsory subject from pre-primary, primary to secondary schools as Section 3.3.1 states, “English shall be a compulsory subject in pre-primary, primary and secondary education levels and shall be encouraged in higher education” (Cultural Policy, 1997:18). Furthermore, English is an official language in Tanzania simultaneously with Kiswahili. However, it is a language which is spoken fluently by only five per cent of the population (Schimied, 1989).

1.2.2.1 Kiswahili in National School Curriculum

Kiswahili is the language of learning and teaching in primary schools up to Grade 4 in Zanzibar and in secondary schools it becomes only a subject on its own. Kiswahili is taught as a compulsory subject in all secondary classes. The curriculum of secondary school education explicitly states that Kiswahili will be taught as a subject in order to enhance the development of linguistic competency of that language and subsequently effective use of communication skills of Kiswahili.

In the Table 1.0 below, it can be noted from the proportion of teaching periods, Kiswahili is taught for three teaching period a week in secondary school classes. This is two teaching periods less compared to English. Though Kiswahili is the mother tongue of students in Zanzibar (see Section 1.2) one may ask the question if three teaching periods per week which is equivalent to two hours will enable students to demonstrate linguistic ability in that language and subsequently effective communication skills.

1.2.2.2 English and other foreign languages in the National School Curriculum

Recognising that language is an important tool of communication, the curricula of secondary schools in Tanzania and Zanzibar have included some languages which are

taught as subjects on their own. These languages are English, Kiswahili, Arabic and French. Apart from English being used as language of learning and teaching in secondary schools and tertiary level as shown in Section 1.2.2, it is explicitly mentioned that it is a subject in its own right. In secondary schools English is a compulsory subject throughout the country. English is taught for five teaching periods per week in each class from Form 1 up to Form 4. There are two subjects which have been given more teaching periods per week than English. Thus, English occupies the third position of the number of teaching periods. That is, English is one teaching hour less than mathematics and agriculture.

English and Arabic are taught in primary and secondary schools in Zanzibar (Education Language Policy, 2006) whereas in Mainland Tanzania Arabic is taught in only some schools (Secondary School Curriculum, 2010). In Zanzibar, French is taught in only some secondary schools.

Apart from the subjects shown in Table 1.0 below, there are some other subjects which are taught as optional subjects such as French, Arabic, Fine Arts, and others. All secondary school subjects use English as a language of learning and teaching except Kiswahili, Islamic knowledge, Arabic, and French. For the religion subject, students who opt for Islamic knowledge use Kiswahili as a language of learning and teaching for up to Form 4 but for students who opt for Bible knowledge, they use English as a language of learning and teaching.

Table 1.1 Subjects taught from Form I to Form IV with their corresponding number of periods per week

Form I and Form II			Form III and Form IV		
S/No	Subject	Number of periods per week	S/No	Subject	Number of periods per week
1.	Mathematics	6	1.	Mathematics	6
2.	English	5	2.	English	5
3.	Kiswahili	3	3.	Kiswahili	3
4.	Biology	3	4.	Biology	3
5.	Civics	2	5.	Civics	2
6.	Physics	3	6.	Physics	4
7.	Chemistry	3	7.	Chemistry	4
8.	Geography	3	8.	Geography	3
9.	Commerce	3	9.	Commerce	3
10.	History	2	10.	History	3
11.	Religion	2	11.	Religion	2
12.	Bookkeeping	3	12.	Bookkeeping	3
13.	Agriculture Science	6	13.	Agriculture Science	6
14.	Engineering Science	3	14.	Engineering Science	3

From: Secondary school curriculum of Tanzania (2010).

It can be noted in Table 1.0 above that English language as a subject on its own has been given more prominence than Kiswahili in terms of number of teaching periods. This can be observed by the proportion of the number of teaching periods in that English has been given more periods compared to Kiswahili.

The Tanzania Development vision 2025 highlights the significance of curriculum in that it should focus on enhancing creativity and problem solving as a bridge for students to cross to science and technology and subsequently being a well-educated people. There is a critical question to ask regarding the achievement of the vision. Can the use of English as a language of learning and teaching help to achieve that vision? Likewise, the education policy of Tanzania is guided by the philosophy of Education for Self Reliance. This policy puts emphasis on meaningful learning with its indicators of confidence, creativity and analysis of matters. This implies that by using English as a language of learning and teaching, students are expected to be confident, creative, innovative and able to analyse issues critically. While the Education Language Policy (2006) states that the teaching methodology of language is poor due to incompetent teachers, the secondary school curriculum of Tanzania expects students to be creative and innovative and subsequently critical thinkers by using English as a language of learning and teaching.

1.3 Research and Cases Portraying an 'English-only' Language-in-education Policy in Tanzania and Zanzibar

The debate about language use in education has been a global issue for many decades. In this debate the use of learner's mother tongue as a language of learning and teaching has been underscored as a springboard for learning. For example, the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) (1953) issued the declaration on the use of learner's mother tongue, indicating the significance and benefit of using mother tongue in education. Likewise, that fierce debate on the use of mother tongue in education has been intensified in Africa by international organizations such as UNESCO (2003) and Save the Children (2009) and other researchers to mention a few Alexander (2003a, 2003b; 2007), Bamgbose (2005), Ramani & Joseph (2006), Trudell (2007) and Edu-Buandoh & Otchere (2012). According to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (2004) millions of children learn through a second or foreign language.

Studies conducted in different parts of the globe indicate that children learn better when their mother tongue is used as a language of learning and teaching. However,

many African countries have not yet used the mother tongue as a resource in education (Djite, 2008) as Alexander (2003b) and UNESCO (2010) indicate that Africa is the only continent where most children learn through second or foreign languages. Surprisingly, in Africa there are about 2,500 languages spoken on the continent (UNESCO, 2010). Despite the use of mother tongue in education being a resource, few African countries have given serious attention to this matter. By 2004, less than 200 of over 2,500 indigenous languages have been used in education in Africa and at the lower level (Gadelii, 2004), instead English is mostly used. However, it is estimated that only between ten to fifteen per cent of people in Africa have good proficiency of English.

In the Mainland part of Tanzania, a number of studies concerning language use in education have been carried out. Tibategeaza and Plessis (2012) indicate that many education stakeholders believed that ex-colonial languages, especially English, are better than African languages. This weakens the effort to make Kiswahili as a language of learning and teaching in secondary schools. The wide spread of this stereotypical belief that Kiswahili is inappropriate for the use of language of learning and teaching in secondary schools leads people to continue to equate English to good education. This makes students to persist with the use of English as language of learning and teaching, although Rubagumya (2003) contends that a large number of students in Tanzania are of the belief that they understand their teachers well when they use Kiswahili during the lessons.

The persistence of using English as a language of learning and teaching in Tanzania deprives students of the opportunity to bring their home experiences from ethnic languages or Kiswahili to the classroom and to link with what they learn (Rubanza, 2000; Qorro, 2009). Students' failure to link home experiences with school makes them to be as blank slates when they learn through English (Rubanza, 2000). Along similar lines, Mwinshehe (2003) points out that the large majority of Tanzanian children learn their local languages first before they learn Kiswahili. These children use either their local languages or Kiswahili for thinking. Hence, the dominant use of English in the classroom creates a communication barrier. However, as Rubagumya (2003) asserts, students and teachers prefer the use of English as a language of learning and teaching,

believing that Kiswahili will impede their learning of English, the language of science and technology.

In 1984, a consultant team commissioned by the Government of Tanzania reported that the standard of English of Tanzanian students was low and subsequently in 1986 the English Language Teaching Project was commenced. According to Malekela (2003), despite those efforts, students' English proficiency is still unsatisfactory in all levels of education in Tanzania. He reports that external examiners in universities always give suggestions on the improvement of English. Furthermore, the problem of using English is still ignored by among the top leaders of the country (Brock-Utne & Holmarsdottir, 2003; Brock-Utne, 2005). According to Brock-Utne (2005), the Minister of Education and Vocational Training of Tanzania stressed that English will continue to be used as a language of teaching and learning in secondary schools since it is the preference of Tanzanians. The Minister added, it was the argument of researchers and professors that Kiswahili should be the language of learning and teaching in secondary schools but not the opinion of the large majority of Tanzanians.

Along similar lines, Qorro (2009) argues that the education language policy of Tanzania endeavours students to be bilingual in Kiswahili and English, although English is given more priority. Further to the debate of language of learning and teaching in secondary schools, Qorro argues against the ideas that the use of English as a language of learning and teaching gives students exposure to English. She argues that it is meaningless to entertain students' exposure to broken English which is spoken in the classroom since both teachers and students have poor English proficiency. She further contends that the policy makers in African countries, including Tanzania, put priority on English under the pretext of globalization. Consequently students, even university graduates, can neither express themselves well in their first language (Kiswahili) nor operate well in globalization.

While many studies on language in education policy and its implementation have been carried out in the Mainland part of Tanzania, there is a paucity of research on this area in Zanzibar Island. As it has been hinted elsewhere in this chapter, Zanzibar is a

monolingual island in that Kiswahili is the mother tongue of all children whereas in Mainland Tanzania many children first learn their local languages before they learn Kiswahili. On this sociolinguistic difference one cannot safely use the exact findings from the studies carried out in Mainland Tanzania and apply them in Zanzibar. Added to this, the education language policy of Zanzibar from pre-primary, primary and secondary schools up to Form 2 is different from that of Mainland Tanzania. For example, the medium of instruction in primary schools of Mainland Tanzania is Kiswahili for all seven years while in Zanzibar the medium of instruction in primary schools is Kiswahili up to Standard 4 and then English from Standard 5 to Standard 7 (primary). This is due to the fact that the authority of education matters of Zanzibar is the Ministry of Education and Vocation Training of Zanzibar whereas the authority of education matters of the Mainland part of Tanzania is the Ministry of Education of Tanzania.

Few studies conducted in Zanzibar for examples by Erduran (2010), Clegg and Afitska (2010), Halai and Rea-Dickins (2013) show how students struggle with English as language of learning and teaching in secondary schools and how it effects assessment. None of these studies investigated the extent to which Kiswahili is suitable to replace English as a language of learning and teaching; and teachers' and students' perspectives on the main variances between policy stipulations concerning the official language of instruction and actual practices. This speaks to the paucity of research in this area in the Zanzibar context; and it is due to this dearth that the researcher of the present study sought to explore the relationship between an English-only language-in-education policy and bilingual practice in secondary schools of Zanzibar.

1.4 Statement of the Problem

In Zanzibar, Kiswahili is the mother tongue of almost the entire population since Zanzibar is a monolingual island (Brock-Utne, 2012). However, the language of learning and teaching for secondary schools is English. Added to that, in primary schools English is the medium of instruction from Standard 5 for science, geography, mathematics and Information and Communication Technology. It is ironic that the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training of Zanzibar has declared English as a language of learning and

teaching for some grade levels of primary schools and all through secondary schools. The Education Language Policy (2006) states,

In Zanzibar, Kiswahili is the medium of instruction in primary schools and English at secondary and higher levels. However, there is perceptible weakness in language proficiency of teachers and students in English (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, Zanzibar, 2006:35).

Studies conducted in Zanzibar justify the statement made in the policy that the English language proficiency of both teachers and students is unsatisfactory. However, the use of English as a language of learning and teaching has been extended to primary schools for mathematics and science subjects as the policy states:

Kiswahili shall continue as the medium of instruction in public pre-primary and primary schools except for mathematics and science subjects beginning primary five where English shall be used (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, Zanzibar, 2006:36).

Erduran (2010) reports that students in Zanzibar secondary schools experience problems when using English as a language of learning and teaching. Students fail to link what they learn in schools with their home experience and vice versa. This situation compels teachers to use codeswitching in the classrooms. A similar situation was reported by Clegg and Afitska (2010) who observe that the use of codeswitching in Zanzibar secondary schools was common for both teachers and students. In a recent study on the use of English as a language of learning and teaching, Halai and Rea-Dickins (2013) indicate that while students were required to explain and discuss issues in English they could rarely express themselves in English. They observe that an English-only language in education policy created inequality to the access to education since only a few students could effectively engage in their curriculum.

The primary interest of the present study is to explore the relationship between an English-only language in education policy and bilingual practice in secondary schools in Zanzibar. There are a number of important questions which are still left unanswered in the studies discussed above regarding the problem of language use in the classroom. Hence, there is a need for in-depth understanding of the extent to which Kiswahili is used in English medium subjects in the classroom and the extent to which that bilingual

(English and Kiswahili) practice facilitates students' learning and cognition. Likewise, the studies discussed above only reveal that the use of English as a language of learning and teaching in secondary schools is a problem but none of them explore the extent to which Kiswahili is suitable to be used as a sole language of learning and teaching in the secondary schools in Zanzibar. Finally, while many studies discussed in this chapter and others in Chapter 3 investigated teachers and students' perceptions to the use of mother tongue as a language of learning and teaching, the present study particularly sought to explore teachers' and students' perspectives on the main variances between policy stipulations concerning the official language of instruction and actual practices. It is on this basis the present study has been conceived.

1.5 Objectives of the Study

In the light of the problems reviewed above, this present study has sought to do the following:

- i. to explore teachers' and students' perspectives on the main variances between policy stipulations concerning the official language of instruction and actual practices.
- ii. to explore the extent to which Kiswahili is used in English medium subjects and the extent to which that bilingual practice of using Kiswahili and English together facilitates students' learning and cognition.
- iii. to address tensions, contradictions and challenges which the teachers and students experience with regard to language use in the classroom.
- iv. to investigate the extent to which Kiswahili is suitable to be used as a sole language of learning and teaching in secondary schools in Zanzibar.
- v. to examine the difference in terms of pass rate when a particular subject was taught and assessed in English and when the same subject was taught and assessed in Kiswahili.

The present study has sought to reveal how language can be a problem and how it can be a resource in the classroom (Ruiz, 1984). Along the same lines the present study has documented how bilingual practice (Kiswahili and English) in the classroom is a resource rather than a deficit. Hence, the primary contribution of the present study is to

offer an empirically based argument supporting the finding that an English-only language-in-education policy proves to be a deficit one, whereas a bilingual practice which includes English and Kiswahili is a potential resource in the transition to the use of Kiswahili, the mother tongue, as a language of learning and teaching in secondary schools in Zanzibar.

1.6 Rationale for and Significance of the Study

The present study is claimed to be significant in that it sought not only to address the negative consequences of the implementation of an English-only language-in-education policy but it also offers a possible solution to that problem. The findings could contribute to the action that the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training of Zanzibar may need to take to eliminate the impacts of using English as a language of learning and teaching in secondary schools. Moreover, the present study focuses on the suitability of Kiswahili to be used as a sole language of learning and teaching in secondary schools in Zanzibar (while many studies do not focus on that; for example the studies cited above), hence this study is expected to enrich the literature on suitability of using Kiswahili as language of learning and teaching in secondary schools.

Lastly, the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training of Zanzibar has recently (this year 2014) reintroduced the use of English as language of learning and teaching from Standard 5 onwards in primary schools for science, mathematics, geography and ICT. Hence, the present study is timely and important for providing the policy makers with insightful suggestions to reconsider and to reform that policy.

1.7 Context of the thesis

The present study was undertaken in two government secondary schools in Zanzibar town. Both schools had two teaching sessions for different students, a morning and afternoon session. As with many schools in Zanzibar, both schools which the present study was carried out had large classes. The number of students in each class ranged between 45 and 60. There were some classes in these schools in which students studied science subjects and others where they studied arts subjects. Both secondary schools

had ordinary level classes (Form 1 up to Form 4) and advanced level (Form 5 up to Form 6).

Students from Form 1 up to Form 2 use a curriculum designed by the Department of Curriculum Development which is under the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training of Zanzibar; while students from Form 3 up to Form 6 use a curriculum developed by the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training of Tanzania. Form 2 students sit for the national examinations which are administered by the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training of Zanzibar whereas the Form 4 and Form 6 national examinations are administered by the Ministry of Education of Tanzania.

In ordinary level English is used as a language of learning and teaching for all subjects except Kiswahili language as a subject and Islamic knowledge which both use Kiswahili as a language of learning and teaching. In advanced level as well, English is used as a language of learning and teaching for all subjects except Kiswahili.

1.8 Outline of the thesis

This chapter has provided the background to the present study in terms of the language situation in Zanzibar and Tanzania followed by research and cases portraying an English-only language-in-education policy in Tanzania and Zanzibar. It also gives descriptions of the statement of the problem, objectives of the study, and rationale for and significance of the study. The context of the study is also provided and the chapter ends with the outline of the thesis.

Chapter 2 provides the conceptual and theoretical framework which has shaped the present study. That is, concepts and theory concerning language policy and planning are discussed. Chapter 3 reviews the related literature on language planning and policy issues, particularly language in education policy and its implementation in the classroom. Issues about unintended bilingual practices which includes mother tongue are critically reviewed. Chapter 4 explains the research design and methodology of the present study. It gives descriptions of research questions, participants of the study, context of the study, and data collection and analysis.

Chapter 5 focuses on data presentation, analysis and interpretation and provides discussions of the themes and issues raised in order to answer research questions one and two. Chapter 6 offers data presentation, analysis, interpretation, and provides discussion of the themes and issues raised in order to answer research questions three and four as explicated in the respective chapters. Chapter 7 provides data presentation, analysis, interpretation and discussion in order to answer research question five. The thesis is concluded with Chapter 8 which provides a summary of the research findings, and conclusions drawn from those findings discussed in Chapters 5, 6, and 7. Limitations of the present study, implications of the research findings, recommendations and suggestions for further research in this field are provided in this chapter.

Along the lines of the outline of thesis, the chapter that follows provides the conceptual and theoretical framework underpinning the present study.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter delineates the theoretical framework of the present study. Ruiz's (1984) tripartite orientations of language planning and Spolsky's (2004, 2009) model of language planning are the predominant elements of the framework which guided this study.

2.2 Language planning and language policy

Since this study focuses on the area of language planning and language policy it is deemed necessary to give a thorough explanation of these important concepts. Language planning and policy is a field of sociolinguistics which has received immense attention since the 1960s. Language planning exists in a community where more than one language is used, hence choice about which language to be used where, when and by whom is made (Spolsky, 2009). Many scholars who have engaged in this field have tried to define the term "language planning". Shohamy (2006:49) defines language planning as a "sweeping intervention and control of language behaviour". According to Kaplan and Baldauf (1997:3), language planning is "a body of ideas, laws and regulations (language policy), change rules, beliefs, and practices intended to achieve a planned change (or to stop change from happening) in the language use in one or more communities". The two definitions above have connected language planning with official documents. Spolsky (2004:11) defines language planning as "the formulation and proclamation of an explicit plan or policy, usually but not necessarily written in a formal document, about language use". On the basis of Spolsky's definition, the non-existence of a written document about language use in a country, a community, or an institution does not mean that language planning and policy are not being implemented. By the same token, the existence of a written document about language use in a country (that is, an overt policy) does not guarantee that a language policy will be implemented, nor that it will be successful if it is implemented (Spolsky 2004). In a community where

no written language policy exists, the language use and language beliefs of that community will determine the language policy of that community.

2.2.1 Types of language planning

Many researchers in language planning have indicated three important components (types) in language planning. Hence, various language planning activities are undertaken in these three components. There are activities which modify language itself and activities which set environment for language use (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). These are status planning, corpus planning, and acquisition planning. In the discussion of these types of language planning, some scholars have implicitly discussed opportunity planning as the fourth type of language planning. However, Antia (forthcoming) explicitly points to opportunity planning as the fourth type of language planning.

The sections below will provide explanations on these types language planning.

2.2.1.1 Status planning

Status planning is a type of language planning which determines the prestige or status of a language with respect to others (Shohamy, 2006; Spolsky, 2009). Prestige or status is established through regulations or laws which proclaim a particular language is as official. Status planning also entails proclaiming the use of certain language at a particular place and institution, for example, a language to be used at workplace, and a language of medium of instruction (Wright, 2004). Since status planning designates the function of a language in a given institution or place, it is required to consider the needs of a given speech community (Baldauf & Kaplan, 2004).

2.2.1.2 Corpus planning

Corpus planning is concerned with the setting out of the acceptable form and structure of a language (Shohamy, 2006). Thus, corpus planning includes orthographic innovation, which entails standardisation, aspects of grammar, spelling, and the innovation of a new lexicon (Shohamy, 2006; Orman, 2008). Corpus planning entails codification and elaboration (Baldauf & Kaplan, 2004). Cooper (1989) suggests three areas of corpus planning namely standardisation, harmonisation, and elaboration.

Standardisation deals with the development of a language norm in terms of its orthography and grammar, while harmonisation deals with determining one language based from a variety of languages (Cooper, 1989). Elaboration has to do with functional development of a language (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997). This means that, as language codification has been carried out, there is a need to implement the norm.

2.2.1.3 Acquisition planning

The main focus of acquisition planning is the learning of languages. A language can be learned as a mother tongue, a second language, or a foreign language. The goals of acquisition planning can be achieved through improving learning opportunities and creating incentives to learning (Cooper 1989; Orman, 2008). Apart from dealing with language teaching and learning, acquisition planning is also concerned with bilingual and mother-tongue education, and minority language development (Jones, 2010).

The distinction that status planning is more ideological than corpus planning is contradictory (Fishman 2006), since these are embedded aspects. Generally, status planning is preceded by corpus planning, as language is first developed, and then it is given a particular status. However, in some situations corpus planning is preceded by status planning. For example, when some languages in South Africa were given status of official language, subsequently a series of efforts were taken to develop them to properly suit the role and position that they had been granted. Hence, these two types of language planning never exist in isolation; instead, they co-occur (Fishman 2006:15).

2.2.1.4 Opportunity planning

Opportunity planning considers job and opportunity creation based on professional use of languages (African languages). In addition, it entails multilingualism as a resource in different domains (Antia, forthcoming). Antia (2000) argues that status planning has to be complemented by corpus planning in that to ensure that languages are well developed. Likewise they have to be complemented by acquisition planning to ensure that languages are properly learned. On this basis, opportunity planning should be complemented by status planning, corpus planning and acquisition planning to ensure

that jobs and other opportunities are properly created through professional use of languages (Antia, forthcoming).

Language planning efforts are influenced by the role of language in society. In this regard, Ruiz (1984) advanced three orientations in language planning. These orientations mirror ideological assumptions about language and its role in a society. The section below will provide discussion of the language-planning orientations.

2.3 Orientations of language planning

Ruiz's (1984) three orientations to language planning, namely language as a problem, language as a right, and language as a resource, constitute the theoretical framework underpinning this study. It is deemed necessary to define the word "orientation" as it is used in the context of this research. Orientation refers to "a complex of dispositions toward language and its role, and toward languages and their role in society" (Ruiz 1984:16). The crucial argument is that the significant role of language planners is to keep these language orientations overt. The role of language planners is to confirm whether these orientations have been accommodated in the existing policies, and also to advocate them in newly established policies (Ruiz, 1984). The perception of language rights is linked to historical patterns of discrimination and exclusion in language use where United States government agencies advocated monolingual systems, whereas non-English-speaking groups struggled for public support for the teaching and maintenance of languages other than English (Ricento, 2005).

2.3.1 Language as a problem

Webb and Kembo-Sure (2000) attempted to categorise language problems as language-based problems and language problems. In their view, language-based problems are non-linguistic problems, in that these problems involve education, the economy, politics, and other social domains. They hold that language-based problems are problems that occur due to the consequences of language use, rather than because of a language itself, whereas language problems are linguistic problems which occur on account of the nature or the structure of the language itself. Webb and Kembo-Sure (2000:4) identified four language-based problems:

- i. restricted access to education;
- ii. ineffective performance and low productivity;
- iii. inadequate participation in politics; and
- iv. alienation from their own language and culture.

Webb and Kembo-Sure (2000) provide evidence that language can become a problem. This can occur when language is used to deprive people of access to information in different domains of life. Likewise, when people are forced to stop using their languages and to use a certain language and to act in a certain way, language can again become a problem. The identity function of language can lead to a serious problem, such as genocide, for example in the case of Kenya in 1992 and 1998, where hundreds of people were killed because they belonged to certain language groups (Webb & Kembo-Sure, 2000). Similarly, Kaschula (1999) shows that language can be a problem, particularly when language planning is not handled properly, and may consequently cause conflict. Kaschula (1999) cites as an example the 1976 Soweto uprising that occurred when the South African government of the time tried to impose Afrikaans as the language of instruction in all schools for black pupils. Webb and Kembo-Sure (2000) suggest that to solve language problems, politicians should involve trained linguists who clearly understand the way languages work in society.

Webb and Kembo-Sure (2000) argue that the use of an unfamiliar language is a problem in education and other domains. Students' cognitive development takes place only when a familiar language is used (UNESCO, 1953, 2011; Save the Children, 2011). However, a number of African countries use foreign or second languages in education. For example, 70% of black South Africans have their own indigenous languages (Kaschula, 1999), and most of them are not competent in English (Probyn, 2006). Surprisingly one can see in South Africa that most black parents are strongly attracted to the use of English to teach their children. Consequently this leads to the problem of student underachievement. The same is the case in Rwanda, where 99.4% of the population speaks Kinyarwanda as their first language (Andersson & Rusanganwa, 2011), and in Tanzania, where more than 95% of the population speaks Kiswahili as their first or second language (Batibo,

2005), yet English is used as a language of instruction in secondary education in these countries.

Researchers that employ the orientation of language as a problem have found that African languages are regarded as fit for domestic use only, and unfit for public domains, such as education and the economy, as well as for social mobility (see for example Webb & Kembo-Sure, 2000; Alexander, 2004, 2007). Webb and Kembo-Sure (2000) also show that language is perceived as a problem when it is politicised in a country. For example, in some communities in South Africa, Afrikaans has acquired a negative stigma, as it is associated with apartheid. In Kenya, native languages are also politicised, and people are thus reluctant to use their indigenous languages, with the result that they use Kiswahili or English instead. Language is also perceived as a problem when it is standardised. When language is standardised, speakers of a certain variety of language feel that it is a sort of an interference with their variety and that their particular variety is being subjugated. The same is the case when languages are harmonised, in that speakers of each language want to preserve their language. Kembo-Sure (2006:22) contend that language is a problem when children start literacy in their mother tongues, or their first languages, and are abruptly compelled to switch to a foreign language as a language of learning and teaching. They conclude that children are overwhelmed by “culture shock” when they are compelled to use a foreign language (see section 3.3.2 for a detailed discussion).

The orientation of language as a problem can be traced to the socio-historical underpinnings of multilingualism in the United States. It was a common belief that lack of English proficiency was related to “poverty, handicap, low educational achievement, and little or no social mobility” (Ruiz, 1984:19). Since language was perceived as a problem in the United States, in the 1960s the Bilingual Education Act with the ideology of associating groups of non-English speakers as disadvantageous and handicapped was introduced. The role and aim of this Act was to overcome this problem and subsequently to fight against poverty. Efforts of teaching English to non-English groups was initiated as the solution to the language problem, and this at the expense of the mother tongue which is currently called transitional bilingual education (Ruiz, 1984).

Speakers of minority languages were regarded as problematic and they were believed as the ones who were in need of bilingual education. As Fishman (1978, cited in Ruiz 1984:19) claims, it was speakers of minority languages who were thought to be in need of bilingual education, because English could help them to solve their problems. It was also thought that “the escape from little languages [minority languages] is viewed as liberating, as joyful, as self-fulfilling” (see Fishman, 1978:47, cited in Ruiz, 1984:20).

Language as a problem, as one of Ruiz’s (1984) orientations to language planning, has been supported by a growing body of literature (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997; Kaschula, 1999; Bamgbose, 2005; Brock-Utne, 2005; Prah, 2005; Ricento, 2005; Harrison, 2007, 2009; Orman, 2008; Spolsky, 2009). Many researchers have given much attention to the language problem due the importance of language as Ruiz (1984) points out that language discrimination is among the worst types of discrimination because language touches different facets of social life. In this regard, there is a direct link between language problem and language planning in that as language problems emerge, language planning then takes its course (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997; Shohamy, 2006). Mackey (1979:48, cited in Ruiz, 1984:18) contends that language problems are complicated by multilingual contexts, that is, “the more languages there are to choose from, the more complex the problems tend to become”. However, Ruiz (1984:18) argues that language problems may occur due to the lack of “conceptual models in language planning”, and paying little attention to the research findings of that field.

Apart from the United States of America and African countries, as hinted to above, the language problem faces other continents where language prevents certain groups of people who are not proficient in a certain language from gaining access to employment and education. The research conducted by Harrison (2007) in Australia on language use by immigrants at social work serves as an example of language as a problem. The participants in his study, who were immigrants in Australia, admitted that language was a problem in both the educational and the social spheres for all who lack fluency in English. Most English native speakers associated non-English speakers with a kind of disability, and believed that that disability weakens non-English speakers’ competencies and success (Harrison, 2007). In turn, poor English proficiency is equated with individual deficit, and bilingual speakers are regarded as a problem in social relations,

and consequently competencies in languages other than English are devalued. Discussing the orientation of language as a problem, Harrison (2007:87), asserts that “inability to speak English in an Anglophone country such as Australia constitutes a significant barrier to accessing services and participating in public life”.

2.3.2 Language as a right

Language as a right is another of Ruiz’s (1984) orientations to language planning. In this framework, it can be argued that the individual’s should have a right to choice of language, just as he or she has a right to choice of religion (Cummins, 2000). Language as a right refers to the “rights of individuals to choose to use (or learn, or teach) a specific variety of language” (Spolsky, 2009:217). In a country or community where people have language rights, the government or its agencies should acknowledge that there are speakers of different languages, and it should encourage them to use their languages (Blommaert, 2001).

Acquisition of language rights has been a problem in many countries in the world (Ruiz, 1984). For example, in the United States, “laws were passed banning German speech in the classroom, street, church, in public meetings, and even in telephone conversations” (Ricento, 2005:353). Similarly in Kenya, the bill was passed which prohibited the use of Kenyan indigenous languages in public offices, and instead people were allowed to use Kiswahili, English or other foreign languages (Daily Nation, June 8, 2011). Based on false premises, even schools banned children from using their mother tongue. For example, in Wales, ‘Welsh-Not’ was introduced and it was forbidden for Welsh-speaking children to use Welsh at school (Baker, 2002).

Deprivation of language rights was an obstacle for adequate participation in a wide range of government programmes, such as in forms that made use of an unfamiliar language, voting materials that were written in unfamiliar languages, and denial of the right to bilingual education (Ruiz, 1984; Ricento, 2005). Ruiz (1984) and Ricento (2005) argue that based on the advocacy of language right made by international organisations such as UNESCO and the International Labour Organization, the struggle of non-English

speakers to acquire language rights, the United States passed the Bilingual Education Act in 1968, which allowed non-English speakers to use their languages in education. For example, Pousada (1979, cited in Ruiz, 1984:21-22) claims that existing efforts for bilingual education for Hispanics is “a result of the [C]ivil [R]ights [M]ovement”. However, Ricento (205:355) argues that the use of non-English languages was just a transitional phase to offer non-English speakers time to acquire English (that is, a subtractive bilingual model), and that “language rights per se do not exist”. He further contends that policies of bilingual education and bilingual ballots are merely “viewed as temporary instruments to ameliorate past injustices”.

Language rights can be categorised in different ways. Macias (1979:88-89) points out that there are two kinds of rights namely “the right to freedom from discrimination on the basis of language” and “the right to use language(s) in the activities of communal life”. On this basis, the need for students to learn by using their mother tongue was found inevitable, and therefore the Seventh Principle of Language Policy proposes that “mother tongue instruction is an inalienable right” (see Ruiz, 1984). William (1981:62) claims that language rights are a human and an educational right, and that language planning should therefore link with social and educational planning. He suggests that

... before detailed language policies are formulated, it behoves us to question the relationship between language planning and language rights and to suggest the manner in which planning can realize the fulfilment of individual and group based rights.

Language rights can also be categorised as an individual right, for example any person charged with a crime should have a right to the use of a language which he or she understands. In contrast, another category is that of collective rights. These are rights that affect a group of people, for example language education policy. Bilingual education policy establishes the right for minorities to use their own indigenous languages (Spolsky, 2009).

Efforts which are made by international organisations serve as an example of the notion of language rights. In Article 23 of Convention No. 107 of the International Labour Organization of 1957, there is an important clause which advocates language rights:

Children belonging to the populations concerned shall be taught to read and write in their mother tongue or, where this is not practicable, in the language most commonly used by the group to which they belong. Provision shall be made for a progressive transition from the mother tongue or the vernacular language to the national language or to one of the official languages of the country. (cited in Spolsky, 2009:219)

This article explicitly shows that every child has a right to mother-tongue education, regardless of the status of his or her mother tongue. This is consistent with Tollefson's (2002:5) contention that "policies that seek to reduce language diversity are in most cases highly unrealistic". However, a number of countries ignore some languages, and consequently children are deprived of their language rights (Baker, 2006; Mazrui, 2002; Orman, 2008).

Despite the fact that overt language rights have been shown to exist, Baker (2006:386) points out that sometimes language rights can be "idealistic rather than realistic". He cites the example of South Africa, where teaching and learning resources will be made available for all 11 official languages for all spheres of the curriculum at different levels, but this is prohibitive because of the cost. He further indicates that to develop educational resources of one or a few languages will cost the speakers of disadvantaged languages, as they will be forced to use unfamiliar languages. As a result they are likely to experience low educational achievement since they would have to shift to advantaged language.

In Africa, efforts to enhance language rights seem to be inconsistent. In South Africa, during the apartheid era, there were only two official languages, namely English and Afrikaans, and neither of them was an indigenous African language. Immediately after the transition to democracy in South Africa, apart from the two existing official languages, nine indigenous African languages were declared official languages. Hence, South Africa has 11 official languages out of the 25 languages spoken in this country.

These 11 languages are spoken by 98% of South Africa's population. The following clauses from South Africa's Constitution are evident of the protection of language rights:

9(3) The state may not unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds, including [...] language[...]

29(2) Everyone has the right to receive education in the official language or languages of their choice in public educational institutions where that education is reasonably practicable. (Education Rights Project 2005)

This is an exemplary effort in the recognition of language rights. However, there has been a problem in the implementation of these rights, as some educational institutions and some parents are reluctant to encourage this implementation (Probyn, 2006, 2009). In some African countries, language rights seem to be seriously violated, and consequently a large number of people are deprived of the right to fully participate in educational, political, economic, and social issues. For example, Kamanda (2002) reveals interesting findings that language policy in Sierra Leone discriminates against people who are educated in languages other than English. The constitution of that country explicitly shows that for a Sierra Leonean to qualify as a Member of Parliament, he or she must be proficient in English. The constitution reads:

Subject to the provisions of Section 76, any person who [...] is able to speak and read the English language with a degree of proficiency sufficient to enable him to take part in the proceedings of parliament, shall be qualified for election as a Member of Parliament [...] The Business of parliament shall be conducted in the English Language. (Government of Sierra Leone, 1991:54, 63)

This sounds odd and discriminatory for that country, which has 16 indigenous languages, four of which are national languages of the country. It is evident that in many African countries, English continues to be favoured in most areas of development, and this deprives the majority of people of their language rights.

Language as a right is critical, just as other human rights are (Baker, 2006; Spolsky, 2009). Tollefson (1991:169-170) maintains that "individuals have a right to speak their native language in education, government, the media, and other areas". Individuals, to

win this right, need to fight a fierce battle. Ricento (2005:356) contends that the struggle to impart true “legitimacy to languages other than English renders the debate on language rights a zero sum game in which the winner – English – takes all [rights]”.

2.3.3 Language as a resource

The language-as-a-resource is the third orientation to language planning (Ruiz, 1984). This perspective has not been given as much attention as it deserves (Ruiz, 1984). The reason may be because ‘language is certainly an odd kind of resource for current cost-benefit theory to handle, precisely because of the difficulty in meaning of separating it from other resources’ (Fishman, 1974:83). Ruiz (1984) argues that the language-as-a-resource orientation to language planning is a promising resource that can be used to alleviate conflicts and tensions that emerge from the language-as-a-problem and the language-as-a-right orientations, for example the initiative to elevate the status of subordinate or minority languages.

An extensive body of literature shows that the use of non-English languages in various domains has not been encouraged for several years (Ruiz, 1984; Ricento Hornberger, 2002, 2003; 2005; Baker 2006; Alexander, 2004; Spolsky, 2009). Nevertheless, for more than three decades now, these languages, to some extent, have been acknowledged as resources and are taught in schools, universities, and other institutions. For example, a bilingual bachelor degree which uses Sesotho sa Leboa and English has been introduced at the University of Limpopo (Ramani & Joseph, 2006), a post graduate course in isiZulu has been introduced at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (Mashiya, 2010), and a new pilot programme of isiZulu-medium Bachelor of Education Honours programme has been introduced at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (see Rudwick & Parmegiani, 2013) (see section 3.5 for detailed discussion).

During the colonial era, the language-as-a-resource was used in such a way that indigenous languages were used to suppress the indigenous population (Ricento, 2005), and this persists even now. Ricento (2005) argues that the promotion of non-English languages (minority languages) is just for national benefit, such as for the military and for trade, rather than for the speakers of those languages. Government intervention in

language planning merely aims to elevate the status and enhance the development of non-English languages, instead it is the amelioration of the past injustice (Ricento, 2005).

It is very important for language planners to consider language as a resource. They should also consider “for whom” and “for what purpose” this resource is to be used (Ricento, 2005:364). Furthermore, language planning efforts clearly consider language as a resource that needs to be managed, developed, and conserved. Wright (2002:4) contends that “both English and African languages enjoy social and economic utility in different contexts”. Recognising that language is a resource, South Africa has made efforts to achieve “linguistic equity” for its official languages. Nine of those official languages are indigenous African languages which were marginalised under colonialism and apartheid. The language-as-a-resource perspective is the crux to language planning, and needs to be given much attention, bearing in mind that the value of language is similar to “a fish trying to express the value of water” (Wright, 2002:6). This implies that language is among the resources of the highest utility to life although it is not given the value it deserves. Therefore, according to Ruiz (1984:27), “[a] fuller development of a resource-oriented approach to language planning could help to reshape attitudes about language and language groups”.

The language-as-a-resource orientation is “considered as an alternative to a language right approach” (Ricento, 2005:348) in that language as a resource can grant individuals their right to use their languages. Ruiz (1984) shows how language as a resource can help reduce tensions and conflicts, and consequently solve problems that emerge from the other two perceptions about language. Ruiz (1984:25-26) posits that

[language as a resource] can have a direct impact on enhancing the language status of subordinate languages; it can help to ease tensions between majority and minority communities; it can serve as a more consistent way of viewing the role of non-English languages in U.S. society; and it highlights the importance of cooperative language planning.

In a nutshell, by recognizing language as a resource, language problems can be solved by recognizing local languages and minority languages to be used in different domains.

Language planning and policy can be incongruent with the beliefs, values, language use, and actual practices of members of a community (Spolsky, 2004). On this basis Spolsky (ibid) introduced a framework which distinguishes between policy and practice. He identifies three aspects of language policy, namely beliefs, practices, and management (planning). The following section will give some explanation of the components of language policy which are relevant to this study as they served as the theoretical framework.

2.4 The components of language policy

The three components of language policy embraced in the definition of language policy given by Spolsky (2004:9) consider language policy as “all language practices, beliefs and management [planning] decisions of a community or polity”. This definition of language policy goes beyond overt official documents. By the same token Skuttnab-Kangas and McCarty (2007) expanded the meaning of language policy as it entails official documents as well as everyday social practice. In their expanded definition they posit that language policy is a

socio-cultural process that includes official acts and documents as well as everyday language practices that express normative claims about legitimate and illegitimate language forms and uses, and have implications for status, rights, roles, functions, and access to languages and varieties within a given polity, organization, or institution (Skuttnab-Kangas & McCarty, 2007:9).

These two definitions of language policy cited above give a complete picture of the language policy and its implementation in that they show factors which contribute to the development of language policy and how enacted policy is interpreted and appropriated by the policy implementers. The subsequent subsections will provide brief explanations about constituents of language policy, namely language beliefs (ideology), language practices, and language management which are conceptualised by Spolsky (2004).

2.4.1 Language beliefs

Language beliefs refer to a general set of ideologies and beliefs regarding suitable language practices (Spolsky, 2004). Language ideology or belief makes people to judge which language is appropriate in their society or community. For example, a community

may believe that a particular language stimulates national unity, that is, that it affords a unifying factor, or that another language creates job opportunities. Language beliefs can influence language planning and policy and have a huge impact on language policy implementation. As Spolsky (2004:14) puts it, language ideologies or beliefs are “language policy with the manager left out”.

2.4.2 Language management

Language management refers to acts which are set to administer and manipulate language behaviour in a given community (Spolsky, 2009). This is a deliberate effort aimed at modifying and regulating language policy. Language planning or language management may sometimes go beyond or may be inconsistent with a community’s shared beliefs and values on language use and its de facto practices of language use (Shohamy, 2006).

2.4.3 Language practices

Language practices are the actual language use in a community, for various reasons, regardless of the policy that has been laid down and the community’s beliefs (Shohamy, 2006; Zabrodska, 2014). Language practices are observable language behaviour which can be identified through individuals’ regular language use (Spolsky, 2009; Zabrodska, 2014). Language practices have a tendency of growing without much intervention from authority. Most of the time, language practices change progressively with a combination of laws, regulations, and customs.

Spolsky (2004:222) claims that it is crucial to consider the policy revealed in the language practices of the community, as

the real language policy of a community is more likely to be found in its practices than its management. Unless the management is consistent with the language practices and beliefs, and with the other contextual forces that are in play, the explicit policy written in the constitution and laws is likely to have no more effect on how people speak than the activities of generations of schoolteachers vainly urging the choice of correct language.

The implication of this statement is that there is a tendency for there to be a discrepancy between a language policy and its implementation, particularly in a context

where the policy is not compatible with a community's beliefs and other issues that influence language use. Baldauf (1994) argues that language planners should not have delusions that they are there to control language situations in a country, since people sometimes tend to deny or resist to top down policy which is incompatible with their belief.

The three constituents in Spolsky's (2004) model of language policy (language beliefs, language practices, and language management) in Figure 2.1 below are generally intertwined. Language beliefs develop from language practices, and language beliefs motivate language practices. Likewise, language beliefs and language practices may or may not support language management efforts (Spolsky, 2004, 2009).

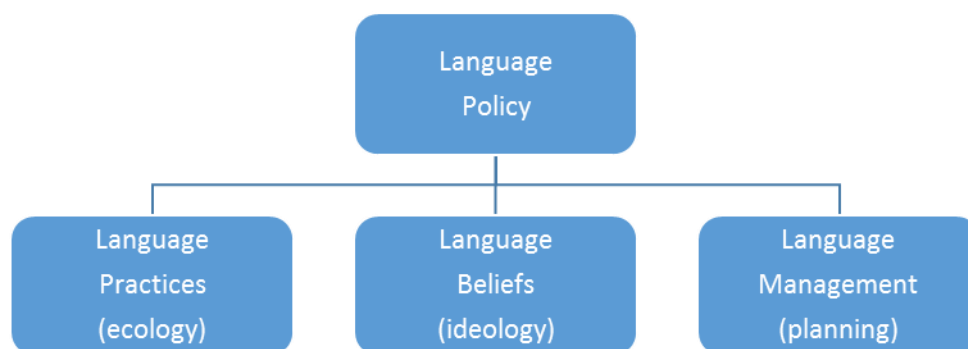


Figure 2.1 A model of language policy

Source: Based on a model by Spolsky (2004, see Shohamy, 2006:53).

2.5 Mechanisms which affect language policy practices

There are devices which affect the implementation of language policy practices. These devices can be overt or covert. Based on the language policy framework developed by Spolsky (2004), these devices can be said to lie at the centre of a battle between ideology and practice. Generally, governments set a number of mechanisms to make

best use of their control over language use. The mechanisms that will be discussed in this section are language laws, officiality, nationalisation, and citizenship laws.

2.5.1 Language Law

Language laws can be defined as the legal and official devices which the government uses to maintain and establish language behaviour in the country (Shohamy, 2006). Laws are prominent mechanisms for influencing language policy practices, since they are accompanied by penalties to make sure that people comply with that particular policy. According to Shohamy (2006), language laws cover a wide range of areas, such as language of instruction in schools or other institutions, studying particular languages in schools, and languages to be used in business and public signs.

Shohamy (2006) gives a good example of a language law, namely the one in Quebec, which gave the French language a higher status than English. This was supported by the passing of legislation to ensure the use of French in order to prevent violation of the law. Whereas Quebec successfully managed to change the status of English as a more prestigious language than French due to the enforcement of legislation, there are some cases where such laws were violated, as people persisted to use languages based on their own ideologies, particularly in private institutions (Shohamy, 2006). Shohamy (2006) found that different groups emerge concerning language laws. There may be a group that will support these laws, as they are beneficial for them, and they will be in favour of these laws being enacted. For instance, people who cannot communicate in any language other than their own language will support laws that recognise the use of their languages in different domains. Another group will emerge that does not support these laws, in the belief that an international language, such as English, will promote national unity.

2.5.2 Officiality

Officiality is another important device which grants favour to (a) particular language(s) over other languages in a community. Although officiality is entrenched by law, for example South Africa has declared 11 languages as official languages, it is usually the case that schools, universities, and hospitals are allowed to choose which language to

use. In most cases, the declaration of certain languages as official has little to do with the implementation of officiality. For example, in Hong Kong, English has been declared an official language, but this has had no effect on its use, particularly as a spoken medium. However, the declaration of certain languages as official, for example English, may lead to the rejection of other languages, particularly minority ones. Officiality should be implemented for weaker languages, as a crucial step for defending language rights. Officiality is also criticised on the grounds that it does not represent the whole population, since some languages are excluded. For example, despite 11 languages being declared as official languages of South Africa, Khoi, Nama, San and Sign languages have been excluded.

2.5.3 Standardisation

Standardisation is another device which the government uses to impose language behaviour. Standardisation refers to the formulation of correct ways in which a language should be used. This device tends to impose uniformity in the use of a certain language. Standardisation is the tension between language preservation and language creativity in the case of grammar and lexicon, and also in function (status) planning about which languages will be legitimised (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997; Shohamy, 2006; 2007). Although standardisation lays down the ways in which a certain language should be used, most people will use that particular language in a way that is contrary to the standard form, particularly in the spoken medium. This discrepancy between standard language and the way people use the language exists from one speech community to another, or even from one individual to another. Therefore, standardisation is a kind of intrusion on people's freedom in the use of their language, since people are compelled to use the language in a uniform way. Shohamy (2006:64) asserts that "any attempt to standardize [language] is not realistic and not needed".

2.5.4 Nationalisation

Nationalisation refers to the government's granting of status to a language to be the main language in the country, which represents the ideology of that particular country, despite the existence of other languages which are regarded as official languages. The

implication of declaring one particular language a national language is that higher status is granted to the speakers of that language over the other languages, since they act as public representatives of the country. Consequently, nationalisation enhances “power and hegemony” of a certain language while marginalizes other languages (Shohamy, 2006:65).

2.5.5 Citizenship laws

In many countries, particularly in Europe, language is used as one of the conditions for people to acquire citizenship. This criterion influences language practices, since residents are required to be proficient in a certain language in order to be an acceptable citizen of the country. Currently in most countries this trend is accompanied by the administration of language tests, and the test results determine whether a person is eligible to obtain citizenship or not (Shohamy, 2006). Consequently, citizenship laws which use language as a tool to legitimise excluding people strongly affect language practices. This is obviously seen when a growing number of immigrants are forced to learn the host country’s language(s).

2.5.6 Language academies

Language academies are concerned with making decisions regarding to language use, mainly in terms of the correct form of how language should be used in the form of grammar and lexicon (Shohamy, 2006). Thus, language academies have a role of introducing new words and preserving the existing one by guarding against an extensive borrowing of foreign words. According to Shohamy (ibid) language academies make decision about language purism, and hence they often consider those who do not comply with the rules set are inferior and are regarded as outsiders. In a nutshell, language academies serve as a mechanism which includes those who master the use of a variety of a language which is considered as pure and excludes those who do not master (Shohamy, 2006).

2.5.7 Language tests

A language test is considered as a powerful tool which affects and manipulates language behaviours of teachers, students, parents, and society at large (Shohamy, 2006). It is a device which is imposed by people or institutions that have authority in order to affect language priorities and practices. Not only has language test been viewed as pedagogical tool but also as a political instrument which have severe effects on education (Shohamy, 2006; 2007). Thus, the power of a language conveys a message as to which languages are more valued than the others. According to Shohamy (ibid) language tests determine which languages would be studied and what methods of teaching would be used. She cites the introduction of a new national reading comprehension test in Israel as an example that the language test compelled teacher to employ 'test-like' teaching technique rather than teaching reading in a natural and integrated manner.

Language tests manipulate language in three main directions (Shohamy, 2006). First, they determine the prestige and status of languages, second, they perpetuate language correctness and third they suppress language diversity. The subsections below will discuss the three main directions which may effect and manipulate language behaviours.

2.5.7.1 Determining the power and status of languages

Language tests tend to determine the power and status of particular languages in a society. Many universities and education institutions use test scores of particular languages tests as entrance criteria or requirements (Shohamy, 2006; 2007). In determining the prestige and hierarchy of other languages, the test of English as a foreign language (TOEFL) serves as a good example. Despite having acquired high status and prestige, this test perpetuates to empower English language as it is used as entrance requirements in many universities (Shohamy, 2006). In this regard, it is evident that this test influences many people to have preference of English language and consequently marginalise other languages.

2.5.7.2 Determining standard and correct language

According to Shohamy (2006; 2007) language tests are used in determining standard language and perpetuating correctness. Since one criterion is set for correctness of the tests, this means that tests have the power to perpetuate uniformity and standardisation with reference to the predetermined criterion. Based on the defined criterion for correctness, Milroy and Milroy (1999) argue that generally written norms are prioritised while spoken norms are stigmatised. They observe that language tests accept only standardised answers which mostly focus on grammar and lexicon while ignoring other language skills which are also important.

2.5.7.3 Suppressing language diversity

The power and influence of language tests has led many countries to practice monolingualism while they discourage bilingualism or multilingualism (Shohamy, 2004). In many schools non dominant languages are not given much attention instead they focus more on dominant languages. Some students do not even want to use or study non-dominant languages (see Tankersley, 2001). Sometimes curricular may recognize bilingualism but due to the influence of language tests implementers opt for monolingualism. Hence, it is evident that in most cases language tests influence teachers, students and other education stakeholders to accept dominant languages.

2.6 How can one assess whether a language policy has succeeded or failed?

Despite rules and regulations that are imposed, the declared language policy is sometimes not fully implemented. Thus, sometimes it is difficult to judge whether language practices are the result of a declared language policy or the result of the influence of other factors. For instance, if immigrants are told to continue using their native language, this may contribute to hindering the acquisition of a new language, where that new language might be the one that will pave the way to the success in their new lives as immigrants. This ideology which is communicated to immigrants may influence their language behaviour, but not official policy. Such propaganda and ideology may cause immigrants to believe that the language they use at home is irrelevant, and that they should instead fully engage in a foreign language. However,

Pavlenko (2003b) claims that declared official language policy can have significant consequences. She cites an example from during the First World War, when the USA banned the teaching of German. The consequences of this action exist to date in the system of foreign language teaching when students learn foreign languages in secondary schools (see Shohamy, 2006:69).

Spolsky (2004) poses a very important question regarding the reasons for failure of language policy. Shohamy (2006:69) argues that to answer this question, other questions should be addressed, namely the following:

Does failed policy refer to resistance on the part of the people and a continuation of what makes more sense to them? Do they continue to use language in mixed or bilingual forms? Do they totally suppress their home languages? Do they code-switch and use a variety of languages as fusions and hybrids? How much do they really comply? And what are the results of this compliance?

The answer to the important questions which Shohamy (2006) raises is that what is perceived as success for one group may be perceived as failure to another group. The reason given by Rubin and Jernudd (cited in Orman, 2008:42) of why language policies in many countries fail is that many language planners, particularly the ones who are not qualified sociolinguists, are not aware of language planning theories as well as historical precedents in language planning and they believe language may be planned and managed easily. Failure to consider language planning theory during language planning practices contributes to a wide discrepancy between planning and practice (Fishman, 1994:97-98). In addition, the perception that failure of a language policy is not as bad as failure of an economic policy is another contributing factor to the failure of language policy (Spolsky, 2004).

2.7 The place of language planning and policy in education

In any country, the provision of education considers the language or languages which are to be used as (a) medium(s) of instruction at different levels of education. Schools, colleges, and universities should have a proper plan on which language(s) is/are to be taught as (a) subject(s) and which language or languages should be used for teaching and learning. They should also have a plan as to what level a particular language should

be used as a language of learning and teaching and at what level a particular language is to be taught as a subject. This decision of language use in education is referred to as language-in-education policy. Shohamy (2006:76) defines language-in-education policy as "mechanism used to create de facto language practices in educational institutions, especially in centralised education systems". As such, language plays a crucial role in the provision of education. As Lincoln (2003:163) asserts "if education is the key to the future, then language is the vehicle to the future". This implies that the objectives of education can be achieved through the use of appropriate language of teaching and learning. It also decides the duration for which these languages will be taught, by whom they will be taught (the qualifications required of the teachers that will teach them), and who will be taught (which students will be obliged to learn these languages).

In many countries where the education system is centralised, decisions concerning education language policy are made by government agencies such as parliament, the education ministry and other bodies assigned with this task by central authority. Such decisions seldom focus on educational interests; instead, education language policy is entrenched with "a set of political, ideological, social, and economic agendas" (Shohamy, 2006:78). A top-down approach is used to impose language-in-education policies, and schools, as well as teachers, principals, and inspectors, have to obey these policies, as they "serve as soldiers of the system who carry out orders by internalizing the policy ideology and its agendas as expressed" in the language policy (Shohamy, 2006:78). Curricula, teachers, examinations, and teaching and learning resources enforce the policy. The government agencies select a prestigious language, which is usually one of the official languages, as a language of instruction, but serious challenges occur when that language is not a native language of the students and the teachers (Shohamy, 2006; Baker, 2006).

In most multicultural and multilingual societies, an education language policy that favours a small group of people in a country brings significant problems as was the case during apartheid South Africa, with English and Afrikaans (Orman, 2008). That is why when South Africa acquired a democratic government in 1994, it developed an education language policy which tends to favour various ethnic groups by introducing

multilingual or bilingual education, in which children are allowed to choose their preferred languages for learning, and learn another language or other languages as (a) second or (a) foreign language(s) in the education system (Orman, 2008). Likewise, before the introduction of bilingual education policy in America and Europe similar challenges were experienced by immigrants. To recognise different immigrant groups, bilingual education policies have been introduced. Bilingual education policies have become very common nowadays. Hence, number of studies confirm that the more languages students have acquired, the greater the cognitive advantage they have (Webb & Kembo-Sure 2000; Cummins, 2001; Pavlenko, 2003a; UNESCO, 2003).

The success of teaching and learning largely depends on the language used. Primarily indigenous languages are used for teaching and learning, but in most African countries this rarely, if at all, happens (Magwa, 2008:27). Djite (2008:54) contends that language-in-education policy that prioritises the use of non-indigenous languages in most African countries has been the commonly accepted norm. As a result, cultural freedom in Africa is unlikely to be achieved, expanded, or developed if the language of teaching and learning in our educational institutions is different from the language which students use in their day-to-day lives (Brock-Utne & Holmarsdottir, 2003; Brock-Utne & Hopson, 2005).

2.8 A summary of the theoretical framework

The three orientations to language planning developed by Ruiz (1984), namely language as a problem, language as a right, and language as a resource, are crucial to this study, which explores the relationship between an “English-only” language-in-education policy and bilingual education practices in secondary schools in Zanzibar. By drawing on Ruiz’s seminal tripartite language planning orientations the study was able to illuminate that the use of bilingual (Kiswahili and English) was an asset to embrace and not a deficit while the use of English-only in the classroom was a problem to redress. Likewise, a language policy framework that entails language beliefs, language management, and language practices advanced by Spolsky (2004; 2009) is another theoretical propositions that guided data collection and analysis for the present study.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews relevant literature from the African context and the global context (the United States, Europe, and Asia) which informs the research that has been undertaken in Zanzibar secondary schools, where a top-down “English-only” language-in-education policy has been imposed. This review of related literature will be presented in the subheadings that follow.

3.2 Mother-tongue instruction, advocacy and tensions

A mother tongue is “the language which a person acquires in early years and which normally becomes their natural instrument of thought and communication” (UNESCO, 1953:46). Mother-tongue instruction was given in most countries which Britain ruled during the colonial era at primary level, and this was mostly encouraged by missionaries in order to facilitate the learning of basic literacy, and subsequently to engage learners in religious issues. Secondary education was offered through the colonial language and the main aim was to prepare learners to serve the colonial government (Alexander, 2007). Van Rinsum (2001:131) asserts that this was done to “mould the population into a shape useful to the authorities”.

The estimated number of languages spoken in Africa is 2500 (UNESCO, 2010). Despite having a large number of languages in Africa only 176 are used in education systems and mostly in lower grades (Gadelii, 2004). Statistics further show that only 25% of these languages are used beyond basic education while only 5% of these languages are used in higher education in Africa (Gadelii, 2004). Although many African countries opt for the use of ex-colonial languages and mainly English, according to UNESCO (2010) the number of Africans who have satisfactory level of English proficiency is estimated to range between 10% and 15%. This is consistent with van der Bank’s and Basson’s (2014) assertion that the use of English creates a gap in communication between teachers or lecturers as facilitators and students of African origin and this impedes the provision of quality education. The consequence of denying quality education because

of the use of second or foreign language leads to the increase of social and economic inequality (Save the Children, 2011). Based on this evidence, Save the Children (2011) was surprised that many governments in African countries plan to improve education but they do not pay much attention to use of their indigenous languages in education. Apart from English, some African countries opt for the use of French and Portuguese.

Similarly, Kamanda (2002), Wolff (2006, 2011) and Spernes (2012) argue that in postcolonial independence, the system of education imposed undermines the indigenous African languages and puts the priority on English. After the acquisition of independence, there has been a tendency for the language of instruction to fluctuate between the mother tongue and an ex-colonial language in most African countries (see Mfum-Mensah, 2005). In Ghana, various different language-in-education policies have been practised since independence, and now Ghana is about to change its existing policy to the “National Literacy Acceleration Program”, which aims to use indigenous languages to enhance literacy (Edu-Buandoh & Otchere, 2012). Some countries, such as Malawi, Botswana, Swaziland, Zimbabwe, and Namibia, offer primary education through their indigenous languages for only three years of primary education and then have an early exit to bilingual education (Alexander, 2007).

This situation has been perpetuated due to pressure from various stakeholders. The large majority of Africans believe that indigenous languages are not effective for teaching and learning, and that these languages can be used only at family and community level and in religious contexts, but not as a language of instruction (Alexander, 2003a, 2003b). Alexander (2003b) argues that it is sad that some African political leaders of oppressed people have had limited or no proficiency in the indigenous languages of their country due to their neglect of these languages and cultures in general. The consequence of such a situation is a gap in communication that has been an impediment in advancing nation-building projects started by former president Nelson Mandela in South Africa. Instead, they have been proficient in English or Afrikaans. This situation weakens the status of the indigenous African languages compared to the ex-colonial languages. African languages have been used at the initial stage of literacy for making the transition to English, or sometimes Afrikaans, as a

language of teaching and learning (Alexander, 2003b). The Republic of Guinea (under Sékou Touré), Tanzania, Ethiopia, Somalia, and Madagascar (under Didier Ratsiraka) are among the few countries that provide mother tongue-based education in all the years of primary school. With the exception of Somalia, none of these countries continues with mother tongue-based education up to tertiary level (Alexander, 2007). Nevertheless, these efforts of implementation of mother-tongue instruction have faced a number of problems (Hays, 2009).

An extensive body of literature reveals that there is a need for African countries to deliver education using indigenous African languages (Bamgbose, 1991, 2003; Bunyi, 1999; Kamwangamalu, 2002; Alexander, 2003a, 2003b, 2007; UNESCO, 2003, 2010, 2011; Wolff, 2003b, 2006, 2011; Ramani & Joseph, 2006; Trudell, 2007; Edu-Buandoh & Otchere, 2012; Prah, 2014). Alexander (2003b) found that in South Africa, African leaders have strengthened African languages for use in creative writing and scholarly endeavours, while white leaders have practised bilingualism of Afrikaans and English. The African leaders in the African National Congress (ANC) have taken serious initiatives to use indigenous African languages in education. In 1944, Jacob Nhlapo, a famous educator, who was a member of the ANC, suggested that some African languages be harmonised, so that there could be two languages to be used by African children in school, rather than English being used for learning (Kaschula, 1999; Alexander, 2003b). This led to the suggestion of the selection of some African languages for harmonisation which are of the Nguni variety cluster of Bantu languages (mainly isiZulu and isiXhosa), on the one hand, and the Sotho cluster (mainly Sepedi, Setswana, and Sesotho), on the other hand, to form one mutually intelligible standard variety from each group (Alexander 2003b). This was an important step in granting the right to African children to learn in their own languages. Jacob Nhlapo poses the rhetorical question “By using which language do you think our children will learn easier, a Bantu language or English?” (cited in Alexander, 1989:32-33). Despite his efforts, Nhlapo’s proposal was attacked by his colleagues within the ANC and others outside of it. The argument against his proposal was that whether or not people manage to harmonise the African languages to have one or two Bantu languages, English remains a world language and should be made the “African Esperanto” (see Alexander, 1989). In reaction to this

argument, Kaschula (1999:64-65) points out that “educating individuals to make informed decisions concerning language policies will take time”. However, a recent study indicates that the Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society has been harmonising orthographies of African languages for the reason of mutual intelligibility in order to make them suitable to be used in different fields of development (Prah, 2014).

Even though English is a world language and the language of science and technology, and other colonial languages, such as French and Portuguese, are dominant in many countries (Kaschula, 1999; Alexander, 2003b, 2007; Djite, 2008), UNESCO (1953) advocates the use of the mother tongue in education. UNESCO explicitly states that the most important language for teaching a child is his or her mother tongue. UNESCO (1953:11) posits that:

[i]t is axiomatic that the best medium for teaching a child is his mother tongue. Psychologically, it is the system of meaningful signs that in his mind works automatically for expression and understanding. Sociologically, it is a means of identification among the members of the community to which he belongs. Educationally, he learns more quickly through it than through an unfamiliar linguistic medium. But [...] it is not always possible to use the mother tongue in school and, even when possible, some factors may impede or condition its use.

There are a number of studies whose findings are consistent with the above statement by UNESCO. Probyn’s (2006) interviews with teachers in one school in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa found that the use of a language which is not familiar with learners creates barriers in teaching and learning. Such a language is a language which learners do not hear at home, and they consequently lack effective engagement with the curriculum. This is the problem of many students in African countries which use ex-colonial languages as the languages of teaching and learning (Probyn, 2006). Similarly, The World Bank (2005), Wolff (2003b, 2006, 2011) and the Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA) (2006) indicate that students learning through languages which they do not have a command of jeopardises the possibility of their academic success.

Supporting these findings, Save the Children (2011) asserts that the use of second or foreign language as a language of learning and teaching is a factor for underachievement particularly in schools which are in rural areas. A learner learns better through a language that he or she knows well. This is in line with the findings of a study conducted by Simkins and Patterson (2005) in South Africa where it was found that those students whose mother tongue was not the language of teaching and learning are at a disadvantage when they reach Grade 11. They show that this situation can be countered if the language of instruction is a language that students often hear at home. In experimental schools for the use of the mother tongue in the Republic of Mali and Burkina Faso, Brock-Utne and Alidou (2006) report that mother tongue-based bilingual education leads to considerable progress. Similarly, in its position paper, UNESCO (2003) asserts that the use of mother tongue as a language of learning and teaching improves quality education. This supports the findings of the Save the Children (2011) that the use of unfamiliar language in the classroom hampers the provision of quality education. Furthermore, the mother tongue lays a solid cognitive and linguistic foundation that helps learning of second or foreign language (UNESCO, 2011). Added to that, UNESCO (2011) contends that the only sure way that the country can achieve the goal of education for all is the use of mother tongue as a language of learning and teaching. The use of mother tongue as a language of learning and teaching brings education closer to home (Save the Children, 2011).

Alexander (2007) highlights the consequences of using an unfamiliar language in teaching and learning in South Africa. He argues that in the classroom the use of English, which is a second or third language of the students, encourages deprivation of the “learner-centred” approach. This supports Save the Children’s (2011) observation that the use of second or foreign language in the classroom encourages students’ regurgitation of what they hear from their teachers or what they read from books. Further to this matter, Save the Children (2009) contends that the use of familiar language of students helps teachers use more effective teaching pedagogies which are interactive and lead to a learner-centred approach to teaching and learning. Likewise, Ndoye (2003) and Moulton (2003) argue that, apart from mother-tongue instruction helping with understanding and cognitive development, it also helps build learners

politically and socially. This view is shared by wa Thiong'o (1986), who argues that the use of ex-colonial languages in education, as well as in literature, increases personal and social alienation.

Malawi, Botswana, Swaziland, Zimbabwe, and Namibia provide mother-tongue education for the first three years of schooling and then switch to the use of English as language of teaching and learning. Heugh (2006) and Wolff (2011) claim that although this policy ensures that pupils receive the foundation of literacy in their mother tongue, three years is not sufficient for children to switch from their mother tongue to a foreign language. Trudell's (2005) interviews with parents in Cameroon confirmed that the use of English, which is an unfamiliar language for children in the early grades, is difficult for children. Parents suggested that the mother tongue should be used up to at least Grade 4. In Ghana, the policy of using mother-tongue instruction is about to be implemented to improve literacy, as a study by Edu-Buandoh and Otchere (2012) shows that there is ample evidence that children who master their mother tongue learn a second language faster. This study also shows that minimising the use of English in education may raise the status of the indigenous languages, so that they could subsequently play the role which for long time has been assigned to English. However, a growing body of research indicates that the decline of English as a global language is unlikely in the near future, due to a number of factors, including the power that this language has in the economy, politics, military, and science and technology (Alexander, 2007; Crystal, 2003).

In 2001 the government of Botswana was reluctant to discuss issues about minority languages of the country, but in a conference held in Botswana in 2005, Botswana's Minister of Education solicited advice from the conference attendees on the best way to provide mother-tongue education in Botswana in particular for minority language speakers (Hays, 2009). The step of government to consider providing education in languages other than Setswana and English in Botswana creates hope that many countries are now aware of the importance of mother-tongue education. At a conference held in Windhoek, Namibia in 2005 (see Hays, 2009), it was contended that the social and economic benefits of mother-tongue education outweigh its costs, and that African

countries should therefore create more access to mother-tongue education and provide it for at least the first six years of primary education. Kamanda (2002), however, posits that there is a narrow chance to win favour for mother-tongue instruction in countries where people believe that to have proficiency in English means to have better education, and that English is hence a gatekeeper to individual success. It is an undeniable fact that English is the most dominant language in the world (Crystal, 2003; Alexander, 2007; Djite, 2008). Nevertheless, Qorro (2004) argues that there is a dire need for public awareness that:

- from an educational point of view, there is no need to give up one's first language in order to learn a second language;
- that, in fact, rejecting other languages has been shown to be harmful to children's cognitive and academic growth; and
- that in a global economy and a world of many cultures, English alone is not enough; therefore, we need English plus other languages.

Similarly, Kaschula (1999:70) posits the importance of public awareness on the benefit of mother-tongue instruction, and he argues that “[n]o country has so far managed to successfully implement a language policy that uses a foreign language for the purpose of mass education”. This corroborates Save the Children (2011) in that teaching by using unfamiliar language is the wastage of money from school fees, taxes, and aids from international agencies. Along similar lines Prah (2014) contends that in the provision of education in African countries African language should be used in all levels of education.

3.3 Mother tongue-based bilingual education

Bilingual education refers to the use of two languages as mediums of instruction. In the context where more than two languages are used for learning and teaching, this is referred to as multilingual education. However, in most literature, no matter whether more than two languages are used as mediums of instruction, the term “bilingual education” is used. UNESCO (2000), Hornberger (2008), and Rubagumya (2009) advocate the preservation of linguistic and cultural diversity, and therefore promote the use of the mother tongue in teaching and learning, particularly for children. However, a large majority of parents and schools in the world require children to use a second or a foreign language right from the start of their education, in order to acquire a national or

a global language. This situation leads to the establishment of bilingual education, in that the mother tongue is generally used with other languages as mediums of instruction.

Bilingual education is implemented in many countries, for example in South Africa, Kenya, Tanzania, Ghana, the United States, England, and China, to name a few. There are different models of bilingual education, such as mother tongue-based bilingual education, transitional bilingual education, and maintenance bilingual education. Mother tongue-based bilingual education is a model in which the mother tongue is used as a medium of instruction in all primary education, while a second or a foreign language is introduced as a subject in order to prepare children for the use of that language as a medium of instruction in the future (Baker, 2006). Transitional bilingual education is education that aims to shift children from the use of the mother tongue as a medium of instruction to the use of a second language (Baker, 2006). This can be an “early exit/short cut”, in which children switch to the use of a second language after two to three years of education, or it can be a “late exit”, in which children switch to the use of a second language as a medium of instruction after having received a solid foundation in the mother tongue. Maintenance bilingual education means that children switch to the use of a second language as a medium of instruction, but the mother tongue is taught as a subject to develop children’s knowledge of the mother tongue (Baker, 2006). This is also referred to as additive bilingual education, since the child’s mother tongue is not dropped, but a second language is added (Baker, 2006). Benson (2009) argues that submersion is not bilingual education per se, as it entirely ignores the mother tongue of the child; likewise, immersion is monolingual, since the child’s mother tongue is excluded.

3.3.1 Unintended bilingual practices in the classroom

The implementation of language-in-education policies in which most African countries use ex-colonial languages has led to communication barriers in the classroom (UNESCO, 2010; Wolff, 2011; Webb, 2012). This has made many teachers not comply with existing policies, since these languages are unfamiliar to most African teachers (Brock-Utne & Alidou, 2006; Graham, 2010) and, consequently, unintended bilingual practices have

been taking place in the classroom. Teachers are forced to disregard existing policies, since they focus on students' learning. This is in line with Babaci-Wilhite's (2012) argument that if teachers focus on teaching only, they can comply with existing policies, but if they consider students' learning, they have to use the mother tongue alongside the official language of teaching and learning. Likewise, the use of unfamiliar language in the classroom leads to students' anxiety and thus they become reluctant to volunteer to answer questions (Brock-Utne & Alidou, 2006).

A number of studies conducted in Africa confirm that there is a mismatch between the stipulations of existing language-in-education policies and actual language practices (Kaschula, 1999; Bamgbose, 2003; Probyn, 2006, 2009; Alexander, 2003b, 2007), and it is evident that most teachers do not strictly comply with the implementation of the policy that has been laid down. Teachers, the main practitioners of language-in-education policies, are aware that language can be a problem, and, similarly, that language can be a resource. Regardless of its status, teachers tend to use the mother tongue as a resource alongside the official language of instruction, which, when used as the sole language, becomes a problem (Wright, 2002). This concurrent use of the mother tongue together with an official language of instruction appears in the form of code-switching.

3.3.2 Code-switching

Rwanda is a monolingual country, in which more than 99.4% of its population speaks Kinyarwanda, which is an indigenous African language. In this country, however, English is used as a language of instruction from secondary to tertiary level right from 2008 when it replaced French. In Rwanda, English is the third or fourth language for most students and lecturers (Andersson and Rusanganwa, 2011, see section 3.4 for a detailed explanation). Andersson and Rusanganwa (2011) conducted a study in a physics classroom at undergraduate level. In their study they found that despite English being the language of instruction, the teacher used code-switching at all stages of the lesson. They found frequent use of code-switching at the presentation stage, where the teacher was helping students to grasp the new knowledge that was being taught. Code-switching was used for introducing technical vocabulary, clarification, confirmation, questioning, and increasing students' participation. Another stage of the lesson where

they found frequent use of code-switching was the recapitulation stage. In this stage, questions and answers were mostly phrased in the form of code-switching. In the introduction stage of the lesson, they found minimal use of code-switching. At the point of the lesson where the teacher used English as the sole language of teaching and learning, none of the students asked questions. A few questions were asked when code-switching which included French and English was used. The reason was that both French and English are not familiar languages to the students. At the point where code-switching included French, English, and Kinyarwanda, there was maximum participation by students in the lesson.

Andersson and Rusanganwa (2011) also found that code-switching was practised naturally, without being noticed. However, it was evident that the teacher perceived that code-switching was more appropriate in informal contexts. The teacher used more code-switching when he was closer to the students in terms of distance, and when he was further from the students, that is, closer to the writing board, he used less code-switching. The above researchers argue that code-switching was used not in defiance of the language policy, but that other languages were used as a resource to enhance students' learning. They conclude that code-switching is an important asset in confronting language challenges in the classroom, and that avoiding the use of code-switching may impede students' learning.

Kagwesage's (2012) study conducted in Rwanda shows similar findings to those of Andersson and Rusanganwa's (2011) study. In his interviews with undergraduate students, this researcher found that students neither understood nor took notes during the lecture if only English was used. The students claimed that they only understood the lecture when the teacher code-switched using English, French, and Kinyarwanda. The students also claimed that they could ask and answer questions and actively participate in the lesson when they used code-switching. According to Kagwesage (2012), code-switching should be allowed in the classroom in order to remove communication barriers, since it also promotes critical thinking skills.

The use of code-switching in the classroom as both a means of removing communication barriers and a teaching strategy is also advocated by Ferguson (2009). According to this researcher, many schools change the code from the mother tongue to a second or a foreign language as a language of instruction without intensive preparation. In many countries the curriculum does not prepare learners for the switch to second-language instruction. Ferguson (2009) also argues that changing the code should not be done abruptly; instead, it should be done gradually. Abrupt change of language of learning and teaching warrants the use of code-switching as a pedagogical tool in communication. Ferguson (2009) contends that the use of code-switching is inevitable in classrooms where the language of learning and teaching is not familiar with the students. In such classrooms, code-switching enables understanding.

However, whether code-switching is used as a teaching strategy depends on the type of subject that is being taught (Ferguson 2009). In language subjects, where the aim is to improve language proficiency, the use of code-switching may minimise students' exposure to and practice of the target language. Nevertheless, within some topics in language subjects, such as grammar, vocabulary, and cultural issues, code-switching has a positive role to play. In content subjects, on the other hand, where the aim is to understand material content, the use of code-switching is a useful resource. Nevertheless, the frequent use of code-switching may lead to a bilingual instructional medium, and consequently may disturb the language-in-education policy which has been put in place (Ferguson, 2009).

Since code-switching is used as a teaching strategy (Ferguson, 2009), pedagogy and techniques for the use of code-switching in the classroom are needed. Ferguson (2009) argues that there should be awareness campaigns of the value of code-switching as an important teaching strategy, in order to remove negative attitudes regarding the use of code-switching in the classroom. Arthur's (2001) comparative study of Tanzania and Botswana on perspectives on education language policy and its implementation in African classrooms shows similar findings. Classrooms in both Botswana and Tanzania were dominated by code-switching. The less code-switching that took place in the classroom, the more teacher-centred was the pedagogical approach. Thus, Arthur (ibid)

argues that indigenous languages are important resources in the classroom, even when learning English. However, he points out that in multilingual classrooms where students have different indigenous languages, the use of code-switching will not benefit all students, unless the teacher can speak all of the indigenous languages. This argument is also advocated by Spernes (2012), Kamanda (2002), and Greenfield (2010), to mention a few.

As code-switching is used as a teaching and learning strategy (Arthur, 2001), there is a need for public understanding of the consequences of the choice of language of learning and teaching, and that code-switching complements the use of an unfamiliar language in the classroom. Arthur's (2001) study suggested that the use of an indigenous language alongside the language of instruction should be overtly accepted. This argument is consistent with Lemke's (2002) assertion that code-switching is a skill which is crucial in the bilingual classroom, and she claims to be surprised that people ignore this skill. Like Wei and Martin (2009), Lemke concludes that code-switching supports a bilingual classroom, although some people regard code-switching as a negative practice. In another study conducted in Botswana, Mokgwathi and Webb (2013) found similar results in that code-switching was used as a teaching strategy in the classroom. They underscored that code-switching was effective for clarification of ideas during the lesson. Added to that Mokgwathi and Webb indicate that code-switching serve a social function as it narrows down distance between teachers and students. However, they argue that code-switching is limited to oral language.

Code-switching as a commonly used norm in many African countries, for example in South Africa, is the result of mismatch between language-in-education policies and their implementation (Probyn 2009). In a study by Probyn (2009), code-switching was found to be used frequently by both teachers and students in the classroom. Because they used code-switching, teachers felt that they were violating the education language policy, since code-switching is not accepted as a legitimate strategy in the classroom (Probyn, 2009). This is consistent with the findings of Probyn's (2006) study, where teachers stopped using code-switching when the lesson was video-recorded, as they believed that using code-switching is a weakness.

Probyn's (2009) study also found that although the Department of Education in 1997 allowed the use of mother-tongue instruction, some schools persist with the use of English as a language of instruction. These findings are similar to those of Probyn et al.'s (2002) study, which reports that schools tended to switch to English as the language of instruction at an earlier stage than what was recommended in the relevant language policy. Such situations promote the frequent use of code-switching, as for most students, English is not a familiar language. In this study, non-language subject teachers revealed that they carry two burdens at the same time in the classroom, namely to teach their subjects and to teach English. However, without using code-switching, teaching becomes difficult. Probyn (2009) further points out that code-switching can help with cognitive development, that is, for students who have limited English proficiency, and for effective classroom management. However, many teachers are not properly trained to teach in bilingual classrooms. This study concluded that since both teachers and students have mutually intelligible indigenous languages, code-switching may facilitate teaching and learning.

In classrooms which have students who have different indigenous languages, where some of the languages are not mutually intelligible the use of code-switching creates a considerable problem (Greenfield, 2010). According to Greenfield, many black students at the Central University of Technology in South Africa believe that code-switching offers effective help in constructing meaning, and subsequently in understanding lessons, in contexts where mother-tongue instruction is not provided. In most classrooms in Greenfield's (2010) study there were students who had different mother tongues, such as English, Afrikaans, isiXhosa, and others. However, when the teachers gave their lessons in the classroom, they only code-switched between English and Afrikaans, and did not accommodate the black students. The black students, most of whom did not understand Afrikaans, claimed that it was unfair to use code-switching in that way, and that code-switching that included Afrikaans just made the students more confused. They further claimed that the inclusion of Afrikaans in the classroom created communication barriers for most students, as well as an unfriendly atmosphere. At that university, students were given the choice of answering examinations in English or in

Afrikaans, without consideration of the other nine official languages. The black students showed that they understood better when English was used concurrently with isiXhosa in the classroom. When they were asked what they thought of the idea of examinations set in isiXhosa, most of them responded that they could not picture a chemistry examination, for example, set in isiXhosa. However, Greenfield (ibid) recommends that examinations be set in all the languages spoken by students in the classroom. This recommendation supports Save the Children's (2011) suggestion that children should be assessed by using familiar language.

3.4 Stakeholders' perceptions of language in education policy

Language policy is influenced by a number of stakeholders, from grassroots level to the top. Generally, policy makers are the ones who have the final decision about which languages are to be used at a certain level of education and which are to be used at another level. Many sub-Saharan African countries design their education language policy differently (cf. Bamgbose, 1991). This is mainly influenced by different stakeholders. The choice of language of teaching and learning has been debated every now and then in most developing countries, particularly in Africa, where you can find many indigenous languages in one country, apart from the ex-colonial languages (Djite, 2008). Due to the importance of various education stakeholders, such as parents, school children and community leaders, and the importance of language as a means of communication, in this case teaching and learning, many researchers in Africa have carried out studies on education stakeholders' perceptions regarding the use of a certain language of teaching and learning. Such researchers are Benson (2004), Trudell (2005), Openjuru (2005) and Altinyelken, Moorscroft & Draai (2014) to mention a few. Stakeholders' perceptions regarding the choice of language of instruction are determined by a number of factors which are discussed in the paragraphs below.

In a study conducted in developing countries, including countries in Africa, to investigate parents, communities, and policy makers' perceptions regarding the choice of language of instruction, Benson (2004) found that linguistic market is given top priority. Most of the participants in Benson's study believed that a good choice of language of teaching and learning was a language which is spoken widely, and that such

a language can help one to gain employment. In her study, all the participants favoured the use of ex-colonial languages. They believed that these languages and their cultures are better than mother tongues. It is evident that this perception affects teaching pedagogy, as Trudell's (2005) study found that teachers that frequently used students' mother tongues in teaching were regarded as incompetent. The main reason for this is that the language of teaching and learning is the one which prepares learners for social and economic prosperity. This view has been shared by several stakeholders in education for a long time. Cameroonians have been attracted to German as a language of teaching and learning since the 1800s (Vernon-Jackson, 1967, cited in Trudell, 2007). Although Vernon Jackson's (1967) study is very dated, it can be considered a critical work in this area. German was a popular and socially accepted language among educated people in Cameroon, regardless of their background. When France and Britain went into Cameroon to replace German colonial power after the First World War, the same situation was experienced with the languages of French and English (Trudell, 2007).

An ethnographic study of local literacy practices conducted by Openjuru (2005) in Uganda found that almost all the participants believed that English was the language of literacy. To judge whether someone is educated or not, one of the criteria was proficiency in English. Supporting this finding, Altinyelken, Moorcroft and Draai (2014) reported that in Uganda teachers, parents and authorities at different levels are in dispute with the use of indigenous language policy and they believed that indigenous languages jeopardize children's academic achievements when they continue to higher levels of their studies. In Uganda, a local language is the language of learning and teaching for basic education particularly in rural communities. It is undisputed fact that the use of local language as a language of learning and teaching enhanced acquisition of literacy skills, in that children participated fully in the lesson and comprehended the contents (Altinyelken, Moorscroft & Draai, 2014). However, according to these researchers parents in Uganda believed that English is a valuable investment for the future of their children and therefore they protested against the use of local languages as languages of learning and teaching for their children. Consequently the pressure from the parents made teachers not enforce the policy of local language. Despite

pressure from the parents, many teachers had fundamental belief that in lower primary classes the use of children's local language as a language of learning and teaching is an effective pedagogical tool in that it helps children remember what they learned and associate them with their experience and surroundings (Altinyelken, Moorscroft & Draai, 2014).

In Kenya, English as a language of learning and teaching was introduced in 1844; however, indigenous languages were also used in the early years of schooling (Trudell, 2007). During the 1940s, the system of colonial education put more emphasis on using colonial language, in this case English. According to Bunyi (1999), the use of local languages in education in Kenya diminished drastically. A study conducted by Muthwii (2004) on the Kalunjin community's perceptions about the choice of language of teaching and learning in Kenya found that a large majority of the participants wanted their children to use English at school. The members of the community listed a number of reasons for this. First, children were assessed in English so that they should learn in English. Second, all the children were fluent in their indigenous languages, so that if their indigenous languages were used in teaching and learning, the children would not value their studies, and consequently would not pay attention. Third, having a good command of English paved the way to access to employment opportunities. Fourth, English would give students the opportunity to communicate with people all over the world. Fifth, higher education studies are predominantly offered in English. Finally, a command of the English language gave its speakers high status (Muthwii, 2004). The idea that English paves an individual's way to economic prosperity in Kenya was also found to be the case by Cleghorn et al. (1989, cited in Trudell, 2007:558), as they point out that

[t]he importance of English for life in Kenya's urban areas cannot be overestimated. English is needed for upward mobility in a Western type of social structure with a growing middle class.

Muthwii's (2004) study further found that apart from members of the community not being attracted to indigenous language as languages for instruction, they also do not want their children to learn these languages as subjects, since their children already

know them. They further claimed that the mother tongue confuses children in their studies, so that they have to use the English so that they can learn more. The respondents in this study were parents in Kenya. Their opinion that children should not be taught their indigenous languages as subjects in school is in contrast with the findings of Arthur's (2001) study, where respondents from Botswana claimed that children should learn Setswana at school as a subject.

Muthwii's (2004) study had similar findings to Spernes' (2012) study, which was conducted in a public primary school in rural Kenya where children learn in English and Kiswahili while their indigenous languages are marginalized. As indicated in Chapter One, Kiswahili is spoken widely in the coastal area of Kenya while in other parts indigenous languages are used widely. The findings indicate that both parents and teachers preferred the use of English to the use of the mother tongue as the language of teaching and learning. However, when teachers used English in their lessons, most pupils remained passive, but during the lesson in Nandi, the indigenous language of the pupils, all the pupils became active. When the unfamiliar languages, English or Kiswahili were used, the pupils did not seem to understand; however, they were not nervous. This is contrary to findings reported by Opoku-Amankwa (2009) in his study in Ghana, where pupils showed anxiety and fear when English only was used in the classroom.

While pupils were trying to understand by concurrently using their mother tongue with the language of instruction, during the observation Spernes (2012) was surprised to find that pupils were prohibited from using their mother tongue, and whoever used his or her mother tongue in school was punished. During a focus group discussion with some pupils, Spernes (ibid) gave them the choice to use Nandi, Kiswahili, or English. The pupils were surprised at the choice which they were given, since they believed that Nandi was a language to be used at home, and that it was not suitable for any school activity. For this reason, they wanted to use Kiswahili or English. Pupils in Standard 8 all claimed that English was the language they understood best. When the pupils were told that the head teacher of the school had given them a choice to use any of the above three languages, all the Standard 1, 2 and 3 pupils wanted to use Nandi, and the Standard 8 pupils, who claimed to be very proficient in English, wanted to mix all three of the languages by means of code-switching. When the researcher spoke with the pupils, she

found that all the pupils were fluent in Nandi, but they were afraid of using this language at school, since they were punished if they used it. In Spernes' (ibid) study, the language status hierarchy of three different languages was observed. English was highly valued, followed by Kiswahili, and Nandi was devalued. Spernes (2012:190) contends that

English in Kenya is associated with social status; the national language, Swahili [sic], has less status, and the local indigenous language is almost worthless in politics, business and education.

Despite it being found that pupils were attracted to non-indigenous languages, in this case Kiswahili and English, it was evident that the pupils believed that language was a resource. During the interviews with Spernes (ibid), the Standard 8 pupils prided themselves on being able to speak three different languages.

In a comparative study of Botswana and Tanzania, Arthur (2001) found that some parents who are well-off send their children to learn in countries that are believed to have a high standard of English, so that their children can learn English better. Teachers from Tanzania who were respondents in the above study indicated that they preferred the use of English as a language of instruction to the use of indigenous languages. As was indicated earlier, in Tanzania, Kiswahili is the language of teaching and learning at primary school level, and English is used from secondary level to tertiary level. During the interviews, primary school teachers proved to be more attracted to the use of English as a language of instruction compared to teachers from secondary schools. The reason that the primary school teachers that used mother-tongue instruction favoured English instruction could have been that they did not experience difficulty when teaching using an unfamiliar language.

An empirical study conducted among parents, school children, community leaders, and school authorities' perceptions regarding the language of teaching and learning in Ghana showed that English was associated with education, and that having a good command of English was a sign of being educated. Furthermore, proficiency in English leads to individual prosperity (Edu-Buandoh & Otcher, 2012). Similar results were found in a study by Mfum-Mensah (2005) conducted in Ghana, which indicated that

community members, parents, school authorities, and students preferred the use of English as a medium of instruction. During interviews that the researcher conducted with parents, one respondent claimed, “We allow our children to enrol in the school so that they can learn English” (Mfum-Mensah, 2005:82). The researcher also quoted a schoolboy who was an interviewee in the study as saying, “Whatever profession one wants to engage in in the future, one would need to be knowledgeable in English if he/she wants to go beyond the community” (Mfum-Mensah, 2005:82). This study also shows respondents’ concerns about the use of indigenous languages. Respondents argued that the use of indigenous languages leads to inequality and that the right of students to choose the language of teaching and learning in multilingual contexts contributes to inequality, which is paradoxical, given that English hegemony seems to be a major factor in the unequal access to basic services and distribution of wealth. Similarly, Piller’s (2001) study concluded that in most bilingual contexts, ex-colonial languages have been the preferred choice. People prefer the use of a second language as a language of teaching and learning rather than a first language.

This is confirmed by the findings of Greenfield’s (2010) study, where respondents claimed that indigenous African languages lack contemporary terminologies and adequate resources, since many books are written in English, and English can be used wherever one goes. However, these findings are inconsistent with the findings of an extensive body of literature which advocates the right of children to use their mother tongue for at least six to eight years (UNESCO, 2003) and which has found that mother tongue instruction improves understanding and cognitive development (Cummins, 2000; 2005). Likewise, UNESCO (2010) indicates that language is flexible in that it develops as it is used therefore a language can be used for different purpose. In this regard, as indicated earlier, Sesotho sa Leboa, an indigenous African language, has been successfully used in undergraduate degrees offered in accordance with the bilingual education model (Ramani & Joseph, 2006). In a similar vein Mogwathi and Webb (2013) argue that Setswana is suitable to be used for teaching science subjects.

Despite the fact that more than 95% of the population of Tanzania speaks Kiswahili as their first or second language (Batibo, 2005), and despite this country having 150

indigenous languages (Tibategeza & Du Plessis, 2012), English has remained the language of teaching and learning from secondary school to tertiary level. Studies conducted into people's perceptions regarding the language of instruction have found that they favour the use of English (Rubagumya, 1994; Tibategeza & Du Plessis, 2012). As Rubagumya (1994) indicates, English is regarded as a crucial tool for success, a high proficiency in a colonial language is given priority, and, consequently, this leads to the devaluation of indigenous languages in Africa.

A similar situation of having one indigenous African language which is spoken by a large majority of the people exists in Rwanda, where 99.4% of the population speaks Kinyarwanda, and yet the country chooses to use a foreign language for teaching and learning (Samuelson & Freedman, 2010). Rwanda replaced French with English, and not Kinyarwanda, as the language of teaching and learning in 2008. The decision to drop French and introduce English as the language of teaching and learning was welcomed by a large majority of Rwandans. Rwandans share similar reasons with other African countries for favouring English over other languages. Samuelson and Freedman's (2010) study found that, among other reasons, Rwanda shifted to English due to the global and regional development of English as the dominant language in science, trade, and economic development. Furthermore, the country has joined the East African Community and the Commonwealth (Kagwesage, 2012). During the interviews, many respondents stated that English would lead them to "prosperity and stability", and that it was therefore a required commodity. The misplaced belief that English can function as a neutral language, unlike the indigenous languages, which may serve the interests of a local class, was also among the reasons given (Omoniyi, 2003).

However, this finding is inconsistent with that of Ipara and Mbori (2009), who argue that Kiswahili, which is an indigenous African language, alleviates tribalism, since the language does not belong to any one tribe in Kenya. They further claim that English in Kenya helps to identify the speaker's ethnic identity due to his or her accent, and that the use of English therefore is not a solution. Samuelson and Freedman's (2010) study reveals interesting findings that confirm that English is the dominant language in Kenya. The respondents stated that when English is used as a language of teaching and

learning, students will not be required to spend one year of learning English when they pursue studies in Anglophone countries. In a similar vein, Kagwesage (2012) found that despite students having inadequate English proficiency for undertaking their studies, they insisted on the use of English, since they believed that English was the most important language, and that they would improve their proficiency as they went on using the language. This researcher quoted one student who said that he could not defend his answer or his view due to his lack of English proficiency. However, in this study a number of students showed that despite having limited English proficiency, they felt neither afraid nor shy to try to interact with other students or the teacher in the classroom.

Students that are that motivated to learn a second language, in this case English, can easily learn and understand the second language (see Dornyei, 2001; Lightbown, Spada, Ranta & Rand, 2006) for details about second-language learning motivation, even if it is not used as a language of teaching and learning (Qorro, 2004). Since learning through students' mother tongue, a language which is familiar to them, is crucial (UNESCO, 1953, 2003, 2010; Kaschula, 1999; Cummins, 2000; Webb, 2004; 2005; Wolff, 2003a, 2011), policy makers should reconsider the use of mother tongue instruction in Rwanda, since Kinyarwanda is the language which is spoken by more than 99.4% of the population of this country. In any case, the use of the mother tongue as a language of learning and teaching does not forbid the learning and teaching of English as a subject on its own (Adegbija, 2000; Qorro, 2004; Wolff, 2011; Prah, 2014). In the transition period to mother-tongue instruction, policy makers should reconsider bilingual education policy, which will allow the use of more than one language at a time. Kaschula (1999:65) claims that educating people about the appropriate language of learning and teaching will take time, and that therefore "a flexible policy, which is able to change in order to reflect the possible attitudinal changes in our emerging society, is required".

3.5 The status of African languages

All languages in the world serve communication purpose in different spheres of life (Alexander, 2007; Rubagumya, 2009; UNESCO, 2010), and as a vehicle of communication language can be a resource, but it can also be a problem (Ruiz, 1984).

Former South African president Thabo Mbeki (cited in Alexander, 2004) once spoke about how linguists, language sociologists, and applied language practitioners can utilise language resources to strengthen people and move them from a sad situation to a happy situation. Mbeki tried to inspire Africans to make optimal use of their languages as resources, so that these resources can enhance the economy and liberate them from poverty (Alexander, 2007).

Various efforts have been made to make use of African languages as resources, but there are some Africans who believe that this is either impossible or that it will take a long time to achieve. Such people use the cliché “English is a global language” as a reason that African languages cannot replace English in most fields of language use, such as secondary and tertiary education and the job market (Alexander, 2004; UNESCO, 2011). According to the history of colonialism in Africa, which took different forms, such as slavery, colonialism, imperialism, apartheid, and neo-colonialism, English has been the dominant language, alongside French and Portuguese. History shows that Latin was the most powerful language during the Roman Empire, and that now it has declined; on this basis, the hegemony and dominance of English can be taken by other languages (Kaschula, 1999; Alexander, 2004). Nevertheless, studies show that a decline in the dominance of English will not be achieved easily, as the dominance of this language has resulted from British and American control and power over the military, the economy, and politics (Wright, 2002; Crystal, 2003).

Efforts made by African leaders such as Mbeki and former Mozambican president Joaquim Chissano are a good example of how African languages can be used as resources in different spheres. In an African Union (AU) meeting chaired by Chissano, he gave the speech in Kiswahili, rather than in English, French, or Portuguese, which were the languages that were usually used. People at the meeting were bewildered and disappointed; however this step paved the way for Kiswahili to become the language used in the AU (Alexander, 2004). This scenario clearly shows that African languages can serve communication purposes in different domains. People had beliefs that in a large, formal and important assembly such as the AU (formerly OAU), although most, if not all, the participants are Africans, the suitable languages to be used are ex-colonial

ones. When President Chissano dared to use Kiswahili in an AU meeting, people eventually believed that it was possible to use African languages in such formal domains. This step taken by President Chissano helped to challenge the stereotype that indigenous African languages are suitable only for domestic and community domains, religious communication, and early years of schooling (Alexander, 2004; Kaschula, Mostert, Schafer & Wienand, 2007; Kamwangamalu, 2000, 2009).

It is evident that language planning and policy in most African countries is not properly done, due to fear and lack of confidence. Alexander (2004) and Wolff (2004) point out that many African countries frequently fail to formulate a proper language policy after obtaining independence. Scholars and language planners admit this truth. However, African languages are suitable to be used in different domains, such as in education, science, and technology (Ipara & Mbori, 2009). Mutasa (2002:242) argues that the indigenous African languages can be developed adequately to be appropriate “languages of philosophical and scientific discourse”, as was the case with Afrikaans. Similarly, UNESCO (2010) indicates that African languages widen access to learning and makes teaching to be effective because they remove the language barrier caused by ex-colonial languages. Furthermore, African languages establish the link between the life of the learners outside school and what they learn in school (Wolff, 2000; UNESCO, 2010).

Ipara and Mbori (2009) argue that Kiswahili is a powerful language which has a growing literature and is used extensively in electronic media. These scholars also indicate that attempts have been made to use Kiswahili alongside English or French on the Internet. Furthermore, a 3000-word Kiswahili computer glossary has been created by Microsoft (Microsoft 2004, cited in Ipara & Mbori, 2009). This is echoed by Batibo (2010) who posits that Kiswahili has a reasonable number of terms which relate to different disciplines. He further reported that over 27000 terms have been approved by the National Kiswahili Council, and those terms are mainly in the fields of education, science and technology.

In a similar vein, recognising the importance of investing in African languages, Microsoft has estimated to reach 100 million Kiswahili speakers who reside from six countries in

Africa (UNESCO, 2010). According to UNESCO (ibid), free online encyclopaedias such as Wikipedia, where people can share knowledge, is about to be developed in 200 languages including African languages. In the case of Kiswahili, its version is already online. Furthermore, a language interface pack which changes English language window into indigenous languages has been developed and it is estimated to reach 150 million people since it presently includes Kiswahili, Afrikaans, Sesotho, isiZulu, and Setswana (UNESCO, 2010).

Ipara and Mbori (2009) further confirm that Kiswahili has been standardised and that there are many general and discipline-specific dictionaries. Since Kiswahili is spoken by 65% of the population of Kenya, compared with English, which is spoken by only 16% of the population, Kiswahili should be used as the language of science and technology in Kenya (Ipara & Mbori, 2009). This argument is in line with Sy's (2001) contention that proper development is driven by native forces; in this case true development in African countries will occur when the indigenous African languages are used in education, science, and technology.

Along a similar line, Ipara and Mbori (2009) argue that the use of English as a language of instruction in Kenya will not lead to poverty alleviation in the country and to achieving Millennium Development Goals since many students in Kenya have an inadequate level of proficiency in English. In 2005 the results of the National Examination in Kenya showed that only 554 students obtained an A symbol for English out of the 260000 students who wrote the English examination (Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education 2006, cited in Ipara & Mbori, 2009). This is consistent with Save the Children (2009:vii) that asserts that "a major cause of education failure for many children is the use, in school, of a language that children are not familiar with".

Furthermore, Ipara and Mbori (2009) show that the countries named the Asian Tigers, for example, Hong Kong, South Korea, and Singapore have used their indigenous languages in education, science, and technology and subsequently achieved development in economy and other domains. In the same way, Kiswahili can be used in education, science, and technology in Kenya to achieve development in different

domains such as the economy (Ipara & Mbori, 2009). These scholars suggest that Kiswahili can be used in a wider role as the language of education, science, and technology in Kenya, thus, if social engineers want to solve the problems in the country, Kiswahili should be used. These researchers conclude by saying that if Kiswahili is used in technological innovations, it will lead Kenya towards the African Renaissance.

Ruiz's (1984) orientations to language planning do not define which particular language is a resource and which is not. Similarly, they do not confine which particular language is a problem and which is not. According to these orientations, any language can be a resource, and any language can be a problem. The stereotype that ex-colonial languages are superior to African languages has led to a drastic decline in the number of students enrolling for higher studies in African languages. The findings of a study by Wright (2002) show that there has been a dramatic decline in enrolments in African languages departments at universities in South Africa. In a similar vein, Nkuna (2010) indicates that there has been curtailment of a number of academics in the departments of African languages in many universities in South Africa. The researcher gave the example of the Department of African Languages at the University of South Africa by comparing the number of academics in that department. He demonstrates that from 1997 to 2005 the number of academics has been curtailed by 20% and the situation has become worse as the number of academics in the same department has dropped to 63.9% from 2005 to 2010.

This researcher further found that universities do not pay much attention to employ more academics in this discipline. It was observed that most academics in these departments are from and above 40 years of age. Nkuna claims that as these departments fail to employ youths they consequently fail to grow. His study further concludes that if South Africa higher education institutions do not pay much attention to employ talents in the departments of African languages, its implications are the negligence of creativity, growth and culture change. Surprisingly, this has happened at a time that the government of South Africa has tried to ensure language equity. Wright (2002) points out that both English and the indigenous African languages hold economic and social benefits in different situations. He draws attention to the fact that

all languages are resources, and that people should not prioritise one language at the expense of another. However, he claims that overall, the economic value of English outweighs that of the indigenous African languages. The tendency of students to neglect studying African languages at tertiary level seems to have its roots at secondary level, or even earlier. As Edu-Buandoh and Otchere's (2012) study reported, due to the "English-only" policy which is practised in most schools in Ghana, several students in secondary schools do not want to learn their first languages as subjects.

Wright (2002) argues that the choice of an effective language for teaching and learning should not be determined by whether a language has high prestige or low prestige, but that instead it should be determined by availability of human and material resources. According to his view, policy makers should consider the availability of materials required for the provision of education before selecting a language of teaching and learning, rather than considering the prestige of the language. Wright argues that it is not right to persuade learners in Grade 1, for example, whose home and community language is an African language, to choose English as a language of instruction when that language is not spoken at home, there are limited books and other resources for the language, and teachers have poor proficiency in the language. On the other hand, Wright questions how African languages can be chosen for teaching and learning science in the higher grades when there are no adequate and genuine books, and teachers are prepared to teach in English rather than in an indigenous language. Teaching African students by using African languages is better, because these are the languages which are familiar to them, and they know them well. However, Wright (2004) claims that, using this standpoint to practise mother-tongue instruction where there are neither human nor material resources is a waste of time. In such a situation, mother-tongue instruction is a problem. Failure to elevate some African languages because there are limited human and material resources absolutely victimises those languages since this is the result of the neglect of these languages by authorities. Therefore, this is a problem that needs to be faced with head on commitment.

Wright's arguments show explicitly that a mother tongue is a resource, and hence can be used fruitfully. These findings should convince language planners and policy makers

that an effective language for teaching and learning should not be determined by whether or not the language has high prestige, but rather it should be determined by the language that both students and teachers understand.

The point that indigenous African languages do not have sufficient technical terms and that there are limited materials written in these languages should not be used as arguments that these languages are not appropriate to be used as languages of teaching and learning (Ramani & Joseph, 2006). Batibo (2010) and African Academy of Languages (ACALAN) (2014) outline methods and principles which African languages have to comply in terminology development and formation. The first principle is that terminology formation should be concept based rather than word based. This principle is also underscored by Sager (1996). The second principle is that the order of priority should be considered in selecting appropriate terms starting from the internal sources (standard language itself followed by varieties of that language) before using external source. External sources in the order of closely related language, less closely related language, another African language, and a foreign language are to be followed (ACALAN, 2014). In intellectualisation of African languages through terminology development, ACALAN points out other strategies of terminology creation. These include coinage, clipping, blending, and acronym. These guidelines are indispensable as they enhance terminology creation of African languages which are used in different domains.

Ramani and Joseph (2006) introduced bilingual bachelor degrees which use Sesotho sa Leboa, an African language, and English. They argue that resources and lexicography can be developed as the degree programme progresses. Translation of books from English into African languages is to be done collaboratively between English teachers and African-language teachers (Ramani & Joseph, 2006), and students should be engaged in translation as part of their assignments; however, teachers who have expertise in translation should check the accuracy of translations. Like Alexander (2007), Ramani and Joseph (2006) argue that policy makers and practitioners should not wait for materials to be a complete set instead, they should start gradually.

The introduction of an additive bilingual degree which included indigenous African languages posed some challenges, including lack of institutional support and staffing

and the “resistance of historically black universities to African languages”; however, the programme is running, and student enrolments have increased (Ramani & Joseph, 2006). It is very important to raise awareness that the introduction of the use of an African language as a language of teaching and learning does not mean that students are deprived of the right to learn English (Ramani & Joseph, 2006). In their programme, students had the same access to their indigenous language as they had access to English, and this reduced resistance towards the African languages (Ramani & Joseph, 2006). Ramani and Joseph (2006) contend that bilingual education programmes should maintain, develop, and use indigenous languages as a resource for further careers, and that this should eradicate the stereotype that African languages should only be used in informal and low-status domains.

Likewise, Mashiya (2010) reported that at the University of KwaZulu-Natal a Post-graduate course of a Zulu Academic Literacy has been offered by the school of education since 2008. Further to this matter, isiZulu is used as a language of learning and teaching for the course of life skills in the post-graduate programme for certificate in education. Along similar lines a new pilot study of [isi]Zulu-medium Bachelor of Education Honours programme has been introduced at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (see Rudwick and Parmegiani, 2013). Knowing that the use of an indigenous African language as a language of learning and teaching empowers students to engage in curriculum, students at University of KwaZulu-Natal were positive with bilingual policy. However, many students did not opt for [isi]Zulu, instead they opted for English believing that this language would benefit them in the future.

This concurs with Qorro’s (2004:113) argument that

[t]he widespread perception that the use of Kiswahili or other ethnic languages in the classroom is harmful to the learning of English is a mentality that must be changed.

Dilemma of the use of language of learning and teaching also faces secondary schools in Zambia. In their study conducted in secondary schools in Zambia, Mwelwa and Spencer (2013) attest that while students were able to express themselves clearly by using Bemba (indigenous language), language policy marginalizes that language. According to these researchers bilingual which included English and Bemba was positively accepted

and regarded as a resource. In this regard, bilingual education was effectively employed in a literature class and proved to be a powerful resource for students' understanding.

It is evident that such a stereotype is inculcated by language planners. Kamanda (2002) reveals surprising findings that language policy in Sierra Leone discriminates against people who are educated in languages other than English. As indicated earlier, the constitution of that country explicitly shows that for a Sierra Leonean to qualify to be a Member of Parliament, he or she must have good proficiency in English. This discrimination made by language policy causes people to have negative attitudes towards the use of indigenous languages in education. Kamanda (2002) indicates that the people of Sierra Leone have a negative attitude towards the use of their indigenous languages in education.

As is the case in many other African countries, the language-in-education policy of Sierra Leone is ambiguous. It advocates the right of mother-tongue education only for major languages, while speakers of other indigenous languages are left to suffer from the use of unfamiliar languages (Kamanda, 2002). A similar situation is found in Tanzania, where, according to Tibategeza & Du Plessis (2012), there are 150 indigenous languages, but the only language used for teaching and learning in primary schools is Kiswahili, yet the country claims that it offers mother tongue-based instruction to all children in primary schools (United Republic of Tanzania, Ministry of Education and Culture, 1995).

A study by Kamanda (2002) found that Sierra Leone faces a number of challenges in its efforts to implement mother-tongue instruction. These include availability of teachers who are competent in the particular language and availability of resources. These challenges sometimes impinge on children's right to mother-tongue education. This is in line with Probyn's (2006) findings that at some schools in South Africa teachers switch from mother-tongue instruction to English as language of instruction at an earlier stage than normal due to a lack of resources in the mother tongue. Probyn's study also revealed interesting findings that schools change from using the mother tongue to using English as language of instruction at an earlier stage than normal to prevent the

tendency of some parents sending their children to former white schools which are English-medium.

The conflicts and tensions regarding the language of learning and teaching in African classrooms, in which many countries persist in using ex-colonial languages, in most cases English, have also been found in Gambia (McGlynn & Martin, 2009). In Gambia, English is the language of instruction at all levels of education (McGlynn & Martin, 2009), despite the fact that the country has nine indigenous languages (Batibo, 2005). The observation made by McGlynn and Martin (2009) was that teachers, and sometimes students, tried to flout the “no vernacular” rule and used two of the country’s common indigenous languages, namely Mandika and Wolof. To enhance students’ understanding of lessons taught in the classroom, teachers used code-switching, which consisted of either English and Mandika or English and Wolof. Surprisingly, teachers tended to be strict when students used code-switching, and without hesitation teachers reminded students to use “English please”; this may be the reason students asked very few questions during the lesson (McGlynn & Martin, 2009).

McGlynn and Martin (2009) also found that there is infrequent use of code-switching in urban schools compared to rural schools; the presence of the observer in the classroom may have been the reason for the infrequent use of code-switching. These researchers concluded that there is a need to have a policy that will consider the use of indigenous languages in the classroom. Deprivation of mother tongue-based instruction, even at the early literacy level, is a violation of children’s linguistic rights (UNESCO, 1953, 2003) and a failure to consider language acquisition research findings which reveal that the mother tongue is a springboard in second language acquisition (Garcia, 2011; Cummins, 2000, 2005; UNESCO, 1953, 2003).

3.6 The possibility of changing education stakeholders’ attitudes of favouring colonial languages as languages of instruction

Most education stakeholders, including teachers, school children, parents, and community leaders, from several African countries are attracted to the use of colonial languages, such as English, French, and Portuguese. However, a large majority of them favour the use of the mother tongue as a language of instruction during the initial years

of schooling (Trudell, 2005; Graham, 2010). Their reason for this is that the phenomenon of children learning through an unfamiliar language is a problem. Wa Thiong'o (1986) confirms that it was a problem for him to learn through English, a language which he did not hear at home, rather than Gikuyu, a language which he used at home. Some education stakeholders have also confirmed that an ex-colonial language, which most children do not have command of, can be a problem, whereas a mother tongue, a language which the child knows very well, is a resource. Similarly, from interviews conducted with parents in Cameroon, Trudell (2005) shows that parents confirmed that children's learning through English in early grades is difficult, and the parents recommended that the mother tongue be used up to Grade 4. In another study conducted in three African countries, namely Cameroon, Mali, and Kenya, Trudell (2007) found that people's perception of favouring ex-colonial languages were common in that children should start with their mother tongue as language of teaching and learning; and in the subsequent years of primary education they should switch to English or French in order to build their foundation for secondary education.

In a study conducted in Mozambique, Benson (2004) found that parents initially protested against an experimental bilingual education programme that used an indigenous language and Portuguese, but that after some years, they accepted the idea of using the mother tongue alongside Portuguese in higher grades of education. Similar findings were reported by Canvin (2003), namely that in Mali, parents of children at a Bamanankan-medium school, who first had negative attitudes regarding the use of mother-tongue instruction, were eventually persuaded, and subsequently there were increased enrolments in the mother-tongue programme. Despite the high priority that English has been given in Kenya, and the fact that most stakeholders are eager to see English remain as the language of instruction, Schroeder (2004) contends that parents can be convinced of the effectiveness of the mother tongue as a language of instruction when they find that its use is sustainable. This researcher further suggests that parents can be influenced positively if the programme goes well and they find it beneficial. Similarly, in his study conducted in Kenya, Bunyi (1999) argues that negative attitudes regarding mother-tongue instruction can be changed if the target language is enhanced, by producing different reading materials, such as books, and standardising the

orthography of the language. It is evident that people can change their perception of favouring colonial languages and can be positively influenced to support the use of indigenous African languages as languages of learning and teaching at all levels of education. In this regard, Ramani and Joseph (2006) point out that the number of enrolments in bachelor degrees that use Sesotho sa Leboa and English have increased dramatically.

Extensive body of literature shows that people failure to distinguish between learning foreign language and the use (role) of language of learning and teaching. This impedes both the choice of the right language of instruction, and also learning foreign language although the students have motivation of learning foreign language.

One of the many factors which facilitate the acquisition and learning of a second language or a foreign language is motivation. Motivation can be categorised as integrative motivation and instrumental motivation. Integrative motivation means to regard language as a ticket to membership of the group of speakers of that particular language, that is, learners will learn a particular language just to know the language and its culture (Dörnyei, 2001). Instrumental motivation means to learn a language in the belief that it is a bridge to higher status and success (Dörnyei, 2001; Lightbown, Spada, Ranta & Rand, 2006). Many researchers indicate that integrative motivation is more important when learning a second language or a foreign language (Dörnyei, 2001; Buda, 2006; Lightbown, Spada, Ranta & Rand, 2006).

Like many African countries, several schools in Ghana practice an “English only” language-in-education policy. The study by Edu-Buandoh and Otchere (2012) shows that students have been attracted to this policy; however, some students use their mother tongue outside the classroom. The findings of this study further show that students in Ghana have both instrumental motivation and integrative motivation. Students prefer the use of English as language of instruction, so that they can master English. Some respondents said that they only speak their indigenous language to show their identity when they meet friends from the same tribe, but that they were actually interested to speak English, even outside school. The findings from Edu-Buandoh and

Otchere's (ibid) study are as follows: only 15% of the students said that they used English because they were compelled in school, 53.8% of the students used English willingly, and 31.3% of the students spoke English because they were both interested in it and wanted to comply with school regulations. In interviews conducted with the researchers, many students said that they willingly spoke English inside and outside the school premises when there was nothing that forced them to do so. As only 15% of the students are in favour of the use of the mother tongue, serious efforts need to be made to make people aware about the importance of mother-tongue instruction. Here is a list of reasons cited by the students for their preference for English as language of instruction (Edu-Buandoh & Otchere, 2012:306):

- English is an international language, and also a lingua franca,
- It is the official language of Ghana,
- It is a marker of being educated,
- It is the prescribed language for education and examinations,
- It is an easier means of communication with both Ghanaians and non-Ghanaians,
- It is a colonial asset, and
- The students want to be proficient in English.

Since some of the reasons show that students have integrative motivation, it is very likely that these students will be able to successfully learn English as a second language (Dörnyei, 2001; Lightbown, Spada, Ranta & Rand, 2006) despite it being the language of instruction once a conducive environment for the learning of a second language or a foreign language is created (Qorro, 2004).

As part of the enforcement of an "English-only" language-in-education policy in Ghana, there were reminder notices on the school premises that read "Speak English". Edu-Buandoh and Otchere (2012) claim that students that did not comply with this rule inside and outside the classroom, that is, on the school premises, were punished by being assigned weeding or dishwashing duties or having to wear a label that read "I will not speak vernacular in school again". This finding is consistent with the findings of wa

Thiong'o's (1985) study carried out in Kenya, where there was a similar policy, and students who did not comply with the policy were given similar punishment. A similar situation was observed in Wales in the late nineteenth to the beginning of twentieth century. Since Welsh children were learning English, they were not allowed to speak Welsh at school and whoever flouted that rule was punished with "Welsh Not". The child who flouted that rule had to wear a board written "Welsh Not" suspended on his or her neck (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). As one of the functions of language is to show identity, to ban students from speaking their mother tongue, even outside the classroom, is deprivation of students' right to use their indigenous language.

Some students in Edu-Buandoh and Otchere's (2012) study claimed that they sometimes wanted to use their indigenous languages to show their identities, particularly when they met friends or colleagues who belonged to the same tribe or ethnic group as they. Furthermore, some students in this study suggested that despite the use of English, indigenous languages should be considered so that they do not die. This concern indicates that no matter what language policy is put in place, a language, whether it is an indigenous language or a foreign language, is a right and a resource. However, the appropriate language of learning and teaching is undeniable mother tongue (UNESCO, 2003; Alexander, 2000, 2003a, 2003b, 2004, 2011; Kamwangamalu, 2009; Wolff, 2011).

3.7 Conducive situations for the use of the mother tongue as language of instruction

"All the languages used in the country are deemed to be assets rather than problems"
(Alexander, 2003b:16)

Several different education stakeholders have debated and questioned whether indigenous African languages are at a sufficient intellectual standard that is suitable for them to be used as languages of instruction at secondary and tertiary level. Based on their beliefs, different reasons have been given in opposition to the use of these languages for instruction purposes. These beliefs cause ex-colonial languages to persist as languages of instruction in most African countries. It has been contended by a

growing body of research conducted in Africa that it is necessary to introduce mother tongue-based education, but these languages are not sufficient academically.

Jones and Barkhuizen's (2011) ethnographic study on Kenyan language-in-education policy revealed that the mother-tongue policy which is practised in the first three years of primary education is difficult to implement due to a number of factors. First, pupils have different language backgrounds; therefore, the language which is regarded as a mother tongue is not actually the mother tongue of all the pupils. Consequently, teachers have to use Kiswahili or English as a lingua franca instead of Sabao, the local language, to enhance students' understanding, even though the language-in-education policy advocates mother tongue-based instruction at the initial literacy level. This supports Obanya (1999) study which found that the obstacle to elevate African languages as medium of instruction is caused by linguistic diversity which most African countries experience. However, Wolff (2000, 2006, 2011) argues that bi / multilingualism is a resource rather than a problem. This means that apart from the use of ex-colonial language in the classroom, African languages have crucial role in enhancing classroom interaction as well as learning.

Another challenge in the implementation of mother-tongue instruction which Jones and Barkhuizen (2011) highlight is lack of materials in the mother tongue. There are very limited materials available for mother-tongue instruction, and the few which are available are not of a suitably high standard. One of the teacher respondents in the above study claimed that illustrations in mother-tongue language textbooks are black-and-white, while textbooks for other languages or other subjects have illustrations in colour; she asserted that mother-tongue language textbooks should have illustrations in colour, just as other textbooks do. Furthermore, training for mother-tongue programmes is offered for a short duration, unlike training for English second-language programmes. One of the education officers referred to training for mother-tongue programmes as crash courses that produced "half-baked" teachers (Jones & Barkhuizen, 2011:523).

This criticism is consistent with the observation made by other education officers in Kenya that there is more concern for the quality of English programmes than there is for the quality of mother-tongue programmes (Jones & Barkhuizen, 2011). Teachers try to cope with this situation by informally starting to use English as the language of learning and teaching from Grade 2 and 3. The decision to assess Grade 4 pupils in English is also an incentive for teachers to start using English as a language of learning and teaching before Grade 4. Another teacher respondent in this study argued that switching to English at an early stage is an advantage to learners, as they become familiar with this language from a younger age, and it was argued that Grade 4 is too late to introduce English as a language of instruction (Jones & Barkhuizen, 2011). This argument contradicts the findings of Trudell's (2005) empirical study conducted in Cameroon, where parents argued that for a child to switch to the language of instruction at an early literacy stage is a problem. In their study, Jones and Barkhuizen (2011) recommend that teacher training for mother-tongue education and bilingual education should be given the weight it deserves. They also impress upon the importance of introducing and improving resources for mother-tongue education, and the need to change parents and education officials' negative attitudes towards mother-tongue instruction.

It has been suggested by a group of experts, educators, and researchers that indigenous African languages are currently suitable for use as languages of instruction at different levels of education. Alexander (2007) mentions a number of obstacles which hinder optimal use of the mother tongue as a resource in teaching and learning, and he explains how these obstacles can be overcome. The first obstacle that he cites is lack of political will. In his study, Alexander asserts that many political leaders comply with the wish of their people regarding their views about the language of instruction, without informing them of the negative effects of using an unfamiliar language. They simply do it for political reasons in that they are the representatives to people.

He cites the example of the Six-Year Primary Project (SYPP) at St Stephen's "A" Primary School in Modakeke, Ile-Ife, in Nigeria. The project aimed to demonstrate the advantage of learning by using mother tongue as a language of learning and teaching for six years.

Since people had political will and commitment, the project was successful. He concludes that having political will is a prerequisite to the success of mother-tongue education. In contrast, in the Six-Year Bilingual Project (SYBP) at Battswood Primary School in Wynberg, Cape Town in South Africa (1998-2003), aimed to improve the status of isiXhosa in the classroom, there was minimum political will, and the project consequently did not progress. In a similar vein, Wolff (2011) and Prah (2014) point out that political will is among the contributing factors for most African countries to opt for the use of ex-colonial language as a language of learning and teaching.

Another factor which Alexander (2007) found to be an obstacle was the issue of costs. Many education stakeholders have claimed that considerable costs are incurred when a change is made to mother-tongue instruction, for example the cost of producing teaching and learning materials. However, Alexander contends that costs are a matter which is to be dealt with step by step. Both short-term and long-term strategies should be put in place. In the short term, steps such as upgrading teachers' second-language teaching skills and producing bilingual dictionaries should be taken. In the long term, creative writing and translation programmes should be introduced. These efforts will drive the production of appropriate materials and the professional development of teachers, so that they can cope with mother tongue-based bilingual education as practitioners. Alexander's (2007) reaction against the argument about the importance of ex-colonial languages further argues that it must be shown that indigenous African languages are similar to other languages. They can be a powerful vehicle in various domains such as in education and economic.

According to the findings of Ipara and Mbori's (2009) study, as discussed in section 3.5, African languages such as Kiswahili are in a good position to be used at all levels of education, science, and technology in Kenya, because they have many materials, including a number of technical terms. The development of Kiswahili and other African languages makes Qorro (2004), Alexander (2007), and Brock-Utne (2012) cite the example of countries where mother-tongue education is offered at all levels, such as Malaysia and the Philippines, without students being deprived from learning other

international languages, and hence these researchers question why African countries still persist with the use of ex-colonial languages as languages of instruction.

For African countries to shift to the use of the mother tongue as language of instruction, there is a serious need for people to change their stereotypes against indigenous African languages (Bamgbose, 2000; 2003; Wolff, 2011). Furthermore, practising democracy by listening to what people want regarding the language of instruction without educating them about the impact of using an unfamiliar language in education is responsible for the failure of the introduction of mother-tongue education, and therefore this should be avoided (UNESCO, 2010). Qorro, (2004), Ramani and Joseph (2006), and Alexander (2007) contend that once language is used in higher education, vocabulary will expand concurrently to suit scientific concepts. This is consistent with Batibo (2010) who argues that development of the term is continuing activity. Conclusive evidence shows that most African countries have a conducive environment for introducing the use of an indigenous language as a language of instruction from basic literacy to tertiary level.

The way to start mother tongue-based instruction is to start bit by bit, and not wait for a complete set of human and material resources (Ramani & Joseph, 2006; Alexander, 2007). Studies reviewed in this section show that some African languages have reasonable resources, which make them deserve be used for mother tongue-based instruction at all levels of education. It is the efforts of English-speaking intelligentsia that made English a superior lingua franca (Kaschula, Mostert, Schafer & Wienand, 2007), and therefore African intelligentsia have to make deliberate efforts to make people aware of the use of indigenous African languages as languages of instruction at all levels of education. Kaschula (1999) claims that successful policy implementation depends not only on financial support from government and international organisations, but also on public awareness.

3.8 Bilingual education policy in a global context

The ideology of language rights and the ideology of language diversity are not “at variance with one another” (Grin, 2005:187). The struggle for language rights made by a number of minority language groups has led to the introduction of bilingual education in the United States and most European countries, such as England. However, in most

cases, bilingual education is introduced just as a transition to monolingual education, which in most cases is the English-medium. This forces minority-language students to learn through a second language or a foreign language. Lewis contends that “[t]hroughout the history of formal education, the use of an L2 medium of instruction has been the rule rather than the exception” (Lewis, 1976, cited in Johnson & Swain, 1997). Monolingual education policy, which is practised at some levels in Europe and the United States, brings impacts of using unfamiliar language to minority-language students similar to those which most African students experience in their countries. That is, the language of instruction becomes a barrier to communication in the classroom, and consequently both teachers and students tend to use the first language alongside the language of instruction, in most cases in the form of code-switching, to overcome the barrier.

In Arizona, there are a number of schools whose education language policy is “English-only”. Despite such a policy being in place, researchers during classroom observations heard frequent use of students’ first language, in this case Spanish, alongside English (Mackinney & Rios-Aguilar, 2012). The use of Spanish in an “English-only” language-in-education environment was as a vehicle to facilitate students’ learning. One teacher respondent in the study indicated that the first language was used mostly when students worked in small groups. Another teacher claimed that she saw no problem if students used their first language in an English lesson and then said the same words in English. This teacher insisted that learners’ development of their first language assisted them in learning English, and therefore in her lesson she asked the students the meaning of English vocabulary in their language, namely Spanish. Mackinney and Rios-Aguilar (2012) also found that the use of Spanish in English-medium classes is influenced by teachers’ beliefs that when it is difficult to implement the “English-only” policy, the solution is to mediate with the use of Spanish alongside English. Despite the fact that Arizona enacted an “English-only” language-in-education policy, this policy has loopholes for the use of the first language. The policy states that

although teachers may use a minimal amount of the child’s native language when necessary, no subject matter shall be taught in any language other than English,

and children in this program learn to read and write solely in English. (Arizona Department of Education, 2010:1, see Mackinney & Rios-Aguilar, 2012:351)

Since teachers in Arizona believe that the use of the first language enhances second language learning, they sometimes do not completely comply with an “English-only” language-in-education policy. They allow concurrent use of Spanish and English by students to make sure that meaningful teaching and learning occurs.

In their study on Cantonese-English bilinguals in the United States, Leung and Uchikoshi (2012) found that students from bilingual classrooms performed much better than students from mainstream classrooms. These researchers argue that the use of the students’ first language, Cantonese, enhanced and extended learning, as there was better school-home connection, whereas students from minority languages who are in mainstream classrooms experience a discrepancy between home and school. The researchers argue that the first language is a powerful resource in learning. In this study, parents showed a positive attitude towards English-Cantonese bilingual programmes.

Wei and Wu (2009) conducted a study in Chinese Complementary classrooms in Britain. The language policy of these schools is “one language only/one language at a time”, and therefore a strict “no English” policy was introduced. In the implementation of this policy, Wei and Wu (2009:194) found that students used their bilingual resources in the classroom “to fight against [language] suppression”, and that students thus used code-switching, English, and their first language strategically to enhance their learning. These researchers further found that the use of code-switching created a secure classroom environment, but that it caused variance between the stipulations of the policy which had been imposed from above and actual practices.

A study by Jaffe (2007) showed empirical evidence that code-switching is a powerful tool that enhances teaching and learning in the classroom. In the classes which Jaffe observed, both the teacher and the students used Corsican to discuss a text written in French, although Corsican officially was not allowed. The teacher knew the policy, but

she “violated it openly” (Jaffe, 2007:60). Without fear of condemnation from the school inspector, Corsican was strategically used alongside French to facilitate teaching and learning. Jaffe (2007:66) further observed that “Corsican was used as the primary vehicle for almost all the teacher’s input—including academic, procedural, and behavioral [sic] management of this particular lesson”. Similar use of the first language as a resource alongside the language of instruction, in the form of code-switching, which was violation of education language policy, has been found in a number of studies conducted in Africa (Probyn, 2009; Kagwesage, 2012), and teachers that have tended to use code-switching have sometimes been regarded as incompetent ones (Trudell, 2005).

Focusing on postcolonial classrooms in South-East Asia, and citing the study of Saxena (2009) conducted in Brunei, and the study of Hu, Li and Lei (2014) conducted in China as examples, these authors indicate that the use of English as a language of learning and teaching causes prevalent problems in education. Saxena demonstrates that strict adherence to an “English-only” language-in-education policy creates problems in the classroom, and consequently resistance to the enforcement of such a policy occurs. Students believe that in the classroom the first language is an important and unavoidable resource, and that they have the right to use that resource. This reflects Ruiz’s (1984) three orientations to language planning, namely language as a problem, language as a right, and language as a resource. In her ethnographic research, Saxena (2009) observed that both teachers and students brought their home language to the classroom. This researcher found that in countries where the use of the first language is accepted, in this case Malay in Brunei, the first language becomes a resource. By contrast, in monolingual ideology, the top-down education language policy where a second language, in this case English, is imposed as the only language of instruction, some education stakeholders equate use of the first language in the classroom with underachievement.

The language-in-education policy of Brunei stipulates that in the first three years of early primary education Malay shall be used as a language of learning and teaching, and that from Grade 4 a shift is made to English for the subjects of mathematics, science,

geography, and history. This abrupt switch in language of learning and teaching has been associated with frequent use of code-switching, as well as student underachievement (Martin, 2008). The same problem of an abrupt switch in language of instruction which has been found in Brunei in South-East Asia has been highlighted by a considerable amount of research conducted in Africa.

Saxena (2009) made observations in two classrooms in which she labelled them as classroom 1 and classroom 2. In her observation of an English lesson taught in classroom 1, she found that the teacher rejected answers from the students that they were given in Malay, even when the answers were correct, and she accepted incomplete answers which were given in English. That teacher strictly complied with an “English-only” rule and she strongly discouraged the use of the first language in the classroom and consequently imposed a 10-cent fine for every Malay word uttered in violation of the rule. This is consistent with findings from a number of studies conducted in Africa, where students who disregarded an “English-only” rule were penalised (Spernes, 2012; Edu-Buandoh & Otchere, 2012). In an interview that Saxena conducted with the English teacher in classroom 1, the teacher said that “[c]ode-switching, although inevitable, should be discouraged from schools, especially [among] language teachers and bilingual, L2-based subject teachers” (Saxena, 2009:174). By contrast, in an interview conducted with the teacher in classroom 2, the teacher claimed that using two languages together was the sociolinguistic practice in Brunei, and she saw no reason why code-switching should not be used in the classroom. This is what this respondent said:

Students in Brunei are used to hearing many languages being spoken together. Mixing Malay and English is part of daily conversation in life outside the school. It is something that students are so used to and in fact is part of the culture. My point is that teachers should look at this as one of the teaching resources which will facilitate learning. Nothing is lost (see Saxena, 2009:181).

Enforcement of an “English-only” language-in-education policy creates conflict and tension, as some teachers, practitioners, and students find it difficult, if not impossible, to practise the policy for effective teaching and learning (Saxena, 2009). The teacher in classroom 2 vehemently claimed that using the first language alongside the second

language, in this case mixing Malay with English, is a resource which facilitates learning, and that it creates a conducive learning environment. Even the teacher in classroom 1, who strictly adhered to the existing “English-only” policy, claimed that she wanted her students to enjoy learning English, rather than experiencing their learning as torture.

In Saxena’s (2009) study, students seemed not to enjoy the lesson in which the teacher adhered strictly to an “English-only” rule, since the correct answers which they gave in Malay were not accepted. Students questioned an “English-only” policy and saw it as marginalising their first language, Malay, and consequently they resisted the “no Malay” policy. This was evident when one student gave an answer in Malay purposely “to annoy the teacher” (Saxena, 2009:176). It is evident that students believed that the use of their mother tongue was their right and that they fought to have this right observed; likewise, the students and some teachers believed that the first language, or the mother tongue, is a resource in an “English-only” language-in-education environment. However, officials from the Ministry of Education in Brunei keep insisting on the policy of “English-only”. In an interview conducted with Saxena, one of the teachers stated that

[[o]fficers] from the MoE [Ministry of Education] highly discourage the use of code-switching in the classroom. This is usually emphasised when teachers attend seminars or conferences. The teachers are to use English and only resort to Malay in extreme cases. Teachers are not to be lenient to students by giving them the benefit of Malay words instead of English (see Saxena, 2009:174).

According to Saxena (2009), the top-down policy of “English-only” has a number of consequences when teachers comply with it strictly in the classroom. Saxena found that in such classrooms, students remained passive, or they gave one-word answers, which frustrated the teacher, so that she decided to answer the questions herself. Students showed resistance to the monolingual policy of “English-only”. Vinthagen (2007) has called this type of resistance “contrastive resistance”, in that it brings alternatives to solve the problem, in this case resistance which facilitates learning. Furthermore, such a monolingual policy leads students to find the lesson boring, and therefore to hate it (Saxena, 2009). By contrast, Saxena (2009) indicates that when use of the first language is given a chance in an “English-only” environment, that is, where existing monolingual

policies are not strictly practised, such problems can be alleviated. He also argues that constructive resistance to an “English-only” policy by the strategic use of code-switching can enhance learning. The evidence of this argument is seen from the following response, which was given by a teacher respondent who was interviewed in the study:

In some cases, teachers have no choice but to use Malay. This is especially important when dealing with students who are well below average. From personal experience, these students, called level 2 students, have very limited English proficiency and teachers have to explain in Malay 70% of the time (Saxena, 2009:180).

Consistent with the study of Saxena (2009), the study conducted at Mainland Chinese University Hu, Li and Lei (2014) observed that in China efforts are made by the Ministry of Education to increase the use of English as a language of learning and teaching against the backdrop of human civilization, advanced science and technology, and international communication. Based on these perceptions the Ministry of Education has promulgated English-medium instruction policy as an initiative to improve the quality of education at undergraduate level in this century (Hu, Li & Lei, 2014). The Ministry of Education has issued the directive that within three years universities should intend to offer between five to ten per cent undergraduate courses in English medium or other foreign languages. To monitor the enforcement of the policy, the Ministry of Education outlined that in assessing the universities, the number of courses offered in English medium should be the key indicator. In this regard, universities were ranked “excellent” if they offered English medium courses of up to ten per cent while they were ranked “poor” if they offered few or no course in English medium.

Despite prioritizing English medium policy at university level Hu, Li and Lei (2014) found that both lecturers and students did not have adequate levels of English proficiency for that policy. The finding of their study reveals that the enforcement of that policy attenuated teaching and learning. Students lamented the fact that their lecturers were not able to use authentic and spontaneous English when they delivered lectures instead they closely followed the text-book as the reading lesson. Likewise,

lecturers claimed that students did not understand when lectures were delivering in English.

In their study Hu, Li and Lei (2014) point out various strategies which were used by both lecturers and students in order to cope with English medium policy. The first strategy used by lecturers was to simplify the content of the curricular. That means, unlike the course offered in Chinese medium in the same university, English medium courses covered only the basic content. According to the lecturers the course delivered in the English medium was diluted so that it could not demand complex English. This supports UNESCO (2003, 2011) and Save the Children (2011) that the use of an unfamiliar language impedes the provision of quality education. The second coping strategy which was employed by the lecturers was that they frequently referred to their notes in order to reduce spontaneous interaction. Furthermore, frequent use of code-switching which included Chinese and English during the lectures was the coping strategy employed by the lecturers. A similar finding was reported by Saxena (2009) that in Brunei code-switching which included English and Malay was used in the classroom.

Similarly, in their study Hu, Li and Lei (ibid) observed that students used their own coping strategies in English medium course. The frequently used strategy was to read Chinese references and text-books and to relate them to the lectures and books which were written in English. The second technique was to identify unknown vocabulary in their text books written in English and to find their meanings before the class. Another technique which students used in order to cope with the policy was to translate notes from English to Chinese. The last strategy used by students was to memorize answers from their English text-books particularly when they prepared themselves for tests and examinations.

Evidence shows that top-down English-medium instruction policy is also a problem in Asia and bilingual which included English and their indigenous languages was used as an alternative to overcome that language problem. These two studies from Asia prove

that top-down English-medium instruction was not compatible for their countries and as a consequence they caused a number of trickle-down impacts as shown above.

This idea is echoed by a number of studies conducted in Africa, namely that if teachers are concerned only with teaching, rather than students' learning, they can comply with an "English-only" language-in-education policy, but if they are concerned about students' learning, the use of mother tongues alongside English in the classroom becomes inevitable (Brock-Utne, 2005, 2012; Probyn, 2009; McGlynn & Martin, 2009).

3.9 A summary of what is known and unknown

A number of studies on language policy and planning in education which have been reviewed in this chapter were conducted from the African context and the global context (United States, Europe, and Asia). The studies have shown that language is an individual right like other rights, language can be a problem, and language can also be a resource, in line with Ruiz's (1984) orientations to language planning which underpin the present study (discussed in Chapter 2). Empirical evidence from a body of literature reviewed in this chapter shows that students have been deprived of their right to use their mother tongue as a language of learning, and that, in many cases, they have been asserting this right. The literature also shows that the use of the mother tongue is a resource that can be used to overcome the problem of use of the second language in teaching and learning. The literature further shows that code-switching has been judiciously used to overcome language barriers in the classroom, but that in most contexts the use of code-switching has been perceived negatively. Empirical evidence from the reviewed literature also shows that despite experiencing language barriers in the classroom when a second or a foreign language is used as a language of learning and teaching, most education stakeholders seemed to favour the use of non-indigenous languages, mainly English. However, some studies indicate that some indigenous African languages are suitable to be used as languages of teaching and learning.

The review of literature shows that there is scant research on this area in Zanzibar. This study is unique in that it uses Ruiz's (1984) seminal work on orientations to language planning as a conceptual framework to explore the relationship between an "English-

only” language-in-education policy and bilingual education practices in Zanzibar secondary schools. The current research aim:

- to explore teachers’ and students’ perspectives on the main variances between policy stipulations concerning the official language of instruction and actual practices,
- to examine tensions, contradictions, or challenges which teachers and students experience with regard to language use in the classroom,
- to explore the extent to which Kiswahili is used in mathematics and science classes,
- to explore the extent to which bilingual practices facilitate learning and teaching, and
- to explore both teachers’ and students’ perspectives on the use of Kiswahili as language of teaching and learning.

This is thus a unique study that addresses the above education language policy issues in Zanzibar. This study provides an opportunity for education stakeholders, policy makers, and researchers to understand the current picture of an “English-only” language-in-education policy in Zanzibar secondary schools, particularly at this time when the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training has introduced English as a language of learning and teaching for natural science and social science subjects, to be used from Standard 5 in primary schools, starting from 2014. The chapter that follows outlines the methodology used in this study.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter consists of 17 sections and subsections which provide a detailed delineation of methodology of the present study. Section 4.2 introduces the purpose of the study and research questions. Research design is discussed in section 4.2.2 followed by section 4.2.2.1 which discusses pragmatism as a paradigm of mixed methods. Thereafter the setting, participants of the study and data collection instruments are discussed in the subsequent sections and subsections. The next sections discuss data analysis, validity, and ethical consideration and gaining access. A summary of the research procedures is provided at the end of this chapter.

4.2 Methodology

As indicated above, prior to the research design, this section delineates the purpose of the study and connects such purpose with the research questions. There is always a link among the understanding of the purpose of the study, research questions, and appropriate method of investigation (Newman, 1998).

4.2.1 Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

The purpose of this study was to explore the relationship between an English-only language-in-education policy and bilingual practices in Zanzibar secondary schools. With regard to this purpose, the present study sought to answer the following research questions:

1. What are teachers' and students' perspectives on the main variances between policy stipulations concerning the official language of instruction and actual practices?

2. To what extent is Kiswahili used in the teaching of English-medium subjects, and to what extent does this bilingual practice of using Kiswahili and English together facilitate learning and cognition among students
3. What tensions, contradictions or challenges do the teachers and students experience with regard to language use in the classroom?
4. To what extent is Kiswahili suitable to be used as a sole language of instruction in secondary schools in Zanzibar?
5. What is the difference in terms of pass rate when a particular subject is taught and assessed in English and when the same subject is taught and assessed in Kiswahili?

4.2.2 Research Design

Relevant to the purpose and its research questions (see 1.5) , this study employed a mixed method approach in which qualitative methods are the principal / core methods, with quantitative methods playing a complementary role in exploring the relationship between an English-only language-in-education policy and bilingual practice in Zanzibar secondary schools. The nature of this research problem is multidisciplinary in the sense that it touches on language issues and education issues. As a result, a mixed method approach has been proven to be a suitable:

We contend that epistemological and methodological pluralism should be promoted in educational research... Today's research world is becoming increasingly interdisciplinary, complex and dynamic; therefore many researchers need to complement one method with another ... to provide superior research (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004:15).

For epistemological compatibility, the present study did not consider the 'purist stance' which believes that the quantitative and qualitative methods belong to different paradigms which are contradictory and therefore incommensurable. Instead, a pragmatic approach was adopted. That is, 'pragmatism' as the mixed methods paradigm was used in the present study. Pragmatism is further explicated the paragraph below.

The stance which is most commonly used in mixed methods research is pragmatism which affords an alternative worldview to both positivism (post-positivism) and

constructivism (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). Furthermore, it sidesteps the war between qualitative and quantitative research methods. Among the characteristics of pragmatism is that, on the one hand, it views knowledge as being constructed while on the other hand being based on the reality of the world which we experience and live (Greene, 2008). Pragmatism affords the researcher the opportunity to combine or mix methods as well as procedures which can best help to answer research questions (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). In the present study, if the researcher had confined his study to only one method, either qualitative or quantitative, then some research questions could not be answered clearly. To illustrate this fact, consider research Question 5: 'What is the difference in terms of the pass rate when a particular subject is taught and assessed in English and when the same subject is taught and assessed in Kiswahili?' A quantitative method was able to provide data which were statistically analysed, and could best answer this question. Similarly, qualitative data were able to provide information which best answered issues such as teachers' and students' perspectives on the main variances between policy stipulations concerning the official language of instruction and actual practices (Research Question one), tensions, contradictions or challenges which the teachers and students experience with regard to language use in the classroom (Research Question two) and so on. For such issues qualitative data neatly fitted in order to provide in-depth understanding.

The second reason for using the mixed method was to 'neutralize or cancel the bias of quantitative or qualitative when used as a single method' in the present study (Creswell, 2009). Mixing quantitative and qualitative methods enabled this thesis to come with a 'comprehensive analysis' of data and subsequently answer the research questions thoroughly (Creswell, 2009; 2012; Morse & Niehaus, 2009).

As the researcher I used qualitative unstructured open-ended interviews, focus group discussion and classroom observations to explore the relationship between an English-only language-in-education policy and bilingual practice in Zanzibar secondary schools. Subsequently quantitative data which were obtained from the students' tests and examinations results were used to confirm the results (Creswells, 2009; Morse & Niehaus, 2009). In addition, this approach enhanced validity in the sense that qualitative data were checked against quantitative data (Bryman, 1992). That is, data

from observations, unstructured open-ended interviews and focus group discussions were checked against students' tests results.

Though a number of authors show that there is a fierce debate on mixed methods (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003; Morse & Niehaus, 2009) they admit this approach add rigour to the study. As Reichardt and Cook (1979) contend that nothing should stop researchers from mixing methods from different paradigms that would be appropriate for the research problems. In the present study the quantitative method which was a complementary component, by using statistical measurements (graphs and histograms) managed to enhance descriptions of qualitative data (Creswell, 2009). In addition, it gave illustrations when compared students' achievements from the examinations and tests assessed using English and those assessed using Kiswahili and subsequently consolidated the findings depicted from qualitative data (Morse & Niehaus, 2009). Thus, to provide quantitative data when comparing students' achievement when assessed in English versus Kiswahili helped one to argue with confidence (Morse & Niehaus, 2009) and was able to show how language was a factor for students' achievements.

The last reason of using mixed methods is that, the findings of this study need to inform policy makers about the severe consequences of using English, non-mother tongue, as language of instruction, and that Kiswahili as the appropriate language of instruction. Thus, quantitative component is very crucial as it takes large sample. As Bryman (1992) contends that authority hardly becomes satisfied with 'in-depth qualitative data' of a small sampling, instead they become satisfied with the method that takes large sampling which is an important construct in quantitative approach.

Although the mixed methods approach is labour intensive, it often has been found most fruitful when qualitative and quantitative are used together (Creswell, 2009). This approach enabled this research to produce a vivid picture and better understanding of an English-only language-in-education policy and bilingual practices in Zanzibar secondary schools which could not be attained by using only one method either quantitative or qualitative in isolation.

To add rigour, aspects of ethnographic research were incorporated into the research methodology to supplement the mixed methods approach which is the primary method.

The ethnographic elements afforded the researcher to discover “an insider’s view of a particular culture” (McKay, 2006:78) as he “immersed in the culture under study” (Patton, 2002:81). As such, the aspects of ethnography allowed the researcher to explore language use in the classroom between teachers and students and among students themselves.

4.2.3 Setting

The present study was carried out in two secondary schools in Zanzibar, hereafter referred to as School A and School B. These schools were purposely chosen for several reasons. The first reason is that in these schools there is a subject which is taught and assessed in Kiswahili as a medium of instruction at one level (Ordinary level) and English to the same students in another level (Advance level). These sites were deemed appropriate and relevant for the present study because there was an opportunity to compare the same subject taught and assessed in Kiswahili, the mother tongue, at one level, and English, which is not the learners’ mother tongue.

The second reason is that I, the researcher, was a teacher of School A for eleven years. This gave the researcher access to the site easily and made the research more feasible. Being familiar with some teachers of School A helped keeping the teachers more natural during the classroom observations, interviews and focus group discussions as they did not regard the researcher as a guest.

The last reason for the choice of those schools was that both arts and science subjects were offered in those schools. This was a crucial reason as the researcher was interested to see the language use in both arts and science subjects. The schools which offered only one stream, that is, either arts or science subjects could not be relevant to the present study.

Both schools started with Form 1 up to Form 6. Once pupils from Primary schools who used Kiswahili as language of instruction entered Form One classes, they switched to English medium of instruction for all subjects except Kiswahili language and Islamic knowledge which used Kiswahili as a medium of instruction in Ordinary level. However, in Advanced level the medium of instruction for Islamic knowledge changed to English.

4.2.4 Participants

As the present study used a mixed methods approach in which the qualitative approach (QUAL+quant), the sampling of these components was dealt with differently. The qualitative component needed a smaller sample which was purposely selected in order to bring in-depth understanding (Greene, 2008) of language of instruction policy and bilingual practice whereas the quantitative supplementary component needed a large sample which was randomly selected for the sake of generalizability (Greene, 2008). Participants of the present study were shown in two sections; one section shows qualitative sampling and another section shows quantitative sampling. The reason for doing this is that, participants of the qualitative component were few so that it would be impossible for large sampling which could be randomly selected. Therefore, different participants were selected for that quantitative component.

4.2.4.1 Participants / Sampling for Qualitative Component

Six teachers were purposely selected from two different schools for classroom observations, three from each school. All of them were Form 1 and Form 6 teachers. As Creswell (2009; 2012) notes, a qualitative sampling can be selected in accordance with the purpose of the study. The selection of these teachers was purposely done on the basis of the following criteria: The teachers should be teaching English medium subjects, they should have either a Diploma or Degree in education, they should have at least five years working experience, and they should have interest in cooperating with the researcher. All six teachers showed enthusiasm with the study during the data collection period. Table 1 shows a profile of the teachers and their classrooms which include teaching subjects, grade levels (Forms), years of teaching experience, and educational background.

Table 4.1 Profile of Teachers

Teacher	School	Educational background	Subject Taught	Grade / Form	Years of teaching Experience
Bakar	B	BSc	Physic	Form 1	12 years
Mussa	B	Diploma	Biology	Form 3	9 years
Sabrina	B	BA	Geography	Form 2	15 years
Haidar	A	BA	English	Form 1	11 years
Badria	A	BSc	Chemistry	Form 6	7 years
Ali	A	Diploma	Mathematics	Form 1	12 years

The criteria of qualifications and years of teaching experience were crucial as teachers no doubt were more comfortable when they were being observed and this led the researcher to have appropriate respondents and subsequently 'to maximize what we learn' (Stake, 1995). These teachers took part in classroom observations and subsequent interviews and focus group discussions.

Twelve students were selected, two students from each of the six classrooms observed in order to take part in the post-observation interviews and the subsequent focus group discussions.

Two experts of Kiswahili from the institutes which are responsible for developing and promoting Kiswahili were purposely selected for interviews. One participant was from the Zanzibar Kiswahili Council, and from its inception by the Government of Zanzibar it aimed to develop and promote Kiswahili. The other was from the Kiswahili Global Centre, the institute which is housed in the State University of Zanzibar. Its role is to preserve culture, and to develop and promote Kiswahili. The native / first language of all these participants is Kiswahili and therefore English is seen as a foreign language for them.

4.2.4.2 Participants / Sampling for Quantitative Component

Systematic random sampling was used to get the names of 70 students and their examination results. 35 students were from School A and the same number from School B. The researcher examined the Form 4 examination results of Islamic study (which was set in Kiswahili) of those students in order to see their achievements; and then in turn he analysed the examination results of the same students for the same subject when the language used for that examination was English.

Another 70 students in Form 2 from both School A and School B were randomly selected to do history tests (35 students from each school). The students were given a history test which was written in Kiswahili and were instructed to answer the questions in Kiswahili. In turn the same questions were written in English and the same students were instructed to answer in English. The tests were marked and results were recorded.

The need for having a large sample which was randomly selected is the basic feature of the quantitative methodology. Though in this mixed methods approach the core component was qualitative, and the supplementary component was quantitative, the pragmatic stance does not allow the researcher to ignore philosophical and methodological issues when dealing with decisions of method (Greene, 2007). As such for the qualitative component, purposive sampling was used and for the quantitative component large sampling which was randomly selected was carried out.

4.2.5 Data Collection

As discussed above, the present study employed a mixed methods approach. The mixed methods approach tends to use triangulation in order to increase validity of the findings and to increase the degree of confidence in them (Greene, 2007; Bryman, 1992). Hence, the present study used different instruments to collect data. These include classroom observations, interviews with the teachers, interviews with students, interviews with key actors from the Zanzibar Kiswahili Council, and Kiswahili Global Centre in the State University of Zanzibar, focus group discussions with teachers, focus group discussions with students, and students' examinations / tests results. Each instrument of data collection will be described below.

4.2.5.1 Classroom Observations

Over a period of three months the researcher observed six teachers who were teaching English medium subjects from two different schools. A total of 42 classroom observations were made. Observations were carried out during the normal class hours. Some observations took a single period which comprised 40 minutes or double periods which comprised 80 minutes. Each teacher was observed for two lessons a week. The researcher planned this purposely in order to let the teachers sometimes teach without being observed. Each teacher was observed for the minimum of six lessons and the maximum of eight observations. Table 2 displays teachers, number of lessons observed, subjects observed, classes observed and total minutes observed.

Table 4.2 Classroom Observation as per Teacher

Teacher	Grade level or Form	Subject observed	Number of Observations made	Total minutes observed
Bakar	Form 1	Physics	8	320 minutes
Mussa	Form 3	Biology	7	280 minutes
Sabrina	Form 2	Geography	6	240 minutes
Haidar	Form 1	English	6	240 minutes
Badria	Form 4	Chemistry	8	320 minutes
Ali	Form 1	Mathematics	7	280 minutes

During the observations the researcher paid attention to the language use, that is, interaction between teacher and students and among students themselves. This enabled the researcher to see concurrent use of English and Kiswahili at different stages of the lessons for all subjects. Yin (2009, 2014) contends that participant observation is very suitable for collecting evidence. The respondents were reluctant to allow the researcher to take video recordings during the observations though some only accepted audio recording. The researcher tried as much as he could to take field notes on important issues regarding language use by focusing on what was said and done in the classroom in the 'interactional setting' (see Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000: 305). Most of the

time, the researcher was not an active participant during observation, as he sat unobtrusively on a chair taking some notes. However, he occasionally interacted with teachers and students. The gap which was left by field notes was offset by audio-recorded observations. Classroom observations enabled the researcher to see the extent to which Kiswahili was used in English medium subjects and the extent to which it facilitated learning and cognition.

4.2.5.2 Post-observation Interviews

To explore teachers' and students' perceptions of the language of instruction; tensions, contradictions and challenges which both teachers and students experience with regard to language use in the classroom, and to hear teachers' and students' voices about the extent to which Kiswahili suits as the language of teaching and learning, post-observation semi-structured, open-ended interviews were conducted for an in-depth understanding of those language issues in the classroom. Post-observation semi-structured, open-ended interviews helped the researcher on clarification of uncertainties and ambiguities which he noted during the observation (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007a; Bogdan & Biklen, 2007b; Gobo, 2008; Yin, 2009, 2014). It was during post-observation interviews that the interviewer made the cross-check between the observations and the interviews as Fraenkel & Wallen (2000:509) posit "to check the accuracy of – to verify or refute – the impressions [he] had gained through observations".

The researcher interviewed teachers and then in turn students regarding language use in the classroom. The researcher used an interview guide to make sure that he could not forget to raise any important and interesting issues regarding language use during teaching and learning. In addition, the researcher posed additional questions to elicit more information from interviewees (see interview guide in Appendices 8 and 9).

Interviews with key actors from the Zanzibar Kiswahili Council and Kiswahili Global Centre of the State University of Zanzibar aimed at understanding the development and status of Kiswahili in line with debates on language-in-education policy. Interviews with key actors were also semi-structured as Kvale (1996:124) argues:

A semi-structured interview ... has a sequence of themes to be covered, as well as suggested questions. Yet, at the same time there is an openness to changes of sequence and forms of questions in order to follow up the answers given ... by the subjects.

The information from key actors helped the researcher to mirror teachers' and students' opinions about whether Kiswahili suits as the sole language of instruction in secondary schools in Zanzibar. As these key actors have a crucial role in corpus planning, their voice about whether Kiswahili is a suitable language of instruction in secondary schools was very important; especially that they have influence on the policy makers.

To engage the interviewees in the discussion, the researcher used Kiswahili language for all interviews. Some interviews were audio-recorded after the consent from interviewees was obtained. The researcher also wrote all answers from interviews in his note book. Each interview session took between 40 to 50 minutes. Unstructured, in-depth interviews provided some useful insights into exploring the relationship between an English-only language-in-education policy and bilingual practice.

4.2.5.3 Focus Group Discussions

Focus group discussions were deemed crucial to get teachers' and students' perceptions with regard to the language of learning and teaching, to hear their voice about tensions, contradictions, and challenges they experience with regard to language use in the classroom, and also the suitability of using Kiswahili as a sole language of teaching and learning. One reason of using focus group discussions as a data collection instrument was to get a wide range of opinions and suggestions about an English-only language-in-education policy and its practice from both teachers and students, and this clearly helped to answer some research questions. As Krueger and Morgan (1993) contend:

Often a major part of our research goal is to learn more about the range of opinions or experiences that people have. Focus groups have a strong advantage here because the interaction in the group can provide an explicit basis for exploring this issue. ... One of the things that frequently become clear in such discussions is that each individual may have several different opinions about the subject. This is visible in statements of qualified agreement, such as "I agree with you, so long as ..." (1993, p. 17-18).

Another reason of using focus group discussions was to validate those issues raised in individual interviews which were conducted prior the focus group discussions (Barbour & Schostack, 2005; Silverman, 2010). Both teachers and students, as participants, participated in the focus group discussions at different times and raised important and interesting issues which they had not raised during the individual interviews. Besides, some issues were collectively clarified with concrete examples. The last reason for using focus group discussions was that every member of the group was actively contributing as points raised by one member stimulated others. Hence, this data collection instrument brought the researcher to the truth (Frey and Fontana, 1993:32) which he was seeking to answer research questions.

Two focus group discussions for teachers and two for students were conducted after classroom observations and individual interview sessions were over. For the same reason of making participants able to express issues and controversies freely, Kiswahili was used in all focus group discussions. Most questions which appeared in individual interviews were also asked in focus group discussion. This helped to increase reliability of the present study. Both focus group discussions were audio-recorded, and the researcher transcribed them immediately after discussions. The focus group discussions with students took approximately 50 minutes and those with teachers took 67 minutes.

4.2.5.4 National Examinations Results and Test Results of Students

The last instrument of data collection was students' examinations and tests results. The researcher examined Form 4 examination results of 'Islamic studies' in which that examination is set in Kiswahili. Then in turn, the researcher examined Form 6 examination results of 'Islamic studies' (which is set in English) of the same students. The grades / scores of each student were recorded side by side, that is, the grades of the student for the examinations which were set in Kiswahili and English respectively. As Morse and Niehaus (2009) and Creswell (2009) claim, quantitative data of a supplementary component in a mixed method approach which are presented in measurement enrich qualitative results by providing illustration that enable comparison or confirmation. Again, for the sake of comparison and confirmation of qualitative data (Morse & Niehaus, 2009; Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006; Hesse-Biber, 2010a; Hesse-Biber, 2010b), the researcher examined the test results of history as a

subject from the test which was first set in English and then the same test was set in Kiswahili for the same students. Students answered the test in English and Kiswahili respectively. The results of the same test which was first set in Kiswahili and then in English were recorded side by side for each student. This data from a large sampling which was randomly selected provided a clear comparison and confirmation of qualitative data which can be seen at glance.

4.2.6 Data Analysis

Qualitative data analysis began right from the period of data collection when the researcher was taking notes from classroom observations, interviews, and focus group discussions. Data from the field notes and audio recordings were transcribed by summarizing into a manageable form (data reduction) (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Guest, MacQueen & Namey, 2011). Data from both interviews and focus group discussions were systematically presented by recording research questions, followed by additional questions (which occurred during the sessions), followed by answers in short form and subsequently by themes that emerged (see Appendices 6, 7, 8, and 9).

Observation data were analysed thematically to see how Kiswahili was used to scaffold students' learning. Observation data together with data from other sources helped the researcher to answer part of the research question: 'to what extent bilingual practice facilitates learning and teaching'. In addition, content analysis technique (Neuendorf, 2002) was used to analyse observation data. This technique helped the researcher to see the extent to which Kiswahili was used in English medium subjects. As Hansen, Cottle, Negrine and Newbold (1998:95) contend, this technique helped to "identify and count the occurrence of the specified characteristics or dimension of the text." Quantified data from the observation transcripts were displayed in the tables in the form of percentage for easy interpretation (see Section 5.3.1). This data analysis technique was suitable for depicting in-depth understanding from data which enabled the answering of Research Question three: To what extent is Kiswahili used in English medium subjects and to what extent does this bilingual practice facilitate learning? Content analysis technique quantified qualitative data which were subsequently displayed in a numerical value. This process is referred to as data transformation (Greene, 2008).

Content analysis was also used to analyse the quantitative data. The researcher examined students' answer sheets to see how they performed and then he compared the marks student scored from two tests (experimental data from students' test results). In addition, the researcher examined students' examination grades for Islamic studies assessed in Kiswahili and the one assessed in English from the documents of the National Examination Council of Tanzania. Each student's results are recorded side by side.

The next step of data analysis was to display qualitative data in a matrix. In the matrix, the researcher listed the names of the participants in the first column on the left (vertical), and he wrote the questions asked in the first row (horizontal). The answers of each participant were filled in his/her corresponding slots. This step presented the data in a form which could help the researcher for better interpretation. For quantitative data, the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), the programme which is used for statistical analysis of data, was used to compute the data and to display them in the form of graphs and charts. This analysis technique helped to compare students' pass rate between the examinations / tests which were written and answered in English and the ones which were written and answered in Kiswahili. This analysis helped to answer research question five: What is the difference in terms of pass rate when a subject is assessed in English and when it is assessed in Kiswahili? Subsequently the results from that analysis confirmed the qualitative data.

The chart below summarises the research design of this study.

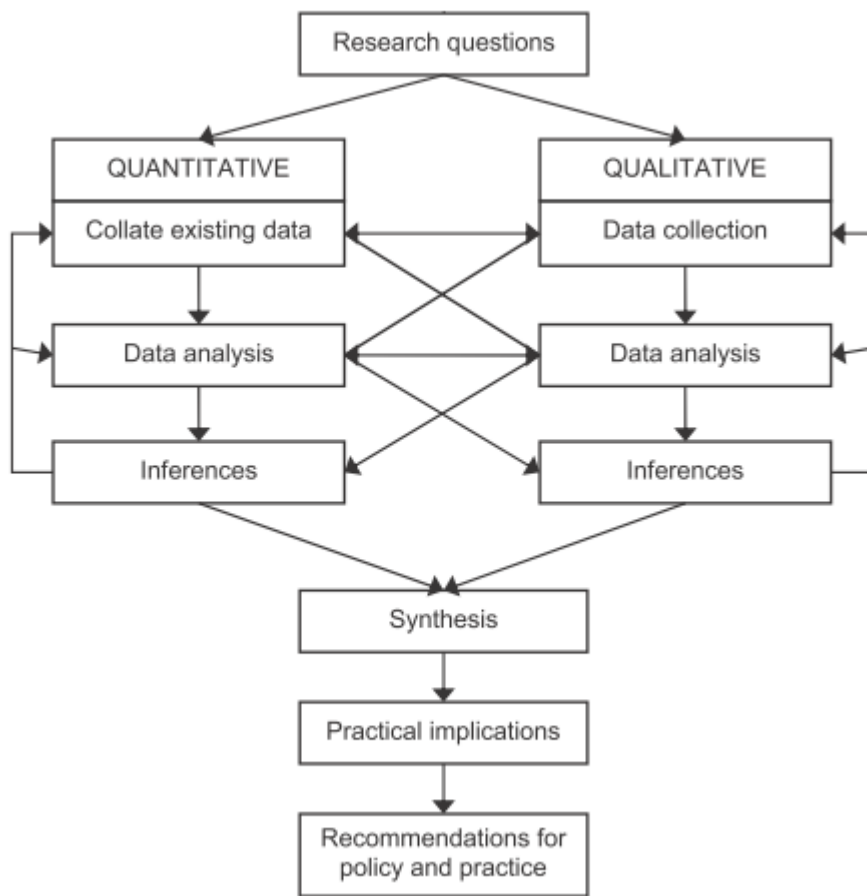


Figure 4.1 Fully Integrated Mixed Model Design
 (Adapted from Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003:690)

Both qualitative and quantitative data in the present study, which have been analysed through different stages and by using different techniques, are integrated during data interpretation and discussion in the next chapters.

4.2.7 Validity / Trustworthiness

The researcher intends to see his findings describe what really happened in his study. This belief is known as validity or trustworthiness of the study (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003; Creswell, 2009). To reinforce validity of this study, the following were carried out:

Data triangulation was carried out in this study. The study used various instruments of data collection which are classroom observations, interviews with students, interviews with teachers, interviews with key actors, focus group discussions with teachers, focus group discussions with students, students' results from national examinations, and tests. Having multiple observations for each teacher also enriched validity. The minimum number of observations per teacher was six whereas the maximum number of observations per teacher was eight (see Table 2). This helped the researcher to see the actual behaviour (Creswell, 2009) in that participants were natural in their actions.

After the researcher transcribed interviews and focus group discussions, he sent back most of the transcripts to the respondents to check if the interviewer recorded what they said. The researcher intended to give participants a chance to say, for instance 'I did not mean that' (Kvale, 1996:189). This is called member checking and it helped reinforce the trustworthiness of the present study.

4.2.8 Ethical Consideration and Gaining Access

Prior to the beginning of data collection, the researcher observed ethical issues. First, he wrote a letter to the authority (responsible official from the Zanzibar Revolutionary Government) requesting for permission to conduct research in Zanzibar (see Appendix 10). After permission being granted (Appendix 11), the researcher invited participants of the study and explained the objective of the research. Those who were enthusiastic and willing to take part in this study were given consent forms to sign (Appendix 12). The consent forms explicitly highlighted the right of withdrawal from the study at any time and at any stage, confidentiality, and the use of pseudonyms in the thesis. Data collection commenced after all participants who were enthusiastic to cooperate with the researcher signed the consent forms.

In the chapter that follows the data which was collected at the two respective secondary schools is presented and analysed.

CHAPTER 5

PRACTICES AND PERCEPTIONS REGARDING BILINGUALISM IN THE CLASSROOM

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents, analyses, interprets, and discusses data which answers research questions 1 and 2, respectively, namely:

1. What are teachers' and students' perceptions of the discrepancy between planned use of the prescribed official language of instruction, as stipulated by policy, and actual teaching practice?
2. To what extent is Kiswahili used in the teaching of English-medium subjects, and to what extent does this bilingual practice of using Kiswahili and English together facilitate learning and cognition among students?

Data collected from interviews with students and teachers, focus group discussions with students and teachers, and lesson observations were used to answer these research questions. As explained in section 4.2.6, interview and focus group discussion data were transcribed, and then a matrix was used to facilitate the presentation and interpretation of the data.

In the presentation, analysis, interpretation, and discussion of the data, where appropriate, extracts from interviews and focus group discussions and parts of classroom discourse are provided as illustrations "to enrich and confirm" the analysis (Adler & Adler, 1994) and "to give the flavour" (Travers, 2001:124) of discussion. As indicated previously, Ruiz's (1984) orientations to language planning, namely language as a problem, language as a resource, and language as a right, were used as a lens in the analysis and interpretation of the data.

5.2 The answers to research question 1

To answer research question 1 – *What are teachers' and students' perceptions of the discrepancy between planned use of the prescribed official language of instruction, as stipulated by policy, and actual teaching practice?* – data from interviews and focus group discussions were used. Based on the analysis of the data it became evident that both the teachers and the students had similar perceptions of the discrepancy between the planned use of the prescribed official language of instruction, as stipulated by policy, and the actual teaching practice. In analysing the data, five aspects with regard to participants' perceptions were identified, which are presented and discussed below. In presenting and interpreting the data, individual responses are discussed, as well as collective responses.

5.2.1 Students' inability to adapt to the change in medium of instruction

It has been shown in Chapter 1, Section 1.2.1, and Section 1.2.2 that in Zanzibar children started their primary education using Kiswahili as the language of learning and teaching, up to Standard 7 (for seven years, in other words). However, this year, in 2014, the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training of Zanzibar has introduced the use of English as language of learning and teaching right from Standard 5 for the subjects of science, mathematics, and information and computer technology (ICT) (Zanzibar Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, 2006). This was planned in advance in education language policy that from 2014 this reform will come into effect. Before the recent change in policy, which came into effect this year, only secondary school students in Zanzibar used English as the language of learning and teaching.

The interviews aimed to investigate teachers' perceptions of the discrepancy between planned use of the prescribed official language of instruction, as stipulated by policy, and the actual teaching practice. Six teachers, three from School A, and three from School B, were interviewed separately in a room at different times. The interview data from all six teachers reveal that children in primary schools in Zanzibar are not prepared for the switch the medium of instruction from Kiswahili to English. When the children started their secondary education, they felt that they were encountering

content for the first time, even if they had already learned the content in Kiswahili in primary school. Consequently, children became confused, as they became overwhelmed by English, the second language which caused a communication barrier to them, since most of them did not master it. Haidar, a teacher from school A, commented as follows:

Zipo topics nyingi kwenye maths ambazo wanafunzi walizisoma katika madarasa ya primary na topics hizo pia zipo Form 1, mfano geometry. Kwa vile wanafunzi hawakutayarishwa kutumia English, hata wanafunzi hodari wanashindwa kucope wachilia mbali wale ambao si hodari. Ipo haja ya kuwepo kipindi cha matayarisho ya lugha, vyenginevyo ni kuwaconfuse watoto. Kwa kweli sio kosa lao (Interview, August, 2013).

[There are a number of topics in mathematics which children learned in primary school, and the same topic repeated in Form1 for example “geometry”. As children were not prepared to switch to English as a medium of instruction, even those children who were bright in this subject hardly cope in the class, let alone those who were not bright. There should be a transition of preparing children for the switch of language of instruction from Kiswahili to English; otherwise the government creates confusion to not only children, but also to the teachers. Actually, it is not the children’s fault that they can’t cope! (Interview, August 2013)].

As was the case with the other five teachers, Haidar conceived of the aim of primary education as being to build a solid foundation for children, so that they can cope with the secondary school curriculum. During the interview, however, Haidar highlighted the fact that when children commence their secondary education, it is as if they are starting from scratch, due to their not being properly prepared for the switch in medium of instruction.

During another interview, Ms Sabrina from School B admitted that children learned English as a subject in primary school, but that this did not prepare them adequately for the switch in medium of instruction from Kiswahili to English in their secondary schooling. She also pointed out that the primary school English curriculum of was not well designed in a manner of preparing children for the demands of secondary schooling, where English is the medium of instruction. Of particular interest was the view of Mussa from School B, who proposed that if the secondary school curriculum could be used in primary schools, even though the children were still young, they would

be able to engage with that curriculum effectively when they started their secondary schooling, as Kiswahili was used as the language of teaching and learning. Currently, however, in secondary schools, students are using English, a language which they do not know, and even though they are older than the children in the primary schools, they cannot cope with their curriculum.

The following extract from an interview conducted with teacher provides evidence which confirms the hypothesis that students cannot adapt to the switch in medium of instruction from Kiswahili to English when they enter secondary school. Bakar stated:

Ni ukweli usiopingika kuwa kwa vile wanafunzi walitumia Kiswahili katika madarasa ya primary, kuwabadilishia lugha hafla ni kupoteza muda ... wanafunzi huanza sekondari kama vile hawakusoma chochote huko walikotoka. Sera hii ni serikali kupoteza muda na resorces. Ufumbuzi wa hili ... ni kutumia Kiswahili sekondari kama ilivyokuwa primary (Interview, August, 2013).

[It is an undeniable fact that since students use Kiswahili as medium of instruction in primary school, the abrupt switch of language of instruction means back to square one [...], students begin secondary school as if they have learned nothing. In this policy, what the government does is to waste children's time, and its resources. The solution is [...] students should continue with the use of Kiswahili as a language of learning and teaching, as in primary schools. (Interview, August 2013)]

According to Bakar, since the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training of Zanzibar has introduced an “English-only” language policy, it could make deliberate efforts to adapt the primary school curriculum in such a way that it prepares children for the switch in medium of instruction before they begin their secondary education. Citing from his own experience, Bakar explained that in the 1990s the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training of Zanzibar introduced “orientation secondary classes” as preparations for English medium of instruction before students started Form 1 when they were obliged to switch from Kiswahili to English. For one year, children were made prepared for the switch to an English medium of instruction. His experience of teaching those preparatory classes provides insightful suggestions on the need to restore the “orientation secondary classes”, as that system proved a success, and he was wondering why the system had not been continued. Bakar offered the suggestion that if the primary school curriculum fails to prepare students for the switch to English as medium

of instruction, Kiswahili should rather be used. Bakar's suggestion of opting for the use of the mother tongue, in this case Kiswahili, has been supported by a number of researchers, for example Kaschula (1999), Bamgbose (2000; 2005), Brock-Utne (2005), Prah (2005), Ricento (2005), World Bank (2005), Harrison (2007), Orman (2008), Spolsky (2009) and Wolff (2011). These studies were discussed in chapters 2 and 3.

A week after the individual interviews had been conducted with the teachers; a focus group discussion was conducted with all six teachers to validate the interview data. The focus group discussion data revealed evidence which confirms that the large majority of children cannot adapt to the switch in language of instruction from Kiswahili to English when they join Form 1. One teacher communicated that secondary school teachers do not have a miracle to help those children for whom the language policy instructs to abruptly switch the language of instruction. The following extract from the focus group discussion reveals teachers' views regarding students' inability to adapt to the change in medium of instruction:

Kukurupuka tu kutumia English sekondari ni kama mtu aliyenunua gari ambayo hawezi kuiendesha - bora angenunua baiskeli ambayo anaweza kuiendesha. Kwa maana hiyo ni bora kuachana na English na kutumia Kiswahili sekondari lugha ambayo anaijua kila mmoja (Focus group discussion, September, 2013).

[The abrupt switch of medium of instruction from Kiswahili to English, which our students face is like someone who buys a car while he/she can't drive, and she would rather buy a bicycle because he/she could ride it. The same case it could be wise to leave English and continue with using Kiswahili as language of instruction, which everybody is very proficient in it. (Focus group discussion, September 2013)].

Responses from the interviews and the focus group discussion with teachers indicate that the students were not prepared to switch to English as language of instruction, and consequently they could not adapt to the use of that language when they started secondary school. Of particular interest was the fact that the teachers claimed that the primary school curriculum itself does not make provision for the eventuality of a change in medium of instruction. Thus, children are subjected to a change in medium of instruction in their secondary education without any real preparation. A similar

problem of an abrupt switch in language of learning and teaching, and its consequence of students being unable to adapt, is reported in studies by Martin (2008), Ferguson (2009), and Sexana (2009), who advise that a change in language code requires intensive preparation.

To record students' perceptions of the discrepancy between the use of the prescribed official language of instruction, as stipulated by policy, and the actual teaching practice, interviews and focus group discussions with the students were conducted. Interview and the focus group discussion data indicate that students' perceptions seem to coincide with teachers' perceptions regarding the discrepancy between the planned official language use, as stipulated by policy, and the actual teaching practice. Of the 12 students that were interviewed, nine were aware that when they started secondary school, they were not prepared for the switch to English from Kiswahili. During the interviews, the responses from one student from School B yielded evidence that nothing had been done to help students adapt to the change in language of instruction from Kiswahili to English. The student responded as follows:

Nilipokuwa darasa la 6 na la 7 masomo niliyoyapenda ni hesabu na sayansi. Sikuwahi kupata chini ya maksi 70%. Sekondari ingawa topics nyengine zimejirudia bado wanafunzi masomo tuliyaona magumu. Sababu ni kutumia English. Primary yalitumika maneno kama vile *mraba*, *vipimo* - lakini sekondari maneno square na measurement. Mambo yanatuchanganya, ... sasa sina interest yanayofundishwa kwa English (Interview, August, 2013).

[When I was in Standard 6 and 7 [primary school] my preference subjects were mathematics and science. I never scored below 70%. In Form 1 [secondary school] we learned some topics which I had already learned in primary school. Though I was learning the same topics for the second time, I really found them difficult. The reason was that instead of using Kiswahili, teachers used English. In primary schools words like *mraba*² and *vipimo*³ were used, whereas in secondary schools for the same meaning the teacher uses the words "the square" and "measurements", respectively. It's confusion [...] now I have lost the interest with all subjects which use English as a language of learning and teaching. (Interview, August 2013)]

² *Mraba* is a Kiswahili word which means "a square".

³ *Vipimo* is a Kiswahili word which means "measurements".

The extract above, from an interview with a student, provides evidence that confirms that in the space of one year (between Standard 7, primary school, and Form 1 the first year of secondary school), students are obliged to switch from Kiswahili to English as language of instruction, without any preparation. According to the student, that situation led to an inability on her part to adapt to the change of language of instruction, and, consequently, in secondary school she hated the subjects which were her preferred subjects when she was in primary school. Three students from School A, as with many students from School B, appeared to be aware that the discrepancy between the planned use of the official language of instruction and the actual teaching practice is caused by students' inability to switch from Kiswahili to English as medium of instruction. This was due to the fact that even in the last year of primary school, the teachers had done nothing to prepare the students for English-medium schooling, when they knew fully that in secondary school the students would have to switch to English.

Three students explained that they had managed to adapt to the switch in language of learning and teaching from Kiswahili to English when they started secondary school. However, they admitted that students' inability to adapt to the change in language of instruction in secondary school was a serious problem, and that it caused a discrepancy between language-in-education policy and practice. When asked how they had managed to cope with the abrupt change in medium of instruction when they joined Form 1, the students all responded that they had received English tuition provided by private centres for two years before they started secondary school. This implies that without extra tuition which only parents who afford to pay the fees send their children, these students would not have been able to cope with the English medium of instruction in secondary schools.

Further to understanding students' perceptions of the discrepancy between planned use of the prescribed official language of instruction, as stipulated by policy, and actual teaching practice from the interview data, to validate the interview data, the researcher also used focus group discussions. The focus group discussions with six students from School A and six from School B were conducted. As with the data from the interviews conducted with all 12 students, the focus group discussion data revealed that students

had perceptions that the discrepancy between planned use of the prescribed official language of instruction, as stipulated by policy, and actual teaching practice is caused by students' inability to adapt to the change in medium of instruction. In both groups (the sample from School A, and the sample from School B), students explained that the subjects they had learned in primary school did not help them when they started secondary school, even in their first year, namely Form 1. During the discussion, students tried to compare the difficulty of the primary school curriculum with that of the secondary school curriculum, and they asserted that the secondary school curriculum was more difficult only because of the use of English, a language which they were not prepared to use. This confirms Webb and Kembo-Sure's (2000) and Wolff's (2000; 2011) view that the use of a second language or a foreign language denies students access to education. The extract below, from the focus group discussion conducted with students from School A, reveals an insightful point of view:

Nilipoanza kusoma sekondari Form 1, sikuona ugeni wa madarasa wala jengo. Ugeni wa kutumia Kingereza ndio ulionishtua kwa sababu nilizowea kutumia Kiswahili na sijatayarishwa kutumia English (Focus group discussion, September, 2013).

When I joined secondary school in Form 1 the strangeness of the school didn't make me nervous. It was the strangeness of using English which made me nervous and fearful. Because I was familiar with Kiswahili, I was not equipped with English language [...] I really have hard time now. (Focus group discussion, September, 2013)].

This response seems to confirm Kembo-Sure's (2006:22) notion that students who started their literacy in their mother tongue become overwhelmed by "culture shock" when they are compelled to use a second language or a foreign language without preparation.

Apart from the perception that students are unable to adapt to the change in language of instruction, both teachers and students had the perception that lack of competent teachers for English medium of instruction practices led to the discrepancy between planned use of the prescribed official language of instruction, as stipulated by policy, and actual teaching practice. This aspect will be discussed in the section below.

5.2.2 Lack of competent teachers for English medium of instruction practices

As indicated in section 4.2.4.1, all the teacher respondents in the current study were content-subject teachers, and none of them was an English-subject teacher. In the implementation of an English-only language-in-education policy, many teachers and some students had the perception that the discrepancy between planned use of the prescribed official language of instruction, as stipulated by policy and actual teaching practice is the result of a lack of competent teachers for English medium of instruction practices. During the individual interviews with six teachers on separate days, the responses of four teachers show that most content-subject teachers do not perform well when teaching only in English. Consequently, such teachers tend not to comply with the legislated language policy, by using both English and Kiswahili throughout their lessons. Of particular interest is Mussa's response that there are some science teachers who cannot express themselves fluently and confidently in English, and such teachers cannot fully implement an English-only language-in-education policy. The extract below, from Mussa's response, provides evidence to support this perception of the teachers:

Naamini kuwa ni walimu wachache tu wenye uwezo wa kuitekeleza sera ya English only. Tusiwalaumu wanafunzi kuwa hawajui English. Walimu wengi hawawezi kwa kutumia English. Ni visingizio tu kuchanganya English na Kiswahili eti wanafunzi hawajui English. Sisi walimu English yetu ni ndogo mno kwa kufundishia (Interview, September, 2013).

[I believe there are very few content [content-subject] teachers who can fully implement this language policy [...] we don't have to blame students that they don't know English. The majority of teachers can't function well in English medium of instruction policy. It is just teachers' pretext that they mix English and Kiswahili during lessons, because students don't understand English. We ourselves have limited English proficiency for proper teaching. (Interview, September, 2013)]

The data shows that teachers are aware of the mismatch between the English-only language-in-education policy and practice, and the data also clearly shows that language is a problem, even for the teachers, who are the main implementers of the policy. Data from the focus group discussions conducted with the teachers also reveal this perception of the lack of competent teachers for English medium of instruction practices as one of the causes of the discrepancy between planned use of the prescribed

official language of instruction, as stipulated by policy, and actual teaching practice. Of particular interest was the argument made by one of the respondents that if the interviews and focus group discussions in this study were to be conducted in English, none of the teachers would be willing to take part in this research.

The responses of some of the students show similar perceptions to those of the teachers that the lack of competent teachers for English medium of instruction practices has contributed to the discrepancy between planned use of the prescribed official language of instruction, as stipulated by policy, and actual teaching practice. During the focus group discussions students from both schools A and B highlighted this point. They commented as follows:

Kuna baadhi ya walimu hata ukiwauliza maswali kwa Kingereza hujibu kwa Kiswahili, Nadhani nao hawajui English (A student from School B)

[There are some teachers, even if you ask them questions in English, they always answer in Kiswahili. I think to them English is also a problem" (a student from School B)];

Natamani kuzungumza English, lakini nnapozungumza English na baadhi ya walimu wangu hunikaripia kwa kusema 'wacha kujionesha'. Baadhi ya walimu wangu hawawezi kuzungumza English (A student from School A).

[I really admire to speak English, but when I try to speak English with some of my teachers, they shout at me 'Stop showing off' [...] some of my teachers are not proficient in English" (a student from School A)].

Six other students made similar responses, which coincided with the teachers' perception of the discrepancy between policy and practice. During the interviews, eight of the 12 students responded that some teachers do not perform well when teaching English-medium subjects, while the four other students did not mention this issue. Those four students, however, during the focus group discussions agreed with the other students that there were some teachers who had poor English proficiency and who consequently could not teach well in English. When the researcher asked those four students why they did not mention this issue during the interview, they all laughed and said that "it is impolite" to say their teachers had poor English proficiency. This

perception that some teachers do not perform well in English medium of instruction practices is shared by a number of researchers, such as Wright (2002) and Qorro (2004), who show that the English medium of instruction is a problem even for teachers. The crucial concern is how such teachers could offer quality teaching, and subsequently quality education, when the Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA) (2004) and Wolff (2004; 2011) assert that the appropriate language of learning and teaching is the mother tongue and that this is the cornerstone for the provision of quality education.

Apart from this perception, another perception which is shared by teachers and students is that Kiswahili is a scaffolding tool in English-medium subjects. Scaffolding is type of support which enables learners to accomplish a task which they could not do without that type of support (Hammond & Gibbons, 2001). This perception will be presented and discussed below.

5.2.3 Kiswahili as a scaffolding tool in the teaching of English-medium subjects

In the teaching and learning process, it is sometimes inevitable that students will receive assistance from teachers, or even from other students (peers). In exploring teachers' and students' perceptions of the discrepancy between planned use of the prescribed official language of instruction, as stipulated by policy, and actual teaching practice, data from interviews and focus group discussions conducted with teachers and with students reveal that the use of Kiswahili in the teaching of English-medium subjects is a kind of help (scaffolding) which facilitates learning.

During the interviews with the teachers, the researcher asked the respondents why they used English and Kiswahili in the teaching of English-medium subjects. Although each respondent was asked separately, all the teachers articulated that it was necessary to use Kiswahili when teaching English-medium subjects. The teachers confirmed that if they did not use Kiswahili when teaching those English-medium subjects, some students would learn very little, and others would learn nothing at all. The responses from different teachers support this argument, as indicated:

Nikitumia Kingereza kitupu hakuna mwanafunzi anaeuliza swali au kusema kama hajafahamu, na nikiuliza hakuna mwanafunzi ambae yuko tayari kujibu swali (Badria)

[When I use English only, no student can ask me a question, even if he/she hasn't understood, and when I ask a question by using English only, nobody answers (Badria)]

Chochote nnachosomesha wanafunzi wangu wanataka niwafahamish kwa Kiswahili; nisipofanya hivyo wanaamini kuwa sitaki kuwasaidia (Sabrina)

[Whatever I teach in my classes, my students always ask for clarification in Kiswahili and if I don't do that they believe that I don't want them to understand (Sabrina)].

Bila ya kutumia Kiswahili katika lessons zangu za maths wanafunzi wanalalamika. Nikitunga test ya maths na nikitaka mwanafunzi hodari asipate full marks basi huingiza hesabu za maneno. Wanafunzi wangu hawajui hesabu za maneno kwa vile hawajui English hivyo hupenda nambari tu (Haidar).

[Without using Kiswahili in my mathematics class, even bright students complain. When I set mathematics test, and I don't want the brightest student to score the full marks, I include word problems in the test. My students can't solve word problems, because of their poor English. They like only number problems (Haidar)].

During the focus group discussion, two teachers presented the researcher with empirical evidence, which confirms that they use Kiswahili when teaching English-medium subjects, so as to scaffold students' learning. Bakar showed the researcher a physics textbook of a student, in which many English words in the book had been translated into Kiswahili and written in pencil above the line, and sometimes even on the margin. Haidar showed a similar example from biology textbook of a student, where many English sentences in the book had been translated into Kiswahili and written in pencil. The focus group discussion with teachers was conducted after the researcher had observed some lessons taught by the same teachers. Thus, during the focus group discussion the teachers were referring back to their observed lessons, to show the researcher how they used Kiswahili to scaffold students' learning. The extract below, which is part of a transcript from a classroom observation, shows evidence that teachers use Kiswahili to scaffold students' learning.

Note: T means teacher's turn-taking and S means student's turn-taking. Turn-taking means individual takes turn of speaking during the interaction (exchange of turns of speaking).

T: Who can tell me [...] when your parents buy much fish to be used for two weeks, where do they store the fish in order not to decay?

S: [Silence]

T: Who can tell me 'when your father buys much fish to be used for two weeks wapi baba yako anawaweka samaki ili wasiharibike [*where does he keep it in order not to decay*]?

S: In the fridge.

T: Good. Another method of food preservation is sooting. If the farmer puts seeds, for example maize, in the sack or basket for long time, what do you think the pests will do?

S: [Silence]

T: If the farmer puts seeds, for example mahindi katika mkoba au gunia [*maize in the basket or sack*], for long time, wadudu watafanya nini [*what the pests will do*]?

S: Pests wataharibu [*will destroy*] the seed.

T: So where does the farmer store the seeds?

S: They store juu ya moto ili yapate masizi [*over the fire to get soot*].

T: Soot means masizi [*soot*]. Sooting maana yake ni kuning'iniza kitu juu ya moto ili kipate moshi [*means to keep or hang thing over the fire*] where it will get soot.

In the part of the classroom discourse from a biology lesson, presented above, there is evidence which confirms that Kiswahili was used to scaffold students' learning in that particular biology lesson. When the teacher posed a question in English only (see the teacher's first turn-taking above), the students remained silent. When the teacher asked

the same question using code-switching between English and Kiswahili (see the teacher's second turn-taking), the same students understood the question, and they gave an answer. Similarly, when the teacher, in English, presented students with a hypothetical scenario and asked them to predict the outcome (see the teacher's third turn-taking), none of the students gave an answer; they all remained silent. When the teacher tried to use some Kiswahili words (see the teacher's fourth turn-taking), the students were able to give the correct answer, although they mixed English and Kiswahili. Likewise, the teacher scaffolded students' learning by using Kiswahili when he was explaining the concept 'sooting' (see the teacher's last turn-taking, in the last line). These instances of the teacher's use of the mother tongue, in this case Kiswahili, for the purpose of scaffolding in the teaching of English medium-subjects correspond with the findings of a study conducted by Andersson and Rusanganwa (2011) in Rwanda, where it was reported that at those times when the mother tongue was not used in the classroom, none of the students asked or answered questions. In the study, students claimed that they could ask and answer questions and actively participate in the lesson when their teachers used their mother tongue together with English. This is consistent with Wolff's (2006 & 2011) assertion that the language of learning and teaching should in fact be the mother tongue or a bilingual instruction which includes mother tongue.

Students' responses during the interviews and the subsequent focus group discussions seem to concur with those of the teachers that the use of Kiswahili in the teaching of English-medium subjects scaffolds students' learning, although this practice creates a discrepancy between policy and practice. Some students provided insightful comments during the interviews:

Walimu wakitumia Kiswahili kwenye masomo ya sayansi, nafahamu kila kitu; na naamini masomo haya sio magumu. Lakini kikitumika Kingereza kitupu sifahamu hasa (a student from School A).

[When the teachers use some Kiswahili in science subjects, I understand everything, and I believe these subjects are not difficult, but when only English is used, I don't really understand (a student from School A)].

Nilipokuwa Form 1 niliona Chemistry ni some gumu sana kwa sababu mwalimu wetu alikuwa anatumia Kingereza kitupu. Lakini Form 2 mpaka Form 4 niliona Chemistry rahisi kwa vile mwalimu hutumia Kiswahili kuelezea theories na equations (a student from school B)

[When I was in Form 1 I found Chemistry a very difficult subject, because our teacher used only English, but from Form 2 up to now, Form 4 I find chemistry a simple subject [...] I understand it very well, because our teacher uses some Kiswahili to explain some theories and equations (a student from School B)];

Baadhi ya walimu ni wabaya. Wakisomesha hawatumii Kiswahili hata kidogo kwa ajili ya kutusaidia hivyo hatufahamu kitu. Tunawachukia walimu kama hao kwa vile hawatumii Kiswahili ambacho kinatusaidia kufahamu (a student from School A).

[Some teachers are very rude. When they teach, they don't use even little Kiswahili to help us, so we get nothing, and therefore we hate such teachers and subjects [...] because Kiswahili helps us to understand the subject we learn (a student from School A)].

These instances of valuable responses from students seem to confirm Probyn's (2002) argument that without the use of the mother tongue in the teaching of English-medium subjects, learning occurs with difficulty, especially in content subjects, where the aim is to understand subject matter, and Ferguson's (2009) contention that the use of the mother tongue with a second or a foreign-language medium of instruction scaffolds students' learning. Likewise, students' views are in line with the findings of a study conducted by Andersson and Rusanganwa (2011) in Rwanda, which found that without the use of Kinyarwanda in the teaching of English-medium subjects, learning is unlikely to occur. The context of Rwanda, where 99.4% of its population speaks Kinyarwanda, is similar to that of Zanzibar, which is a monolingual island.

Similar responses, which show that the use of Kiswahili in the teaching of English-medium subjects is a scaffolding tool, were given during the focus group discussion with the students. Nine students from the group discussion shared the view that teachers use Kiswahili to help students to understand the lessons. However, three students immediately disagreed with this view and insisted that many teachers used some Kiswahili because they were not confident in speaking English. During the focus group discussion, students shared a very interesting experience that when the "visitors" from

the Ministry of Education came to their classes, their teachers used English only in the lesson. The teachers knew that their students did not understand, but they just used English to satisfy the visitors (“visitors” here means “inspectors”, but students see them as normal visitors). The following response, made by one student who was speaking on behalf of the other students during the discussion, confirms Shohamy’s (2006:78) finding that teachers and inspectors work as soldiers who comply with orders in the defence of top-down language-in-education policy (see section 2.7):

Katika lessons zote ambazo wageni huwemo darasani walimu hutumia Kingereza kitupu japo kuwa wanajua hatufahamu. Wakiondoka wageni walimu wetu husema - hmm samahani najua hamkufahamu, nitaisomesha lesson hii kipindi kijacho. Walimu wanaelewa kuwa wasipozungumza Kiswahili basi hatufahamu. (Focus group discussion, September, 2013).

[In all lessons which the visitors come, teachers use only English, though they know that we don’t understand. When the visitors leave, our teachers say [...] “Hmm, sorry, my students. I know you didn’t understand, but I will teach it again in the next lesson. Teachers believe, and we [students] believe [...] no Kiswahili in the lesson, no learning. (Focus group discussion, September 2013)].

This extract shows that for many teachers, the use of Kiswahili in the teaching of English-medium subjects is a powerful scaffolding tool for students’ learning. This is consistent with the findings of Jaffes’ (2007) study, which show that Corsican was used to explain texts where the medium of instruction was French, and the researcher concluded that the use of the mother tongue in a context where a second or a foreign language is the language of learning and teaching assists students’ learning and cognition.

Besides the above perception, which is shared by teachers and students, the data indicate another shared perception, which is closely related to the one discussed above. This perception is that an “English-only” policy is an unfeasible policy in secondary schools in Zanzibar. This perception will be presented and discussed in the section below.

5.2.4 An “English-only” policy is unfeasible in Zanzibar secondary schools

In analysing data from the interviews and the focus group discussion held with the teachers, the perception that emerged was that an “English-only” policy is unfeasible in secondary schools in Zanzibar.

It was mentioned repeatedly in the interviews and the focus group discussion with the teachers that because all students and teachers in Zanzibar speak Kiswahili as their mother tongue, and since Kiswahili has been developed extensively, there is a need to elevate Kiswahili as a language of learning and teaching instead of English, a language which many teachers and students do not understand. This view seems to justify William’s (2006:186) recommendation that African countries which have one dominant language (monolingual countries) should introduce a mother-tongue instruction policy.

Salient among the responses from the focus group discussion were the views of Mussa, Haidar, Bakar, and Badria that because all Zanzibaris speak Kiswahili as their mother tongue, they do not see any value in using other languages, which is why they do not understand other languages, such as English. Badria stated,

Kiswahili kinakidhi kwa matumizi yote, isipokuwa sekondari na kwa sababu serikali haitaki (Focus group discussion, September, 2013).

[Kiswahili serves all our needs except secondary education ... and the reason why our government doesn’t want it (Focus group discussion, September, 2013)].

The insightful comments of these teachers seem to lend support to Mackinney and Rios-Aguilar’s (2012) assertion that the use of the mother tongue in a context where second or foreign language is the language of learning and teaching is influenced by teachers’ belief that when the implementation of the policy is difficult the solution is the use of mother tongue.

Likewise, teachers’ views allude that the use of Kiswahili as a language of learning and teaching in secondary school in Zanzibar, to use the terms of Baker (2006:386) is realistic policy rather than idealistic (see section 2.2.2), since all Zanzibaris speak

Kiswahili. The teachers' comments seem to justify Baker's (2006) argument that in a monolingual context, teaching and learning resources that will be made available in one language in this case Kiswahili, will privilege all students. In a nutshell, teachers indicate their perception that an English-only policy is unfeasible in secondary schools in Zanzibar, and consequently the discrepancy between official language of instruction and practices exists. However, during the interviews and focus group discussions with students this perception was not expressed.

Apart from that, data from interviews and focus group discussions with teachers reveal another teachers' perception. They believed that the influence of the ambient Zanzibari culture contributes to the existence of the discrepancy between official language of instruction and practice. The data which reveal this perception will be presented and discussed below.

5.2.5 The influence of the ambient Zanzibari culture

When asked about their perceptions regarding the discrepancy between planned use of the prescribed official language of instruction, as stipulated by policy, and actual teaching practice, many teachers communicated that the influence of the ambient Zanzibari culture and their fluency in Kiswahili interfere with their ability to speak English fluently, and, consequently, they unconsciously switch to Kiswahili. During the interviews teachers showed that they lacked exposure to English most of their time and that situation paved the way for Kiswahili to interrupt with their speaking of English. As a result, many teachers, though they could speak English, could not keep going with it for even half an hour. In the focus group discussion one participant raised the point that for Zanzibar culture to speak English on streets or at home is a kind of boastful or show off except for the people who engage in the areas which strictly demand English, for example, the tourism sector. According to that teacher, this belief makes most Zanzibaris, including teachers, uncomfortable with speaking English. She stated,

Nnayo maneno na structures za kutosha ambayo yangekidhi kwa kuzungumza English lakini practically nikizungumza English yanakuja maneno ya Kiswahili automatic. Hali hii pia inanisababisha kuchanganya Kiswahili na English (Sabrina).

[I have enough English words and structures which I can combine in various ways so that I can speak English throughout a day [...] but practically when I speak English [...] I unconsciously switch to Kiswahili, though I haven't bankrupted my English. This situation causes discrepancy between official language of instruction and practice] (Sabrina).

During the interviews and the focus group discussion with students, none of the students raised this point. This suggests that students do not have the perception that the discrepancy between official language of instruction is contributed to the influence of high fluency of Kiswahili, concomitant with a lack of exposure to English.

Overall responses from interviews and focus group discussions with teachers, and with students show that there were some perceptions regarding the discrepancy between the official language of instruction and practice which are shared by the teachers and the students. Such perceptions were students' inadaptability to the change of medium of instruction, lack of competent teachers for English medium of instruction practices, Kiswahili as a scaffolding tool in teaching English-medium subjects. However, the perceptions, such as the perception that an 'English only' policy is an incompatible policy for secondary schools in Zanzibar, and the influence of the ambient Zanzibari culture were unique for the teachers.

5.2.6 Summary of the discussion of research question 1

The sections above have discussed data which answer research question 1, namely "What are teachers' and students' perceptions of the discrepancy between planned use of the prescribed official language of instruction, as stipulated by policy, and actual teaching practice?" Data from interviews and focus group discussions with students, and with teachers indicate that both teachers and students shared some perceptions. Their responses showed their perceptions that the discrepancy between official language of instruction and practice has been the commonly accepted norm due to the students' inability to adapt to the switch of language of learning and teaching. It was frequently pointed out that no deliberate efforts were made to prepare students for the switch of language of instruction thus; the abrupt switch is a responsible factor for the discrepancy between official language of instruction and practice.

Moreover, interviews and focus group discussions data reveal that both teachers and students have perceptions that lack of competent teachers for an English only policy was a contributing factor for the discrepancy between official language of instruction and practice. These findings were robust as teachers themselves admitted that they could not function positively in an English-only language-in-education policy. Furthermore, from the interviews and focus group discussions with teachers and with students, the researcher learned that both teachers and students have perceptions that the use of Kiswahili in English medium subjects is a powerful scaffolding vehicle for students learning. This perception leads to the discrepancy between the policy and practice since the large majority of teachers and students believed that to ignore the use of Kiswahili in the classroom equates to seriously undermine teaching and learning.

Teachers' responses also showed their perception that an English-only language-in-education is not compatible for secondary schools of Zanzibar since Kiswahili is the mother tongue of both students and teachers. Consequently teachers and students disobey the policy and cause the discrepancy. Lastly, teachers seemed to perceive that the fact that both teachers and students being Kiswahili monolingual speakers leads to the discrepancy between official language policy and practice since they unconsciously speak Kiswahili (power of monolingual culture).

After an understanding of both teachers' and students' perceptions of the discrepancy between official language of instruction and practice, the subsequent sections and subsections will answer the research question 2, namely:

- To what extent is Kiswahili used in the teaching of English-medium subjects, and to what extent does this bilingual practice of using Kiswahili and English together facilitate learning and cognition among students?

5.3 The answers to research question 2

To answer this research question: *To what extent is Kiswahili used in the teaching of English-medium subjects, and to what extent does this bilingual practice of using Kiswahili and English together facilitate learning and cognition among students?* - different data

collection instruments, namely interviews with students and with teachers, focus group discussions with students and with teachers, and classroom observations provided insightful information to answer this research question. As explained in Section 5.1 above, in the presentation, analysis, interpretation and discussion of data excerpts from interviews, focus group discussions, and lessons observations where appropriate are used as illustrations and for giving substance and flavour to the discussion. The first subsections of this section will delineate the extent to which Kiswahili was used in English medium subjects; this is the first part of the research question.

5.3.1 Teachers' and students' everyday practices in the classroom

In order to understand the extent to which Kiswahili is used in English-medium subjects, 42 classroom observations involving six teachers were carried out and will be analysed and discussed in order to provide a clear and deep understanding of the language use in the classroom.

Eight lessons were observed from Bakar's classes when he was teaching physics in Form 2. The observations showed that Bakar did not comply with an English only policy. In all his lessons he tried to use Kiswahili and English concurrently. When he wanted to engage his students in the lessons, he usually started with brainstorming; and at this stage the use of Kiswahili was dominant for him and students. In the lessons Bakar engaged his students by revising the previous lesson and the use of Kiswahili diminished. The reason was that the questions which the students were asked demanded one word answers, a phrase, or hardly a sentence. For example, questions like *define*, *name*, and *list*. For questions that demanded explanations or discussion though they related to the previous lessons, again Kiswahili dominated.

When he was presenting his lesson he tried to speak English alongside Kiswahili. All definitions of the terms and explanations of the theories were read and written in English but they were fully explained in Kiswahili. In most cases, students asked questions in Kiswahili and the teacher gave the answers in Kiswahili alongside English. Similar findings were reported by Andersson and Rusanganwa (2011) in their observation of physics class of undergraduates in Rwanda in that there was frequent

use of Kinyarwanda and English at the presentation stage of the lesson (See Chapter 3, Section 3.3.2). Almost all questions which Bakar posed to his students were in English alongside Kiswahili. Again students gave their answers in Kiswahili only and sometimes with little English if the questions needed some explanation; “English only” was used for the one word, a phrase or one sentence answer.

It was almost a rule in Bakar’s classes to assign tasks to students at the end part of his lesson. Most tasks were done in groups. Instructions relating to the tasks were given in English alongside Kiswahili. Similarly, tasks were explained using English and Kiswahili concurrently. When students were working in their groups, the most dominant language used was Kiswahili. Mackinney and Rios-Aguilar (2012) found similar results that students in Arizona were using Spanish to a large extent in English medium subjects when they were working in small groups. This was in order to facilitate learning.

Overall, when Bakar elicited responses from his students to the lesson, he tried to maximize students’ interaction by using Kiswahili. This suggests that in many of Bakar’s classes there was frequent use of Kiswahili at the introduction stage of his lessons. At the presentation stage, the frequent use of Kiswahili at least balanced out the use of English. However, at the end parts of his lessons where students were assigned tasks, Kiswahili was used very frequently. In a nutshell, Kiswahili was used to a large extent in Bakar’s lessons (see Appendix 1).

Eight observations were carried out in Ms Badria’s Chemistry lessons. Those observations gave the researcher a picture of the extent to which Kiswahili was used in English medium subjects. In the first two lessons observed, Ms Badria tried to use more English in her classes and she used only half of the lesson time. Students were not involved in the lesson and consequently they remained passive. Seldom did she ask her students questions which demanded explanation or discussion. With the remaining half of the time, she tried to re-teach the same lesson but she used more Kiswahili than English. At this second phase students were involved in the lesson and the types of questions which students were asked were of different types from those asked in phase one. Questions which demanded explanation and discussion were used. The tendency of

Ms Badria to divide her lessons into two phases, one which was dominated by English and the second which was dominated by Kiswahili may suggest that she knew that most of her students did not understand in the first phase and that is why she re-taught the lesson in second phase in a manner where frequent use of Kiswahili was high.

In the other six lessons of Badria, the two phases of the lesson did not exist. She tried to introduce her topics by using both English and Kiswahili. Questions were asked using English and then translated into Kiswahili. In her Chemistry lessons, all definitions, formulas and equations were purely presented using Kiswahili with very little English. Of the eight lessons observed, in three lessons the teacher carried out experiments with her students. In the experiment lessons all instructions and procedures were given in Kiswahili. Similarly, the chemical reactions and other findings were explained in Kiswahili. The only English words which the teacher used were the names of chemicals and apparatus. Ms Badria's tendency of dividing her lesson in two phases, one dominated by English and another dominated by Kiswahili, which she showed in the first two observations may suggest that in the first two observations she was unnatural in her teaching. However, in the other six lessons she appeared natural in her activities as she was familiar with the researcher (see Chapter 4, Section 4.2.3). In a nutshell, in Badria's lessons Kiswahili was used to large extent.

To turn to classroom observations from other teachers, Ms Sabrina used more or less a similar approach to Haidar, in most of their classes observed. They started their lessons by complying with an 'English only' policy for about 10 to 15 minutes where no Kiswahili words were used. During that time students were absolutely passive. As the time went by they decided to use Kiswahili alongside English, and eventually Kiswahili dominated while very little English was used. At this stage students participated in the lessons and to most of them it was as if the lesson had just started because they did not understand anything during the beginning parts. When students asked the teacher to repeat right from the beginning of the lesson both Haidar and Ms Sabrina kept complaining by using expressions such as "*I have explained this at the beginning of the lesson ... where were you? ... or you didn't hear me?*" This suggests the significance of using Kiswahili in a lesson as students do not understand when the teacher uses English only.

When their classes were getting to the middle and towards the end, Kiswahili was fully used along with very little English. Students' tasks and assignments were translated into Kiswahili as they were written in English on the blackboard. The interesting observation was that in most of their lessons it was like a rule, the last 10 minutes the whole lesson was explained using English only. Students did not seem to bother because it was just repetition of what they had heard in Kiswahili or Kiswahili alongside little English. Over all, Haidar and Sabrina complied with English only policy during the first part of the lesson (10 to 15 minutes) and during the last 10 minutes of the lessons. In the rest of the lesson (which takes much time) much Kiswahili was used with very little English. Hence, it is evident that Kiswahili was used to a large extent in their classes.

Ali seldom used Kiswahili in all seven of his lessons observed. During the lesson, he tried to engage his students by asking them the meaning of the concepts which he taught in the previous lesson or asking questions which did not need any explanation. He asked the questions in English and very few students answered in English. Of particular interest was that most of the students used exactly the same words when answering questions. This may suggest that students developed rote learning because it happened repeatedly that some students forgot only one word and they failed to say what they wanted to say. Of the seven lessons observed, it was only in four lessons that Ali used Kiswahili, mainly for giving instructions and explaining the meanings of the questions.

Most students did not dare ask questions because in the first lesson among those observed one student asked a question using Kiswahili concurrently with English and the student was scolded. Similarly, students were not able to answer many of the questions which were asked. Instead Ali was asking students questions that he was forced to furiously answer himself. This is a particularly significant finding and it coincides with Saxena's (2009) study which reveals that in Brunei, students were not able to answer questions when the teacher obeyed the 'English only' policy strictly. Instead the teacher became furious and answered the questions herself (see Chapter 3, section 3.8). This finding confirms that the use of non-mother tongue is a problem for students and even for teachers who have high levels of English proficiency as students cannot cope. Therefore it sounds wise for the teachers to resist the policy by using

mother tongue in their classes in order to enhance students' learning and cognition. As indicated previously, Vinthagen (2007) refers to this as 'contrastive resistance' because it facilitates learning.

In five of Ali's seven lessons that were observed, not much significant teaching occurred till the end of the period as he kept saying "You look tired ... let's stop here ... we will continue in the next period". Ali tried his level best to comply with an English only policy. It was true that the students looked tired as he commented himself. This may suggest that students were tired because they were not stimulated; hence they remained entirely passive and uninterested throughout the lessons.

In the observations made in Mussa's classes the researcher learned that seldom did this teacher obey an English-only policy. Mussa tried to use Kiswahili alongside English from the beginning of the lesson to the end. He tried to translate almost every English word or sentence which he used in his lessons. When he was explaining some principles, concepts and theories he used Kiswahili to the extent that someone who did not know the policy might think Kiswahili was the medium of instruction in that class. Of particular interest in the observations made in Mussa's classes was that he kept requiring that his students must give answers in Kiswahili and then in English. He never accepted any answer which was given in Kiswahili only or English only. The researcher heard Mussa telling his students who gave the answer in English only and failed to give the same answer in Kiswahili "this is just rote learning, you haven't understood". Likewise, the students who gave answers in Kiswahili or combined Kiswahili and English were cautioned "how are you going to answer the examination questions or test if you use Kiswahili or combine English and Kiswahili?" Overall, in all seven observations carried out in Mussa's classes, Kiswahili was used to very large extent.

The tendency of Mussa to instruct his students to give answers in English though they have answered correctly in Kiswahili presents a significant finding in that the teacher used an exam-focused teaching approach. As Shohamy (2006) contends, the power of test or examination strongly influences language behaviour in the classroom and subsequently language policy implementation. Thus, the finding may suggest that Mussa used English because it is the language of examination and test. If this were not the case

then he could and would no doubt teach by using Kiswahili only. However, empirical data indicates that since English remains as the language of test and examination, students' achievements become poor (see Chapter 7) and teachers use Kiswahili and English concurrently to facilitate learning against the backdrop of English-only being the language of examination.

The paragraphs below provide empirical evidence by analysing observation data by using content analysis as explained in Chapter 4, Section 4.2.6. This quantitative approach to analysis shows the extent to which Kiswahili was used in English medium subjects. As it was found in the above paragraphs, five out of six teachers used Kiswahili in English medium subjects to a large extent whereas one teacher, Ali, tried to comply with an English-only language-in-education policy. One lesson observation from every teacher has been clearly presented and analysed quantitatively below.

The Table 5.1 below is a summary of the observation transcript from a biology lesson (Table 5.3) which has been analysed by using 'content analysis' as explained in Chapter 4, Section 4.2.6 to show evidence confirming that Kiswahili was used to a large extent in English medium subjects. The transcript shows teacher's turn-taking (T) and students' turn-taking (S). The words in italics which are enclosed in square brackets were spoken in Kiswahili whereas the others were spoken in English (Table 5.3). During the analysis, all the turn-takings during the lessons were counted and categorized as 'English only', 'Kiswahili only' and 'English alongside Kiswahili'.

Note: There were three versions of language use during the lessons: *i) English only* means English was the only language spoken in that particular turn-taking. *ii) Kiswahili only* means Kiswahili was the only language spoken in that particular turn-taking. *iii) Kiswahili alongside English* means a bilingual version which included English and Kiswahili in that particular turn-taking.

Table 0.1 Proportion of teachers' turn-taking during Biology lesson

	Number of Turn-taking	English only	Kiswahili only	Kiswahili alongside English
Teachers' Turn-taking	18	3	2	13
Percentage		16%	11%	72%

Table 5.1 shows Mussa had 18 turns during the lesson. Of 18 turns the teacher used Kiswahili alongside English in 13 turns, which is equivalent to 72%. This means that in 72% of teacher turns he spoke English alongside Kiswahili. Of 18 teacher's turns, three were 'English only' which is equivalent to 16%. This means that in only 16% of teacher's turns he used English only. Further to the teacher's turns, it can be noted that in two out of 18 turns which is equivalent to 11% the teacher used Kiswahili only. In the observation of this data one can safely articulate that in the class where the language policy wanted the teacher to use English only, the teacher used English only for only 16% of his turns in the class.

Table 0.2 Proportion of students' turn-taking during Biology lesson

	Number of Turn-taking	English only	Kiswahili only	Kiswahili alongside English
Students' Turn-taking	12	2	5	5
Percentage		16.6%	41.6%	41.6%

With regard to students, Table 5.2 shows students had 12 turns. Analysis shows that in two out of 12 turns students used English only. This is equivalent to 16.6%. This means that out of students' turns only 16.6% used English only. In five out of 12 turns, which is equivalent to 41.6% students used Kiswahili only. Similarly, in five out of 12 turns, which is equivalent to 41.6% students used Kiswahili alongside English. In the analysis

of this data it can be noted that students used English only in English medium subjects to a very little extent. Further to this, in the turns in which the students used English only, they either spoke a phrase “in the fridge” or a word “cooking”; whereas they were using complete sentences when they were using Kiswahili only (see Table 5.3). This analysis confirms that in English medium subjects, Kiswahili was used to a large extent. These findings corroborate Sexana’s (2009) study conducted in Brunei which reported that 70 % of time Malay was used in English medium subjects.

Table 0.3 Observation and capturing of transcript of a biology lesson

Note: words in italics and enclosed in square brackets were spoken in Kiswahili during the lesson. T stands for teacher, S stands for student, G stands for group of students.

T: Today we’re going to learn about food preservation. Who can tell me what did we learn in our previous lesson? Nini ilikuwa lesson yetu ya mwisho? [*what was our last lesson?*]

S: We learned about factors zinazosababisha chakula kuoza [*which cause food decay*]

T: Very good. Who can tell me what causes food decay nini husababisha chakula kuoza? [*what causes food decay?*]

S: bacteria and enzyme bacteria na enzymes wanapopata oxygen kwa kuishi [*when bacteria and enzyme get oxygen to survive*]

T: OK, let’s now learn about how can we preserve our food hifadhi [*preserve*] our food in order not to decay.

T: Who can tell me if your parents buy much fish to be used for two weeks where do they keep the fish in order not to decay? wapi unaweka chakula ili kisioze? [*where do they keep food in order not to decay?*].

S: in the fridge.

T: Very good. There are different ways which we can preserve food. The first one ni hiyo ambayo umeileza [*is the one which you have mentioned*] which is called refrigeration maana yake kuweka chakula katika friji [*means to keep food in the fridge*]. When we put food in the fridge bacteria hawawezi kuingia ndani ya chakula na chakula hakiwezi kuoza [*bacteria can’t get in and the food will not decay*].

T: Who can tell me another method which we can keep our food long without decay

chakula kinaweza kukaa muda mrefu bila ya kuoza [*the food can take longer without decay*].

S: Tunachemsha kwa mfano samaki na baadae huanika juani [*We boil, for example fish and then we dry on the sun*].

T: Very good. If we dry some food kama tunakikausha chakula [*if we dry some food*] for example fish by using sun or fire the food doesn't decay. Sio samaki tu bali hata aina nyengine ya chakula [*Not only fish but other types of food*] also will not decay by kukausha [*drying*]. This method is known as drying.

T: Can you tell me another method of food preservation? Who can try?

S: Cooking

T: Kama utakula wali uliopikwa leo, unadhani wali huo hautoharibika kama utakujakuula baada ya siku tatu? [*If you eat rice which is cooked today, do you think that rice won't go bad after three days?*]

S: Hapana, wali utaharibika [*No, it will go bad*].

T: Why do you think it will go bad?

S: Kwa sababu bacteria watakishambulia chakula hata kama kimepikwa [*Because bacteria will attack the food though it is cooked*]

T: Another method of food preservation is canning kuweka chakula kwenye kopo [*to put food in the can*]. Can you give me example of food which is put in the can?

S: Yes, samaki na maharage [*fish and bean*]

T: Wapi umeona samaki na maharage ya kopo na wapi vitu hivi vinatoka? [*Where have you seen canned fish and bean and where they are from?*]

S: [*There are available in the shops*] and some are from Kenya and some are from other countries.

S: Kwanini chakula cha kopo kina tarehe ya kuexpire na kwanini unatwambia chakula cha kopo hakiharibiki? [*Why canned food has expiry date and you tell us it doesn't go bad?*]

T: Canned food has expiry date because kwa sababu kemikali za kuhifadhi chakula zinaweza kufanya kazi kwa muda maalum unaojulikana [*the chemicals which preserve food can function for particular period of time*].

T: In our country we could drink orange or mango juice only kwa msimu [*seasonally*]

because we harvest mangoes in a particular time. Because of canning method we can drink mango or orange juice any season.

T: Can you think of any other method that we can preserve food?

S: Kwa kuweka sumu kwenye chakula [*By putting poison in the food*].

T: Why do you think poison [poison] is a method of food preservation? Can you eat the food which has poison?

T: Another method of food preservation is sooting. If farmers put seeds for example maize in the basket or sack, wadudu wataharibu mbegu [*the pest will destroy the seeds*]. But if we put the maize the place where [it will get soot pests will not destroy]. Soot has some poison sumu [*poison*] for pests.

T: OK, now sit in groups of seven and then discuss njia muafaka zaidi ya kuhifadhi chakula na njia yenye usumbufu ya kuhifadhi chakula [*the most convenient method of food preservation and the least convenient method of food preservation*].

G1: Friji ni njia muafaka zaidi ya kuhifadhia vyakula mbali mbali kwa sababu haimpotezei muda mtu, yaani haihitaji matayarisho, ni kuweka vyakula tu ndani ya friji [*Refrigeration is the most convenient method of food preservation for many types of food because it doesn't take somebody's time, I mean it doesn't need much preparation, you just put food in the fridge*]. Lakini kukausha/kuanika chakula juani [*But to dry something on the sun*] it takes time, lazima uwepo hapo hapo unapoanika samaki juani kwa sababu [*you must be presence when you dry fish on the sun because*] birds, hens, dogs, or cats can eat the fish. Hii ni njia ya usumbufu zaidi [*This is an inconvenient method*]. But to put something kuweka kwenye moshi wa masizi ni njia ya usumbufu zaidi, chakula hata kama ni mbegu huwa chafu, humchafua mtu [*on soot is the most inconvenient, the food though seeds become dirty and when you touch it, it can make you dirty*].

Empirical evidence also confirms that Kiswahili was used to a very large extent in English medium subjects. This was also found in Bakar's physics class as illustrated in the Tables 5.4 and 5.5 below.

Table 0.4 Proportion of teachers' turn-taking during Physics lesson

	Number of Turn-taking	English only	Kiswahili only	Kiswahili alongside English
Teachers' Turn-taking	15	1	4	10
Percentage		7%	27%	66%

Table 5.4 above is the summary of the transcript from the observations made in physics lesson (Appendix 1). The observation shows that the teacher had 15 turns during the lesson. In 10 out of 15 turns, which is equivalent to 66% the teacher used English alongside Kiswahili. In four turns, which is equivalent to 27% he used Kiswahili only; whereas in only one turn, which is equivalent to 7% the teacher used English only. In this analysis it can be noted that the physics teacher used Kiswahili while teaching an English medium subject.

Table 5.5 is the summary of the transcript from the observation made in the physics lesson (Appendix 1). The table shows that students had 15 turns during the lesson. In five turns, which is equivalent to 33.3% students used English alongside Kiswahili. In 2 out of 15 turns, which is equivalent to 13.3% students used English only; whereas in 8 turns, which is equivalent to 53.3% students used Kiswahili only. As the data again shows, in the majority of turns in the physics lesson both the teacher and students largely used Kiswahili.

Table 0.5 Proportion of students' turn-taking during Physics lesson

	Number of Turn-taking	English only	Kiswahili only	Kiswahili alongside English
Students' Turn-taking	15	2	8	5
Percentage		13.3%	53.3%	33.3%

Furthermore, data from the observations made in a geography lesson provide evidence confirming that Kiswahili was used to a large extent in English medium subjects as shown in Tables 5.6 and 5.7 which are summaries of transcripts from classroom observation (Appendix 3). Table 5.6 shows the proportion of teacher's language use during geography lesson; and table 5.7 shows the proportion of students' language use during that geography lesson.

Table 0.6 Proportion of teachers' turn-taking during Geography II lesson

	Number of Turn-taking	English only	Kiswahili only	Kiswahili alongside English
Teachers' Turn-taking	16	5	7	4
Percentage		31%	44%	25%

Table 5.6 shows that the teacher had 16 turns during the lesson. When the proportion of language use is examined, it can be noted that in 5 of 16 turns, which is equivalent to 31% the teacher used English only. In 4 of 16 turns, which is equivalent to 25% teacher used Kiswahili alongside English; while in 7 of 16 turns, which is equivalent to 44% teacher used Kiswahili only. To turn to students, Table 5.7 shows the proportion of language use in that lesson. Students had 15 turns. When examined, it can be noted that in the proportion of language use 4 of 15 turns, which is equivalent to 27% students used English only. In 6 of 15 turns, which is equivalent to 40% students used Kiswahili only; while in 5 of 15 turns, which is equivalent to 33% students used Kiswahili alongside English. Based on this empirical evidence it is found that Kiswahili was again used to large extent during the geography lesson.

Table 0.7 Proportion of students' turn-taking during Geography II lesson

	Number of Turn-taking	English only	Kiswahili only	Kiswahili alongside English
Students' Turn-taking	15	4	6	5
Percentage		27%	40%	33%

Tables 5.8 and 5.9 which are summaries of the transcript from observation (Appendix 2) illustrate the proportion of language use in another geography lesson. Analysis of data shows that Kiswahili was again used in English medium subjects. Table 5.8 shows the teacher's proportion of language use during the lesson; and table 5.9 shows the students' proportion of language use during the lesson.

Table 0.8 Proportion of teachers' turn-taking during Geograph I lesson

	Number of Turn-taking	English only	Kiswahili only	Kiswahili alongside English
Teachers' Turn-taking	11	2	3	6
Percentage		18%	27%	55%

As can be observed in Table 5.8 the teacher had 11 turns during his geography lesson. It can be noted that in 2 of 11 turns, equivalent to 18% the teacher used English only. In 3 out of 11 turns, equivalent to 27% he used Kiswahili only, while in 6 of 11 turns, equivalent to 55% the teacher used Kiswahili alongside English. Based on this data, it is evident that the teacher used Kiswahili and this corroborates the study above.

To turn to students' language use it can be observed in Table 5.9 that students had 10 turns during that lesson. In that English medium subject, it can be noted that students used 'English only' in only 1 turn which is equivalent to 10%. Analysis also shows that 50% of turns, that is, 5 out of 10 the students used Kiswahili only. Further to students'

language use in the classroom analysis also shows that in 4 of 10 students' turns, which is equivalent to 40% Kiswahili was used concurrently with English.

Table 0.9 Proportion of students' turn-taking during Geography I lesson

	Number of Turn-taking	English only	Kiswahili only	Kiswahili alongside English
Students' Turn-taking	10	1	5	4
Percentage		10%	50%	40%

A similar tendency concerning the proportion of language use in the classroom was also experienced during the classroom observations in Haidar's Mathematics lesson. Tables 5.10 and 5.11 below provide a summary of the transcript from observations made in the Mathematics lesson (Appendix 4). They again show further evidence confirming that Kiswahili was used to a large extent in English medium subjects. Table 5.10 shows the teacher's proportion of language use during the lesson and Table 5.11 shows the students' proportion of language use during the lesson.

Table 0.10 Proportion of teachers' turn-taking during Mathematics I lesson

	Number of Turn-taking	English only	Kiswahili only	Kiswahili alongside English
Teachers' Turn-taking	11	3	4	4
Percentage		27%	36.5%	36.5%

As can be observed in Table 5.10 above, Haidar had 11 turns in the mathematics lesson. During the lesson, teacher used 'English only' in 3 of 11 turns, which is equivalent to 27%. In 4 of his 11 turns, which is equivalent to 36.5% Haidar used Kiswahili only. Unlike when using English only, when using Kiswahili only the teacher used long

sentences. Likewise, in 36.5% of turns that is, 4 of 11, the teacher used Kiswahili alongside English.

To turn to the students' proportion of language use in that Mathematics lesson, Table 5.11 below shows that Kiswahili was used to a large extent by students in the classroom. It can be noted that students had 10 turns during the lesson. In 2 of 10 turns, which is equivalent to 20% Kiswahili was used alongside English. In 3 of 10 turns, which is equivalent to 30% English only was used during the lesson. Students' turns of 'English only' were in the form of phrases such as 'straight line' and 'parallel line' and a single word which was 'yes' (See Appendix 4; Also see Sexana's 2009 study discussed in Chapter 3, Section 3.8). Five of 10 talking turns which is equivalent to 50% Kiswahili only was used. Unlike in English talking turns, in Kiswahili only students used complete sentences (see Appendix 4).

Table 0.11 Proportion of students' turn-taking during Mathematics I lesson

	Number of Turn-taking	English only	Kiswahili only	Kiswahili alongside English
Students' Turn-taking	10	3	5	2
Percentage		30%	50%	20%

Based on this empirical evidence it is again found that Kiswahili was used to a large extent in Haidar's Mathematics lesson.

Tables 5.12 and 5.13 below illustrate the summary of one of the observations made in Ali's Mathematics class. Table 5.12 shows Ali's proportion of language use in the classroom and Table 5.13 shows the students' proportion of language use in the classroom (see Appendix 5).

Table 0.12 Proportion of teachers' turn-taking during Mathematics II lesson

	Number of Turn-taking	English only	Kiswahili only	Kiswahili alongside English
Teachers' Turn-taking	17	11	0	6
Percentage		65%	0%	35%

Analysis shows that during the lesson Ali had 17 turns. In 11 of 17 turns, which is equivalent to 65% the teacher used English only. In 6 of 17 turns, which is equivalent to 35% the teacher used English alongside Kiswahili. The analysis further shows that in none of 17 turns did Ali use Kiswahili only. Based on this analysis, it can be noted that unlike other teachers, Ali used English in his lesson to a large extent. Consequently, students in Ali's classes were always passive and they looked tired during the lesson as he confirmed himself.

Table 0.13 Proportion of students' turn-taking during Mathematics II lesson

	Number of Turn-taking	English only	Kiswahili only	Kiswahili alongside English
Students' Turn-taking	17	6	4	7
Percentage		35%	24%	41%

To turn to students, the observation shows that students had 17 turns during that lesson. In 7 of 17 turns, which is equivalent to 41% students used Kiswahili alongside English. When using English alongside Kiswahili students were able to use complex sentences. In 4 of 17 turns, which is equivalent to 24% students used Kiswahili only. Similarly, students were able to use complex sentences to communicate their ideas. It can also be noted that in 6 of 17 turns, which is equivalent to 35% students used English only. When students used English only, they were not able to communicate by using

complex sentence; they used simple sentences or phrases for examples: *Yes, we need more examples; Yes, somehow; Yes, it is correct; more examples; yes, we can try; and thank you* (See Appendix 5). Further to the proportion of language use in Ali's class, it can be noted that though the teacher used English to a large extent; students were not able to use English in a way which aided cognition and understanding due to the lack of lexical items in the language and their lack of knowledge of the language more generally.

Based on this empirical evidence it can be argued that in English medium subjects, Kiswahili was used to a very large extent by five out of six teachers. Likewise, students used Kiswahili in the English medium subjects. Further to the use of Kiswahili in English medium subjects, the findings also show that the turn taking in which students used English only, were merely a single word or a phrase in most cases. This speaks to lack of fluency in English.

Responses from the interviews and focus group discussions with teachers were consistent with teachers' practice in the classrooms observed for all six teachers. Five teachers admitted that though they teach English medium subjects, in practice they use Kiswahili to a very large extent. Mussa who was among the five teachers interviewed and observed stated verbatim that:

Kwa kweli kama mtu anahesabu idadi ya maneno ataona kuwa natumia maneno ya Kiswahili mara tatu zaidi kuliko ya Kingereza. Kwa wanafunzi, ... idadi ya maneno ya Kiswahili ni kubwa zaidi. Huu ndio ukweli, matumizi ya Kiswahili hupungua pale mwalimu mkuu anapopita madarasani. (Interview, September 2013).

[Frankly speaking ... if someone counts the words which I'm speaking during the lesson, he / she will find the number of Kiswahili words is three to four times larger than the number of English words. To the students, ... I think ...number of Kiswahili words is larger more than that. This is the reality ... we only decrease the number of Kiswahili words when the headmistress walk around the corridor of the classroom (Interview, September 2013)].

This instance of the teacher's valuable response provides empirical evidence which validates a number of observations carried out from the classrooms of the teachers. Further to the extent of the use of Kiswahili in English medium subjects, during the interview Ali noted that to disobey English only policy by using Kiswahili is not to help

students. He thought that this tendency could confuse students in their tests and examinations.

Excluding Ali, during the interviews and focus group discussions, all other teachers highlighted the extent of using Kiswahili in English medium subjects. The subsections below will discuss why Kiswahili is used during turn taking in relation to the topic being taught (abstract versus concrete).

5.3.1.1 Nature of topic (abstract versus concrete)

During the focus group discussions and interviews, five out of six teachers highlighted that in some situations it is inevitable to use Kiswahili in the lessons. These teachers commented that it is not fair to teach students abstract concepts without using Kiswahili, the language with which they are most comfortable. Students cannot create a picture when their teachers use English to teach abstract concepts. The use of Kiswahili at least helps students understand the abstract concepts. Bakar emphasized the need of using Kiswahili as follows:

Huwezi kusomesha baadhi ya topics kama vile gravity, density, rotation and revolution, bila ya kutumia Kiswahili kwavile topics hizi ni abstract ... dhana hazionekani wala hazigusiki. Walimu wanaokazania kutumia English tu katika topics kama hizi hawasaidii bali wana-confuse wanafunzi. (Focus group discussion, September 2013).

[You can't teach topics like gravity, density, planets, rotation and revolution ...without using Kiswahili because they are abstract, we can't see or touch. The teachers who teach such topics without using Kiswahili ...they don't want to help the students, but they confuse them ... they don't really teach (Focus group discussion, September 2013)].

In that discussion, some teachers highlighted the fact that they could at least reduce the use of Kiswahili if they teach concrete concepts. Thus, the nature of the topic determines the extent of using Kiswahili in English medium subjects.

Teachers also seemed to believe that the newness or unfamiliarity of the topic influences the extent of using Kiswahili in English medium subjects. The subsequent subsection provides further discussion on this matter.

5.3.1.2 Newness or unfamiliarity of the subject matter

Many teachers in the focus group discussions expressed their stance i.e. that if teachers' underlying philosophy of teaching centred on students' understanding, the use of Kiswahili when teaching a new or unfamiliar topic is crucial. It was noted in the focus group discussion that when the teacher teaches students familiar subject matter the students tend to get a picture of that matter though it is abstract. Conversely, when the teacher teaches a new subject matter or unfamiliar concept to students which they have never seen or even heard about they cannot easily get a picture of that abstract item. To help students understanding of the matter, therefore the use of Kiswahili in English medium subjects becomes unavoidable. Teachers stressed that learning new and unfamiliar subject matter needs higher thinking capacity and this occurs when Kiswahili is used. In a nutshell, the newer the subject matter being taught the larger the extent of the use of Kiswahili which is required in the lessons of English medium subjects. This finding supports the importance of mother tongue in education as it assists students' learning and cognition (UNESCO, 1953; 2003; Cummins, 2000; 2005; Wolff, 2004, 2006, 2011).

Apart from this factor of newness and unfamiliarity of the subject matter to influence the extent to which Kiswahili is used in English medium subjects, another factor was the nature of the method of teaching and learning style. The discussion of this factor will be provided in the subsection below.

5.3.1.3 Nature of the method of teaching and learning style

Teachers' responses from both interviews and focus group discussions recurrently underscored that complying with an English only approach in the classroom equates to keeping students passive during the lesson. This is consistent with the findings reported by Muthuwii (2004), Wolff (2006; 2011) Probyn (2009), Spernes (2012), and Brock-Utne (2012) and others. Their studies have been discussed extensively in Chapter 3.

Sabrina, the physics teacher, supports this notion by stating that:

Mwalimu kutumia English tu maana yake ni kuwaweka wanafunzi passive, na wale walimu wanaotumia Kiswahili darasani maana yake wanawasaidia wanafunzi kujifunza (Focus group discussion, September, 2013).

[Teachers' complying with an English only policy in the classroom is directly proportional to maintaining students' passivity; and teachers' use of Kiswahili in the classroom is directly proportional to maximizing students' interaction (Focus group discussion, September 2013)].

Teachers pointed out that in this contemporary world, education researchers have given *problem solving method* the greatest eminence in teaching and learning. According to them this method needs maximum interaction between a teacher and students and among students themselves. It was highlighted in the conversation during the focus group discussion that Kiswahili in secondary schools in Zanzibar helps to involve many students in the lesson by maximizing interaction and enhances subsequently creativity. This is consistent with Wolff (2011) that indigenous African languages enhance students' creativity while English as Arthur (2001), Alexander (2007) and Greenfield (2010) claim, encourages a teacher-centred approach. Furthermore, teachers insisted that students must think very deeply in order to solve a problem; and they think in Kiswahili, the language they understand best, and not in English.

As far as the instructional method is concerned, teachers seemed to have a fundamental belief that the frequent use of Kiswahili in English medium subjects paves the way for the use of a highly recommended method of teaching which is a *problem solving method*. Particularly interesting was Haidar's comment when he cautioned that

Kumpa mwanafunzi swali kujibu kwa Kingereza ni sawa na kumpa maswali mawili. Swali analokusudia mwalimu na la pili ni huko kutumia Kingereza (Focus group discussion, September, 2013).

[To give students a problem to solve by using English is to give them two problems at a time ... a problem which the teacher intends to assign to the students and the second problem is English (Focus group discussion, September, 2013)].

Likewise, teachers noted that cooperative learning, another highly recommended approach to teaching and learning cannot work without using Kiswahili in the classroom. This approach needs students to work through talking in their small groups; and students can only talk to each other effectively by using Kiswahili. During the discussion, some respondents however pointed out that when the teacher intends just to give his or her students a lecture without considering students' interaction, little

Kiswahili can be used in the classroom. These respondents however drew attention to the fact that this is not a recommended method of teaching.

In addition, data from the interviews and focus group discussions with teachers reveal another factor which determines the extent of using Kiswahili in English medium subjects. This is students' level of English proficiency. The following subsection will provide further discussion regarding English proficiency.

5.3.1.4 Students' English proficiency levels

Asked about another factor which determines the extent of using Kiswahili in English medium subjects, five out of six teachers who were interviewed and participated in the focus group discussions highlighted that in the light of learning any topic, a language which students can use to communicate plays a crucial role. This supports Wolff's (2011:92) assertion that 'Language is not everything in education, but without language everything is nothing in education'. Therefore, for students or classes that have limited English proficiency, Kiswahili should be used to bridge the communication barrier and this would in fact ordinarily take its course. Conversely, in the classroom with students who have high English proficiency, Kiswahili could be used to a lesser extent. Many teachers commented that the overwhelming majority of their students had poor English proficiency and therefore they used Kiswahili when teaching. However, one teacher (Ali) drew attention to the importance of complying with policy under any circumstance. The position of that teacher was not supported by the other five teachers during the focus group discussions.

The majority of teachers emphasized, given that the focus of teaching is to help students' understanding, for students who entirely do not understand English the policy can then be violated by using Kiswahili. This supports the findings from Saxena (2009) who quoted one teacher who was the respondent in her study conducted in Brunei that in some cases teachers had no choice other than using more mother tongue than English especially for students with low English proficiency. Based on the findings of the present study which are also supported by Saxena (2009) in the class with students who have limited English proficiency, the frequent use of the mother tongue is then unavoidable.

According to the teachers another factor which influences the extent of using Kiswahili in English medium subjects was the pressure of teaching with respect to time. The subsection below will provide further discussion on this factor.

5.3.1.5 Pressure of teaching with respect to time

All teachers during interviews and focus group discussions pointed out that teaching students by using English only or by using a little Kiswahili consumes lots of time. Of particular interest was the point raised by the physics teacher during the focus group discussions who stated verbatim that:

Kufuata sera ya kutumia English pekee ni kutumia muda mwingi wa kuwafahamisha wanafunzi hasa katika masomo yasiyo ya lugha. Mwalimu analazimika afundishe alichokusudia pia afundishe na lugha angalau wanafunzi wafahamu. Njia m'badala ni kutumia Kiswahili tu. Kutumia Kiswahili hata kama topic ni rahisi mwalimu anapaswa kurudia rudia (Focus group discussion, September, 2013).

[Obeying English only policy in our classrooms is extremely time consuming as we [teachers] have to teach subject matter at the same time we have to teach English which is an extra burden, otherwise our students will not understand. In order to save time the best alternative is to use Kiswahili because students understand easily. Teaching by using English, even simple concepts must be repeated over and over again ... yet students ask the teacher to repeat (Focus group discussion, September 2013)].

Other teachers explained that there are a number of factors which intervene in the school system and consequently this compels teaching to be carried out under pressure in order to cover syllabuses. Thus, all teachers considered the frequent use of Kiswahili in English medium subjects as a way of helping to save time.

Moreover, responses from interviews and focus group discussions pointed out teachers' and students' personality as a significant factor which influences the degree of using Kiswahili in English medium subjects. This factor will be discussed in the following subsection.

5.3.1.6 Teachers' and students' personality

Apart from other factors discussed above, teachers' responses from the interviews and the conversation in the focus group discussion highlighted that teachers' and students'

personality was an influential factor for the extent of using Kiswahili in English medium subjects. They pointed out that in some classrooms for example, there were a number of students who did not want to make mistakes when they spoke English and be embarrassed by their mistakes, and therefore they always spoke Kiswahili in English medium subjects. Similarly there were some teachers with a similar personality issue and as a result they mostly spoke Kiswahili in the classrooms. According to the teachers such a kind of personality led to the increase of the use of Kiswahili in English medium subjects to a large extent in order to save face. However, in some classrooms there were a few students who dared not to be worried by making mistakes when they spoke English. Likewise, there were some teachers who spoke English without worrying about making mistakes but they tended to use Kiswahili in English medium subjects when necessary.

The last factor which was highlighted in the focus group discussions as a factor that influences the extent of using Kiswahili in English medium subjects was pressure from authority. The following section will discuss this further.

5.3.1.7 Pressure from authority

With regards to the degree of using Kiswahili in English medium subjects, four teachers (Bakar, Sabrina, Mussa, and Badria) expressed their beliefs during the interviews and the focus group discussions that the existence of the education language policy is one thing, and its implementation is another thing. This is supported further by the work of scholars such as Shohamy (2006) and Spolsky (2004; 2009). The teachers admitted that the policy exists in their schools but due to a number of circumstances (discussed above) many teachers disobey it. This is also confirmed by Bambgose (1991:111) who argues that language policies in African countries remain "declarations without implementation". Teachers did not comply with the education language policy when the authority did not monitor the implementation of the policy. In this case, a number of teachers tended to use Kiswahili in the classroom.

In contrast, when the authority put pressure to monitor the implementation of the education language policy (through head teachers and inspectors, those who defend the top-down policy, Shohamy, 2006) lots of teachers tried their level best to comply with

the policy and subsequently English was used to some extent. This supports the findings of Saxena (2009) who reported that in Brunei the Ministry of Education strictly discourages the use of mother tongue and warns teachers not to be lenient with the use of Malay instead of English (Also see Shohamy, 2006 discussed in Chapter 2, Section 2.7).

On the basis of these findings, it could therefore be argued that in both Schools A and B where the present study was conducted, Kiswahili was used to a large extent in English medium subjects. The factors which influenced the degree of using Kiswahili in the classrooms include factors related to teachers, students, and those in authority. The findings further show that teachers' use of Kiswahili in English medium subjects draws upon Ruiz's (1984) orientations to language planning, that is language as a right, language as a problem, and language as a resource. Since the use of mother tongue in education is an individual right, students in secondary schools in Zanzibar seemed to struggle for their rights by using Kiswahili in English medium subjects. While the use of English created a problem in learning and teaching, Kiswahili was used in English medium subjects as a resource to overcome that problem.

The following sections and subsections will present, analyse, interpret and discuss data which answers the second part of research question 2: ... to what extent does bilingual practice (Kiswahili and English) facilitates learning and cognition?

5.3.2 The role of Kiswahili in English medium subjects

The main implementers of education language policy are teachers and students. In 42 observations carried out in the present study, it was found that bilingual practice between English and Kiswahili was the rule rather than the exception. Similar observation was made by Wolff (2011) that in many African countries bi or multilingualism is an accepted norm. The subsections below will use data from classroom observations, interviews and focus group discussions with teachers, interviews and focus group discussions with students to delineate the extent to which bilingual practices facilitates learning and cognition. The following subsection will discuss the role of Kiswahili in presenting terminologies, vocabulary and concepts in English medium subjects.

5.3.2.1 Teaching terminologies, vocabulary and concepts

Based on most of the observations made, bilingual practice which used English and Kiswahili was found to be a commonly accepted norm for the learning and teaching process. On a number of occasions, teachers employed Kiswahili to present vocabulary, terminologies, and concepts in their classrooms (see for example Andersson and Rusanganwa, 2011; and Ferguson, 2009, Chapter 3, Section 3.3.2). In keeping with their beliefs almost all observations made, no terminologies or concepts were taught without using some Kiswahili and English concurrently or entirely Kiswahili. For example, Mussa, a biology teacher, during his lesson on 'food preservation' used Kiswahili to teach vocabulary related to the concept of 'preserve' (see the excerpt below taken from Mussa's lesson).

Note: In the segment of classroom discourse below, the words in italics and enclosed in the square brackets were spoken in Kiswahili; and T stands for the teacher.

T: To preserve maana yake ni kukikinga kitu kisiharibike, kisioze. Hapa tutatumia maana ya kukikinga kitu kisioze [*means to protect something in order not to be damaged or to protect something from decay. Here we will use the meaning ... to protect something from decay*].

Similarly, Bakar, a physics teacher, used Kiswahili to present terminologies related to 'acceleration' and 'velocity'. The segments of classroom discourse below are evidence of this.

Note: In the segment of classroom discourse below, words in italics and enclosed in the square brackets were spoken in Kiswahili, and T stand for the teacher.

T: Velocity ni spidi ambayo kitu kinatembea katika upande / uelekeo maalum [*is the speed which an object moves in a certain direction*] for example nyota zinaenda kwa kasi sana [*the stars move with high speed*].

T: Acceleration ni kiwango cha kuongeza kasi / spidi, mara nyingi inakuwa cultulated kwa muda na spidi ya kufika pahali [*is the rate of increase of speed ... usually calculated in terms of time the vehicle takes to reach a particular speed*].

Based on the observations made, there is evidence that bilingual practice which used English and Kiswahili in English medium subjects facilitated learning and cognition to a large extent. This can be confirmed when teachers explained the meaning of concepts and terminologies by using Kiswahili as can be noted in the segments of classroom discourse above, then students were asked to give real examples relating to those concepts from their real environment. Students were able to provide correct examples which their teachers required. Further to this matter, though students wrote notes in their books in English, it was noted that a number of students wrote the meaning of terminologies in Kiswahili at the end pages of their exercise books for future reference.

Responses from interviews and focus group discussions with teachers; and interviews and focus group discussions with students reveal similar results. The prevalent beliefs that terminologies and concepts should be presented in Kiswahili were held by both teachers and students. During the interviews and focus group discussions with teachers it was highlighted that the teacher devoted a great amount of time to use Kiswahili in teaching vocabulary, concepts and terminologies. The following excerpt from Ms Badria during the focus group discussion provides evidence confirming that.

Lengo la walimu wasio wa lugha wanapofundisha terminologies na dhana mbali mbali ni kuhakikisha kuwa wanafunzi wanafahamu. Kwa mantiki hiyo natumia Kiswahili lugha ambayo wanafunzi wanaifahamu. Kama jukumu langu lilikuwa kusomesha Kingereza ningejitahidi kutumia English kwa sababu lengo langu lingekuwa kuwawezesha wanafunzi wazungumze Kingereza (Focus group discussion, September, 2013)

[The ultimate goal of content teachers when teaching terminologies as well as concepts is to make sure students understand them. In this regards, I use much Kiswahili the language which students understand. If my duty was to teach English I could struggle with English because my ultimate goal could be students to communicate in English (Focus group discussion, September 2013)].

Likewise students in the focus group discussions and interviews seemed to have reservations that if their teachers taught vocabulary, terminologies and concepts without using Kiswahili they could not understand them. The students further drew attention to the fact that teachers' ignoring Kiswahili and using English in teaching terminologies means wasting their time and energy.

Apart from teachers heavily relying on using Kiswahili to explain terminologies, vocabulary and concepts in English medium subjects, they also seemed to heavily rely on using Kiswahili for clarification of ideas during the lessons. The following subsection will provide discussion on the extent that bilingual practice facilitates learning and cognition through the use of Kiswahili for clarification of ideas.

5.3.2.2 Clarification of ideas

In most of the observations made, teachers seemed to have solid beliefs that Kiswahili played a key role in clarifying different ideas in English medium subjects. During the lessons, teachers clarified some issues where students requested clarification by using Kiswahili. This view is also shared by Andersson and Russanganwa (2011) and Greenfield (2010) who reported that teachers used the mother tongue for clarification of ideas in the context where non-mother tongue is the language of instruction. It was evident that clarification made by using Kiswahili facilitated students' learning because when teachers used this technique students were not passive, instead they were busy taking some notes and others asked questions. The segment of classroom discourse below from the observation made in Haidar's Mathematics lesson illustrates how Kiswahili was used as a powerful clarification tool in English medium subjects in order to facilitate learning and cognition.

Note: The words written in italics and enclosed in the square brackets were spoken in Kiswahili.

T: Perpendicular lines means two lines which intersect and form right angles.

Parpendicular lines maana yake ni mistari miwili inayokutana na kufanya degrees 90. [*Perpendicular lines means two lines which intersect and form right angles*]¹.

Mistari miwili inakatana na sehemu inapokatana inafanya degrees 90. Right angle nne zinafanyika. Right angle ni ile inayofanya degree 90. [*The two lines cut across each other and the point they meet they form right angle. Four right angles are formed. A right angle is an angle which forms 90 degrees*]².

In the segment of classroom discourse above, the teacher tried to define the term 'perpendicular lines' in English. Then he used Kiswahili to explain that concept (words in the square brackets marked number one at the end of the bracket). Further to

explaining the concept or teaching the concept, the teacher used Kiswahili to clarify that concept that is a clarification function (the underlined italics words in the square brackets which are marked number two at the end of the bracket). When the clarification did occur, the teacher had the students do a small task, and they successfully managed to do that. This confirms that using Kiswahili for clarification of ideas in English medium subjects facilitates learning and cognition.

Teachers' and students' responses in interviews and focus group discussions draw attention to the importance of using Kiswahili in English medium subjects for clarification of ideas. In the conversation with teachers they all revealed their beliefs that the large majority of students in the class pay attention only when their teachers use Kiswahili for clarification of what they teach. This may suggest that students learn when their teachers use Kiswahili to clarify what they have said in English. In a similar vein, during the interviews and focus group discussions with students the use of Kiswahili for clarification function in English medium subjects was also noted as among the most important techniques which their teachers employed. Their attention to the importance of using Kiswahili as a clarification function was delineated during the focus group discussions. One student thought the following:

Kwakweli kuna walimu wachache wananiboa ... wanatumia muda mwingi kuielezea topic kwa Kingereza ambapo wanajuwa hatufahamu. Mwisho hujaribu kutumia Kiswahili. Nawapenda wale walimu wanaotumia Kiswahili moja kwa moja. Wanatumia English kidogo tu au wanatumia Kiswahili kitupu. Walimu kama hawa hawatuchoshi (Focus group discussion, September 2013).

[Honestly speaking, there are few teachers who really make us feel bored ... they devote a great amount of time to explain a topic in English while they know we don't understand. At the end they try to clarify in Kiswahili. I admire those teachers who clarify ideas by using Kiswahili straight away. They use little English and much Kiswahili or Kiswahili only ... we never feel bored with such teachers. (Focus group discussion, September 2013)].

Apart from Kiswahili serving a clarification function in English medium subjects, data also show that Kiswahili was used for comprehension check in English medium subjects in order to facilitate learning and cognition. This will be discussed in the subsection below.

5.3.2.3 Comprehension checks

Many observations made, and responses from interviews and focus group discussions with teachers showed teachers' heavy reliance on using Kiswahili for comprehension checks in order to facilitate learning and cognition. In the present study, comprehension check is meant in relation to teacher's wanting to know if students have understood the subject matter. Teachers in different stages of their lessons were trying to ask students some questions in Kiswahili in order to check their understanding of the idea presented or the entire lesson.

Teachers seemed to be aware that some students understood the idea but they could not explain it because of limited English on the one hand; and there were some students who simply did not understand the idea on the other hand. In this regard, to differentiate between the students who have understood from those who have not understood, teachers asked a student a question in English and then in Kiswahili. If the student could answer that question in English and then in Kiswahili it was noted that the student understood the concept. When the student was not able to answer the question in Kiswahili but was able to answer in English, the teacher knew that the student did not understand, but he or she had just memorised the answer. Then the teacher made some efforts to help the student. The segment of the classroom discourse below from the observation made in Bakar's class shows evidence of using Kiswahili for the purposes of a comprehension check.

Note: T means teacher; S means student(s); words in italics enclosed in square brackets were spoken in Kiswahili.

T: What is the relationship between an object immersed in water and the displaced water?

S: When an object is immersed in water, the weight of displaced water is equal to the weight of object immersed.

T: Can you tell me what does it mean in Kiswahili?

S: Ndio. Hii inamaana kitu kinapozamishwa ndani ya maji, maji huja juu ... hivyo uzito wa hicho kitu ni sawa na hayo maji yaliyopanda [*Yes. This means when the object is immersed in water, the water comes up ...*]

so the weight of that object is equal to the weight water which comes up].

T: Yes, you have understood. Well done.

In the segment of classroom discourse above the teacher asked the question in English and the student answered the question correctly in English. To check whether the student understood the concept of the question or not, the teacher instructed the same student to give the answer in Kiswahili. Similarly, Haidar did the same in his Mathematics class. This can serve as evidence of using Kiswahili in English medium subjects for the purposes of a comprehension check (see the segment of classroom discourse below):

Note: The words in italics and enclosed in square brackets were spoken in Kiswahili.

T: What do you understand by the 'centre theorem'?

S: Angle at the centre of a circle is double of the angle formed from its end points:

T: What do you mean? Now tell us in Kiswahili.

S: Pembe inayofanywa na ncha mbili za pembe ya kati ni nusu ya ile pembe ya kati [*The angle which is formed by the end points of the centre angle is half of the centre angle in a circle*].

T: Excellent ... you've understood.

It can be noted that when the teacher asked the student to give the meaning of "centre theorem" in English, the student gave the meaning correctly. Then in turn the teacher asked the same student to give the meaning of "centre theorem" in Kiswahili (to confirm her understanding) and the student correctly gave the meaning in Kiswahili. The teacher therefore confirmed the student's understanding. The researcher observed a number of instances where some students were able to give correct answers in English

but they failed to give answers in Kiswahili. In such instances the teachers concluded that the students did not understand and subsequently he re-taught the lesson.

This finding is contrary to McGlynn and Martin (2009) who reported that students in Gambia were not allowed to answer questions by using Wolof or Mandika, their mother tongue; and when they did that their teachers reminded them by saying 'English please' (see Chapter 3, Section 3.5).

Data from interviews and focus group discussions reveal the same result. During the focus group discussion all teachers claimed that to ask students if they had understood, students did not give a true picture of their understanding or cognition. Similarly they said that if the teacher asked students some questions in English, it did not give a clear picture because some students may know the answer, but they felt shy to give answers in English. Hence during the focus group discussions teachers contended that the use of Kiswahili for the purposes of a comprehension check gave the true picture of students' understanding and subsequently enhanced their learning.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter has presented, analysed, and discussed data from different sources in order to answer research questions one and two. In the research question one, data mainly supports the previous findings of the studies about teachers' and students' perceptions of the discrepancy between official language of instruction and practice in the context where a second or foreign language is the language of learning and teaching. This is supported for example by the studies conducted by Wolff (2003a; 2004; 2011), Trudell's (2007), Spernes' (2012) in Kenya and Opoku-Amankwa (2009) in Ghana. In the present study teachers and students' perceptions showed that they were conscious that an English-only language-in-education policy is incompatible to deep learning in secondary schools in Zanzibar. Consequently it creates problems in teaching and learning. Thus, teachers and students used Kiswahili in English medium subjects in order to solve that problem. The data gives hope that since teachers and students have perceptions that an English-only language-in-education is a problem for secondary schools in Zanzibar, and the use of Kiswahili was found as a solution, that this shows

and clearly indicates that they can voice their claim for Kiswahili to replace English. This is supported by Lewis (1981:262) who argues:

Any policy for language, especially in the system of education, has to take account of the attitude of those likely to be affected. In the long run, no policy will succeed which does not do one of three things: conform to the expressed attitudes of those involved; persuade those who express negative attitudes about the rightness of the policy; or seek to remove the causes of disagreement. In any case knowledge about attitudes is fundamental to the formulation of a policy as well as to success in its implementation.

Failure to consider Lewis's argument leads teachers and students in secondary schools in Zanzibar to flout an English-only language-in-education policy. The chart below illustrates that while the official policy insists on the use of English-only (top-down forces) teachers and students in secondary schools in Zanzibar follow their own unofficial policy (bottom-up force). This authenticates Spolsky's (2004, 2009) theoretical propositions that language belief, language managements, and language practices are the constituents of language policy (see sections 2.4.1, 2.4.2 and 2.4.3 for detail discussion).

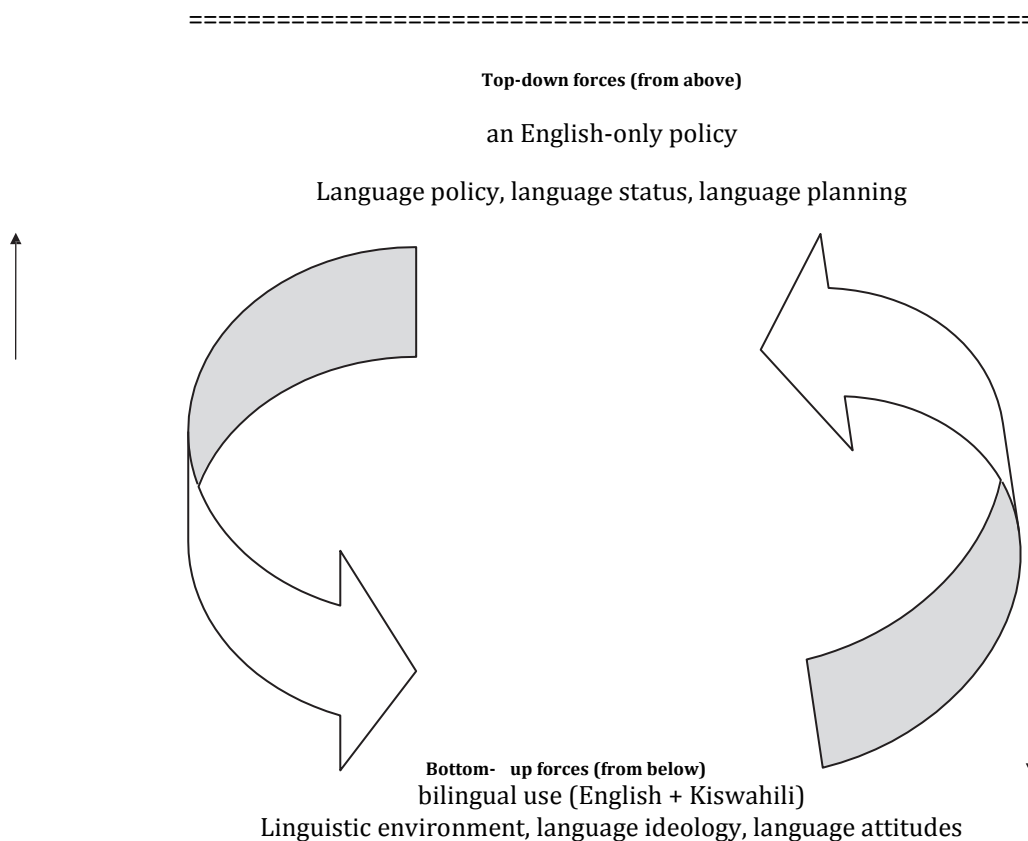


Figure 0.1 Clash of top-down forces from an English-only policy and bottom-up forces from teachers and students due to bilingual use (English and Kiswahili).

(Adapted from Zabrodskaia, 2014:124)

This makes the present study timely and significant in terms of suggesting Kiswahili to be the language of instruction in Zanzibar. The findings in Chapter 6 confirm that Kiswahili is suitable to be used as a sole language of learning and teaching. Likewise, many teachers and students seemed to favour the use of Kiswahili as a language of learning and teaching which is contrary to the findings reported by Baker (2002) and UNESCO (2003) that teachers and students resisted the use of mother tongue as a language of learning and teaching.

The findings of the research question two likewise support the earlier studies conducted in the context where a second or foreign language is the language of instruction in that teachers and students used the mother tongue. These findings show that Kiswahili was used to large extent in English medium subjects. Both teachers and

students were aware that English is the language of instruction; however, their belief was that Kiswahili was the language of interaction and cognition. Furthermore, the findings show that Kiswahili plays a significant role even in so-called English medium subjects. This also supports earlier findings reported by Storch and Wigglesworth (2003:760) that the mother tongue provides students with “additional cognitive support that allowed them ... to work at a higher level than would be possible were they restricted to sole use of English”. Teachers and students highlighted that Kiswahili, the mother tongue, was powerful for teaching vocabulary and terminologies, and for clarification of ideas. These findings are supported by earlier research conducted by Ferguson (2009) as well as Andersson and Rusanganwa (2011). Added to this, the researcher of the present study learned that Kiswahili was also used for comprehension checks in order to facilitate learning and cognition. The researcher of the present study also found that the use of Kiswahili for the purposes of comprehension checks was significant in order to facilitate students’ learning and cognition.

In the chapter that follows the data which was collected in two respective secondary schools will be presented, analysed and discussed in order to respond to research questions three and four.

CHAPTER 6

CHALLENGES IN ENGLISH MEDIUM CLASSROOMS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter provides data which answers research questions three and four respectively: *What tensions, contradictions or challenges do the teachers and students experience with regard to language use in the classroom?* - and *To what extent is Kiswahili suitable to be used as a sole language of instruction in secondary schools in Zanzibar?* Section 6.2 provides data that responds to research question three. To answer this research question the primary data sources include classroom observations, students' answer script of the same test first administered in Kiswahili and then in English, interviews and focus group discussions with teachers, interviews and focus group discussions with students.

Section 6.3 turns to offering a detailed analysis and discussion to answer research question four where the following is discussed: vocabulary and terminologies of Kiswahili; literature published in Kiswahili; Kiswahili as a standardized language and it provides a detailed discussion on Zanzibaris as Kiswahili monolingual speakers.

6.2 The answers to research question three

What tensions, contradictions or challenges do the teachers and students experience with regard to language use in the classroom?

The researcher examined transcripts from classroom observations, interviews and focus group discussions with teachers, interviews and focus group discussions with students and students' answer scripts of the test in order to get a clear understanding of tensions, contradictions or challenges which teachers and students face with regard to language use in the classroom. The first tension, contradiction and challenge which will be discussed below are the unclear demarcation between assessing subject matter of English medium subjects and English language proficiency.

6.2.1 Assessing subject matter vis-à-vis English proficiency

During the interviews and focus group discussions the researcher learned that tests and examinations failed to assess what was exactly intended to be assessed and therefore that brought tension, contradictions and challenges to both teachers and students. Teachers and students vehemently denounced that continuous assessments and summative assessments of English medium subjects do not provide a true picture of students' understanding (does not demonstrate student's learning) due to the intervention of English. Responses from interviews with teachers show that teachers tried to use language in various ways; for example, by using code-switching, and sometimes Kiswahili only (discussed extensively in Chapter 5) in order to help students' understanding. When it came to tests and examinations however, the students failed to demonstrate their learning as they are assessed in English. The teachers highlighted that during the lesson students are free to use code-switching or even Kiswahili only for oral communication; therefore students can confidently demonstrate their understanding by answering questions correctly. Teachers stressed that they only disobey the language-in-education policy in oral language but not in written language. Bakar gave the following statement:

Kwa vile nachanganya Kiswahili na Kingereza na wakati mwingine natumia Kiswahili tu, wanafunzi wangu wanaelewa vizuri ... wanafunzi wanaweza kujibu maswali kwa Kiswahili au kuchanganya Kiswahili na Kingereza, lakini kwenye mitihani lazima watumie English; wengi sana hufeli. Unadhani hawafahamu somo langu? Mimi ni mwalimu wa physics, na mtihani wa physics lazima physics na sio English (Interview, August 2013).

[As I mix Kiswahili and English in the classroom and sometimes I use Kiswahili only my students understand my subject well ... students manage to answer questions by mixing English and Kiswahili or Kiswahili only. But when it comes to answer questions in the tests or examinations in which only English has to be used, many students can't do well ... most of them fail. Do you think they haven't understood the subject matter or they can't express themselves in English? I'm a physics teacher, physics test or examination must assess physics and not English! (Interview, August 2013)].

The researcher learned that these tensions, contradictions and challenges keep teachers in a dilemma as they try their best to help students' learning but students fail to write tests and examinations only because of their failure to express themselves in English.

The main contradiction occurred as the assessment tools failed to distinguish who had grasped subject matter or knowledge and who had not due to the use of English. When asked what were their views about that contradiction many teachers suggested that the existing language-in-education policy should be changed in order to correctly assess what is intended to be assessed. They further suggested that students should be given options of language use in their tests and examinations.

This suggestion relates to the findings reported by Greenfield (2010) that students in the Universities of Technology in South Africa were given options of either to write examinations by using English or Afrikaans. However, Black African students seemed to be hesitant when asked if isiXhosa or isiZulu could be used for science examinations like chemistry (see this discussion in Chapter 3, Section 3.3.2). This view is contrary to the finding of the present study in that many students showed willingness to use Kiswahili in all subjects. Particularly interesting was the teachers' arguments that the option of language use in examinations and tests would help them avoid persistent complaints that teachers never taught effectively and consequently students failed in the examinations.

In focus group discussions with teachers, further to the contradictions and challenges in language use in the classroom they all commented that the government should change the policy by introducing English medium of instruction schools and Kiswahili medium of instruction schools. They highlighted that this would give the opportunity to students who have limited English proficiency to study in Kiswahili medium schools and the few students who can function well in English medium schools to study in English medium schools. Thus, this system would solve the problem of assessment (tests and examinations). Teachers seemed to feel empowered to articulate their views by giving examples of some countries which use their own languages in secondary schools such as Japan, China and Turkey as Badria explained:

Wachina na Wajapani wanaonekana ni hodari kwenye sayansi japo kuwa hawatokei Ulaya wala Marekani. Hii ni kwa sababu katika masomo yao na mitihani yao wanatumia lugha zao. Na hakika kama Kiswahili kitatumika kwa kufundishia sekondari wanafunzi wataifahamu sayansi na kuvumbua mambo ya kisayansi (Focus group discussion, September 2013).

[Chinese and Japanese seem to be intelligent in the field of science although they are neither from America nor Europe. The reason is that teaching and learning including examinations are carried out by using their own language. I'm sure if we change the policy and use Kiswahili as a language of instruction in secondary schools even our students can understand science and subsequently discover lots of scientific issues (Focus group discussion, September 2013)].

The teachers emphasized that students of those countries never faced the challenge of failing to answer examinations because of the language; everybody has a good command of his or her mother tongue. The excerpt above is also relevant to Lincoln (2003:163) who argues that "if education is the key to the future, then language is the vehicle to the future". This helps to explain the finding of the present study that education cannot be acquired without the use of an appropriate language of teaching and learning, which is normally the student's mother tongue.

Responses from the students show that some of the tensions, contradictions or challenges which they experienced with regard to language use in the classroom seemed to coincide with some of those which the teachers experienced; while there were others which only students faced. During the interviews the researcher learned that, one of the tensions and challenges was that they knew the answers of questions asked in the examinations or tests but they failed to write them in English. All these respondents admitted that the alternative way they overcame this challenge was to engage themselves in rote learning. This supports Shohamy (2006; 2007) who contends that tests and examinations have an impact on test takers and education in general as students change learning styles and teachers can change teaching styles. Shohamy (2006) gives an example of Israeli teachers who were teaching using a 'test-like' style; similar to the findings of the present study which shows that the teachers were teaching by using an 'examination focus' style which subsequently encouraged rote learning. However, students admitted that this approach could not function well as it helped them for short answer questions only. Particularly interesting is two students' comments which pointed out that such types of questions carried very few marks and consequently they failed examinations or tests while they knew the correct answers.

Apart from that, another challenge which students explained was to write the answers of the questions in Kiswahili on the rough paper and then to translate them into English in the examination answer sheets or the test answer sheets. The large majority of students pointed out the consequences of that approach are as follows. First, sometimes students failed to get suitable Kiswahili words to fit in their translation. The second one was the fact that the approach led to word for word translation and sometimes it did not bring about the intended meaning. The last one was that the approach was time consuming and consequently students failed to answer all questions before the time of examination or test expired.

In the focus group discussions students' responses validated the tensions, contradictions and challenges of examinations and tests which they raised in interviews. They all admitted that most of the time they failed examinations because of English and not because of lack of understanding of the subject matter. During the focus group discussions one student underscored the problem of language by saying:

Nilipokuwa madarasa ya primary sikuwahi kupata chini ya daraja B katika mitihani ya Giografia kwa sababu ya kutumia lugha ya Kiswahili kwa kujifunza. Kila siku nilikuwa wa kwanza ... sasa kutokana na kutumia Kingereza kwa tabu napata daraja C au chini ya hapo. Wakati mwengine nafeli kabisa (Focus group discussion, September 2013).

[When I was in primary school I didn't score below grade B in geography tests and examinations because we were using Kiswahili. I always took lead for geography in the class ... but now I merely score grade C or below, and sometimes I completely failed because of English. The content is almost the same but the main different is the use of English in secondary school (Focus group discussion, September 2013)].

In some classroom observations the researcher learned that during the quiz some students were writing answers in Kiswahili on the pieces of paper (rough paper) and then translating them into English. Some students left test sheets blank while they had written answers in Kiswahili on their rough paper. This may suggest that a number of students did not fail the quiz because of the subject matter but because writing in English was a challenge.

Examination of students' answer scripts of biology tests, which was first administered in Kiswahili and then the same test administered in English provides empirical evidence that many students were able to answer questions in Kiswahili but they were not able to answer the same questions in English or they answered very poorly. Table 6.1 below shows student's answers in the test which was administered in Kiswahili [Here it has been translated into English].

Table 6.1: The student's answer taken from the test administered in Kiswahili

<p><u>This answer originally was in written in Kiswahili but now has been translated into English</u></p>	
<p>Question 1. Explain two methods of improving soil fertility.</p>	<p>Answers:</p>
<p>a) <i>[Soil fertility means the ability of soil to have nutrients which can help growing plants or crops. Soil fertility can be used by different ways.</i></p> <p><i>One method which can be used to improve soil fertility is addition of manure. Farmers can keep cattle on the farm for some months and then they can dig on the land where they kept the cattle. Cow dung and urine or manure help to improve soil fertility. In cow dung and urine there are some nutrients which improve soil fertility. Sometime there is no need to keep cattle in the farm but farmers can collect cow dung and put it in on the farm. But is recommended that if it possible it is better to keep the cattle on the farm because urine also can be absorbed by the soil and improve fertility.</i></p> <p><i>b) Another method of improving soil fertility is by practicing crop rotation. Crop rotation is the way farmers grow one type of crop on their farm (a particular piece of land) in one season or even two seasons and then grow another type of crop in the next season. This helps soil fertility because each type of crop needs different nutrients compared to others. This means that, the nutrient which is required by one crop or plant may not be needed in another plant. Crop rotation as a means of improving soil fertility, the farmers can grow root crops, the crops which grow under the ground, such as carrot, cassava, and yam in one season; and then grow leafy crops which are in the form of leave such as spinach, cabbage in the next season. The potassium which is in the soil is consumed by root crops - when the potassium finishes, the farmer has to grow leafy crops which need nitrogen].</i></p>	

It can be observed that the student was able to express herself in Kiswahili and she managed to give the answer in detail. When marking this answer, the teacher gave eight marks out of 10 (8/10). It can be noted that the clarity and detail of the answer given by the student made the teacher to give good marks. This empowers one to argue that the student knew the subject matter and she was able to write it on paper as she could express herself in Kiswahili. Table 6.2 below shows the answer of the same question which the same student wrote in English.

Table 6.2: The students answer taken from the test administered in English

<p>Question 1. Explain two methods of improving soil fertility.</p> <p><i>a) To improve soil fertility there are many methods. The first method is to put manure on the farm. Cattle on the farm add manure and soil become fertile. When the farmers farm crops grow well.</i></p> <p><i>b) Another method to improve soil fertility is crop rotation. One year the farmer grow one kind of crop. After harvest plant another type of crop. For example, one year the farmers plant cassava and yam. Cassava and yam produce under the ground. Another year the farmers plant another type of crop which produced by leaves such as spinach and cabbage. Spinach and cabbage used nitrogen but cassava and yam used potassium.</i></p>

Compared to the answer given in Kiswahili (Table 6.1) it can be noted that the student was not able to express herself in English when she was writing the answer in English (Table 6.2). As can be seen in Table 6.1 where the answer was written in Kiswahili, the answer was long and detailed and it took ten lines (answer 1a, Table 6.1) whereas in Table 6.2 the answer which was written in English was too short and it lacked detail, it just makes up a three line answer (answer 1a, Table 6.2). When the student was writing the answer in English, she had answered the same question one week ago. One could expect that the student could answer well in the second test because she had written the same test before; however, the second test was badly done. Based on this empirical evidence, one can safely articulate that more often than not a ‘content subject’ test and examination does not assess content of the subjects (subject matter) per se, instead due to the intervention of English, they equally assess English and subject content.

Though the comparison of students' achievements for assessment administered in Kiswahili versus those administered in English is presented and discussed in Chapter 7, it becomes noteworthy to report here the student scores from the tests above. The student scored eight out of ten marks (8/10) in the test administered in Kiswahili (answer 1a, Table 6.1) whereas the same student scored three out of ten marks (3/10) in the same test administered in English (answer 1a, Table 6.2). Similarly, it can be noted that the student answered question 1b better in the test administered in Kiswahili compared to 1b in the test administered in English (see Tables 6.1 and 6.2 respectively). This tendency was true for all students who took these tests.

In a nutshell, responses from teachers, students, and the examination of students' answer scripts of the same test administered in Kiswahili and then in English indicate that the examinations and tests do not give the true picture of what subject matter the students had grasped, instead all English medium subject tests and examinations are assessing English language proficiency rather than subject content.

Other contradictions and challenges which both teachers and students highlighted was the policy intention vis-à-vis policy implementation which will be presented and discussed in the following section.

6.2.2 Policy intention vis-à-vis implementation

In most classroom observations made, and in interviews and focus group discussions with teachers, and interviews and focus group discussions with students, conspicuous was the fact that both teachers and students disobey an English-only language-in-education policy. During the interviews, Mussa contended that teachers knew the policy very well but most of them seemed to believe that to implement that policy was a challenge to both teachers and students. This respondent stressed that because they knew what they did they decided to disobey the policy for the benefit of the students and arguably to meet the curriculum objectives. Mussa explained:

Nna hakika kila mwalimu anaikujua sera ya lugha ya kufundishia ... na kila mwalimu anajua kuwa sera hii haitekelezeki. Japo kuwa wakaguzi wanalaumu kuwa sera hiyo haitekelezwi ... walimu sio vipofu kuwa watumie Kingereza kitupu. Wakakuguzi wanasahau uzito wa kazi ya ualimu. Na hakika wanajua

kwani wengi wao walikuwa walimu. Sijui kwanini wanashikilia jambo lisilowezekana (Interview, August 2013).

[I'm sure every teacher knows the policy... and every teacher knows that the policy can't be implemented. Though the inspectors blame teachers because they don't comply with policy, the teachers aren't the blind followers of the policy. Inspectors try not to understand the heavy burden of teaching our students by using English only ... I'm sure they know because most of them were teachers before being inspectors. But I don't know why they insist teachers to do impossibility (Interview, August 2013)].

In a similar vein, Sabrina emphasized that as far as a teaching ethic is concerned, teachers' disobeying the policy was embarrassing but for the sake of achieving curriculum goals disobeying the policy by using Kiswahili in English medium subjects outweighed complying with the policy. Three teachers mockingly pointed out that policy could bring no tension, contradiction, or challenge if it were designed for the community in which English was used in daily activities. Conversely, for the Zanzibar community where English is used for example in the tourism sector only the implementation of an English-only language-in-education policy entertained huge tension, contradiction and challenge. Of particular interest was the argument made by Badria who claimed that it was not fair to force teachers to use English only whereas no government office used English though the government had declared both English and Kiswahili the official languages.

Further to this matter, another tension and challenge noted during the focus group discussions was that teachers had limited English proficiency i.e. of the teachers themselves. The teachers admitted that when they complied with the policy they sometimes failed to give detailed explanations of the topics they taught due to their limited English proficiency. Apart from that, many teachers pointed out that there were students, though few, whose English proficiency was better than that of the teachers, and that this was an embarrassment for the teachers.

Likewise, during the focus group discussions, teachers emphasized that they were in persistent tension when they disobeyed the language policy as the head teachers, subjects advisers, and inspectors, the soldiers who defend the top-down policy, to use the term of Shohamy (2006) never allowed that (see Shohamy, 2006; Chapter 2,

Section 2.7 for further discussion). Therefore, teachers were always mindful to switch to English only when the head teachers or other officers either were present in the classrooms or passed through the corridors.

The majority of students in the focus group discussions reported that shyness and nervousness created tensions for them, and it was a challenge for them when they were asked questions in English. They stated that nervousness made them to completely forget the answers of the questions which they had known before. They further explained that some teachers were very impolite when they found students were not able to answer questions though they knew they could not function well in English medium of instruction policy. These respondents insisted that the tension was exacerbated when some teachers used harsh words or alternative punishment to attack those students who were not able to give answers in English only. Similar findings were reported by Edu-Buandoh and Otchere (2012) and Spernes (2012) in their studies conducted in Kenya (see Chapter 3, Section 3.4). However, two students explained that some teachers did not seem comfortable when they asked students questions in Kiswahili, but the students gave answers in English and that created tensions, contradictions or challenges for those students who could express themselves in English.

Students' interview data also reveals tension, contradictions, and challenges of policy intention vis-à-vis implementation. Three students' responses offer an insightful view that when teachers used much English in their lessons, students found the lessons boring and sometime this led to them hating both teachers and the subjects they taught. Similar results were reported by Saxena (2009) in her study conducted in Brunei (see Saxena, 2009, Chapter 3, Section 3.8 for more discussion). When asked what should be done with the policy, many students argued that since teachers knew that many students could not learn in English, they should not obey the policy.

Two students, though they were interviewed separately, shared the views that an English-only language-in-education policy was not for Zanzibaris. They further argued that the use of Arabic for students of Zanzibar would be a little bit better than English as they learned Arabic and frequently heard that language in *madrās* and mosques. This is

a significant finding and it coincides with Rubin and Jernud cited in Orman (2008:42) who contend that the failure of language policy in many countries is due to the fact that many language planners are not aware of “historical or theoretical precedents” of the country. Likewise, the finding is consistent with Wolff (2011) who asserts that failure to consider language planning theory contributes to the failure of language policy. This significant finding which is supported by other researchers cited elsewhere in this thesis may suggest that the language planners should be the trained sociolinguists who consider background, history, daily language use, and theories of language planning. As Fishman (1994:97-98) stresses, failure to do that may broaden the discrepancy between language policy and practice and consequently create contradictions and challenges in implementation. When asked what he felt about teachers who used much English in the classroom, during the interview one student explained:

Nadhani serikali haikuzingatia familia za watu masikini na ndio maana Kingereza kikatangazwa kuwa lugha ya kufundishia na kujifunza. Wazazi wetu na familia zetu hazizungumzi Kingereza ... wanafunzi wengi hatufahamu wala hatuwezi kuzungumza Kingereza. Walimu lazima watuhurumie kwa kutozungumza Kingereza ... vyenginevyo kuwe na skuli zinazotumia Kiswahili na pia kuwe na skuli zinazotumia Kingereza kama ilivyo katika skuli za maandalizi (Interview, August 2013).

[I think the government did not consider about the background of poor families otherwise English could not be declared as the language of learning and teaching. Our parents and family do not speak English ... many students can neither understand nor speak English. Teachers must sympathize us by not using English only in the classroom ... otherwise ... like kindergarten, there should be secondary schools that use Kiswahili medium of instruction for those who don't understand English and secondary schools which use English medium of instruction (Interview, August 2013)].

This student's comment along with others' above also suggests that the government should introduce Kiswahili medium schools and English medium schools at secondary level. According to that student this could provide equal chances to those students who had poor English proficiency and those who did have English proficiency. This comment seems to suggest the students' right to use mother tongue in education as it has been underscored by many researchers discussed particularly in the literature review of this thesis, for example, UNESCO (1953; 2003), Cummins, (2000; 2005), Baker, (2006)

Recento (2006), Wolff (2011) and Webb (2012) to mention a few. Similarly, Ruiz's (1984) language planning orientations which underpin the present study suggest the same.

Furthermore, in many observations made, the researcher learned that many teachers failed to say what they meant to say when they used English only. This concurs with UNESCO (2010) in that language and communication are two crucial factors in the teaching and learning process. Similarly, "the choice of language of instruction and language policy in school is critical for effective learning" (UNESCO, 2005:160). An excerpt from the observation made in Haidar's Mathematics lesson served as a good example to show that the teacher said the opposite to what he meant to say when he used English:

Angalia mfano huu, Adam alikuwa na shilingi 5000 ... kama atamuazima rafiki yake shilingi 3000 atakuwa na shilingi 8000. Unaona plus mara plus ni plus ... $5000+3000=8000$. (From observation, September 2013).

[Look this example, Adam had 5000 shillings ... if he lends his friend 3000 shillings he will have 8000 shillings. You see ... plus times plus is plus ... $+5000+3000 = 8000$ (From observation, September 2013)].

When Haidar gave clarification in Kiswahili the researcher realized that the teacher used the word 'lends' to mean 'borrows'. Also it is evident that the one who lends to, for example money he or she issues (minus), in the above segment of classroom discourse it could be Adam borrowed which means he obtained (plus) in order to get the answer which the teacher provided. This relates to Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) who indicate that language planning should consider the availability of required resources for teaching and learning. The findings of the present study justify the fact that the availability of teachers who can function well in the English medium (as resources) was not considered and as a consequence teachers unintentionally misled students. In a nutshell, there is a tension, contradiction and challenge of policy intention versus policy implementation as sometimes teachers unintentionally misled students.

Another contradiction and challenge which the respondents of the present study highlighted in interviews and focus group discussions was misconception between second language acquisition and the use of second or foreign language as a language of

teaching and learning. The following section will provide a detailed analysis and discussion about this matter.

6.2.3 Misconception between L2 acquisition and language of instruction

Students' interviews and focus group discussions data indicate that there was a contradiction with regard to the misconception that using English as a language of learning and teaching can lead to students' learning of English. Though the large majority of students admitted that English was the barrier to their learning, during the interviews three students seemed to believe that learning by using Kiswahili in all subjects might lead their little English to deteriorate. These students thought the little English they heard from their teachers during the lessons helped them in learning English. During the interview one student said:

Walimu wakitumia maneno ya Kingereza nisiyoyajua maana yake najaribu kuuliza maana yake, au baadhi ya wakati naangalia dictionary ... hii inanisaidia kuongeza msamiati (Interview, August 2013).

[when our teachers use some English words which I didn't know, I try to ask their meaning, or sometimes I check them in my dictionary ... it helps me increase the number of new words (Interview, August 2013)].

When that argument was made during the focus group discussions, many students argued against that. The students who argued against that misconception highlighted that they had used English as a language of learning and teaching for almost four years but their English was still poor. These students seemed to be conscious that learning English and using English as language of learning and teaching are two different issues. This supports the argument made by many researchers for example Cummins (2000), Qorro (2004); Ramani and Joseph (2006); Wolff (2011) and Brock-Utne (2012) to mention a few. The students further insisted that if the existing policy improved their English, then the four year period would be enough for one to understand English. Students who attacked that view seemed to believe that an English-only language-in-education policy weakened their understanding instead of improving their English.

They also seemed to be aware that students were required to learn English from English as a subject on its own and not in English medium subjects. This supports Cummins

(2000) and Qorro (2004) who suggests that if the aim is to teach or improve English, students should be taught English as a subject on its own. Similarly, another student vehemently denounced the delusion that learning subjects such as geography, physics and chemistry by using English helped learning English. This student stated:

Kwanini katika ratiba zetu limo somo la Kingereza! Sote tunajua lengo la kusomesha English ni kuwa wanafunzi waifahamu lugha hiyo. Lengo la kusomesha Maths japo kwa lugha ya Kingereza ni kuzielewa hesabu. Lengo la kusomesha Geography ni wanafunzi kufahamu dunia na mazingira. Sikubaliani kabisa kwamba kufundisha masomo kwa Kingereza ndio kujua lugha ya Kingereza (Focus group discussion, September 2013).

[Why in our time table there is English language as a subject on its own? We are all aware that the aim of learning English as a subject is to understand that language. The aim of learning mathematics even if by English is to understand calculation and not to understand English, the aim of learning geography is to know the world and its surroundings and not English ...I don't agree with anybody who says these subjects are taught in English in order to improve our English (Focus group discussion, September 2013)].

The view that using English as language of learning and teaching improves English was held by three out of 12 students. During the interview with teachers it was also learned that Ali held that misconception. However, when he made that argument during the focus group discussion the other five teachers tried to counter that argument. Ali appeared to believe that an English-only language-in-education policy enhanced students' understanding of English language as he indicated:

Kutumia Kingereza katika masomo mengine darasani ni kumpa fursa mwanafunzi kujifunza baadhi ya maneno ya Kingereza. Wanafunzi wetu hawapendi kusoma vitabu ... hivyo wanakuza msamiati wao kwa kusoma masomo mengine kwa Kingereza (Interview, August 2013).

[The strict use of English only in the classroom gives students opportunity at least to learn a few words in the context. Our students don't like reading ... so they improve their vocabulary through learning other subjects in English (Interview, August 2013)].

However, Ali seemed to contradict himself when he was asked about the challenges when he strictly complied with the policy. This respondent noted that when he strictly complied with the policy he was conscious that many students learned nothing but he

did not want to rebel against the policy. It was also clear that there were those students who did not understand anything when teachers strictly used English and they did not believe that this improved their English proficiency simply because it was the language of instruction.

6.2.4 Misconception between English proficiency and Teacher competence

Responses from some teachers and some students during the interviews and focus group discussions seems to reveal the misconception of some education stakeholders such as head teachers that a competent teacher was the one who had high English proficiency. Four teachers highlighted during the interviews that since they used Kiswahili alongside English most of the time in their lessons their head teachers regarded them as incompetent teachers. One of those four teachers contended that she used Kiswahili in the classroom to help students but repeatedly their head teacher blamed them during the staff meeting and considered them as incompetent teachers as they used much Kiswahili in the classroom. Teachers noted this as a tension which they experienced with regard to language use in the classroom. Such a misconception was also reported by Trudell (2007) who found that in Kenya, teachers who do not have good English proficiency were equated to being incompetent. Similarly in Uganda, Openjuru (2005) reported that the majority of people equated English proficiency with education. However, in the present study the majority of teachers during the focus group discussions argued against this misconception and underscored that there were a number of competent scholars who could not speak even a few English words. Conspicuous were Mussa's statements which seem to show a distinction between understanding English and being competent in specific subject matter:

Kama Kingereza ndio sayansi basi Wajapani na Warusi wasingekuwa masayantist hodari kwa sababu hawajui English vizuri. Warusi wamesharusha chombo angani na wamefanya hivyo wakiwa Kingereza hawajui. Tusijichanganye wenyewe. Kujua Kingereza ni kitu kimoja na kujua masomo / fani nyengine ni jambo jengine (Focus group discussion, September 2013).

[If English was a science Japanese and Russians could not be powerful scientists because many of them their English is poorer than mine. Russians sent satellite to the space... and it happens sometimes Russians who have limited or no English proficiency be the first to send their satellite to the space compared to Americans whom English is their mother tongue. We should not contradict

ourselves ... having good English proficiency is one thing and being competent in subject matter is another thing (Focus group discussion, September 2013)].

This view seems to justify that there were some teachers who were conscious about the distinction between knowledge or subject matter and proficiency of English while there were a few who could not understand the distinction. Being conscious concerning this distinction between English proficiency and competent teachers gives teachers a strong voice to advocate for the use of Kiswahili as a language of learning and teaching in secondary schools in Zanzibar.

Few students seemed to be in contradiction as they believed that a very competent teacher was the one who used English most of the time in the classroom. During the interviews three students named Ali as the most competent teacher because he used English almost always throughout the lesson. When asked why teachers who used much English were competent compared to those who used much Kiswahili; one student expressed his belief that if the teacher was very competent it would not be easy for him or her to be lenient and underestimate himself or herself by using more Kiswahili than English in the classroom.

Apart from the misconception between English proficiency and teacher competence being a tension, contradiction and challenge experienced in language use in the classroom, the following section will present and discuss another contradiction and challenge, namely English medium of instruction as a benchmark for opportunity to further studies and future careers.

6.2.5 English medium of instruction as a benchmark

Despite empirical evidence confirming that English medium of instruction policy is a huge obstacle for students learning and cognition, there were some students and a few teachers who believed that English as a language of learning and teaching is indispensable for creating the opportunity to learn as well as creating future career opportunities. The subsections that follow will provide further discussion concerning these challenges.

6.2.5.1 English medium of instruction as a benchmark for opportunity to further studies

Two teachers in both interviews and focus group discussions noted that English as a language of learning and teaching is a benchmark for opportunity to further studies, that is, at tertiary level. This perception made them regard English medium of instruction policy as indispensable though it was a problem to both teachers and students. During the interviews with teachers, Ali revealed that the contradiction and challenge he experienced in the classroom was that although students could not cope with the English medium of instruction policy, this policy is a benchmark for further studies. When asked how students could pursue further studies as they underachieved in most English medium subjects due to having limited English proficiency; Ali seemed to believe that though students do not get good results (grades), given that their certificates showed English was the medium of instruction, this is an added advantage in order to pursue further studies especially outside the country. Ali explained:

Nakubali kuwa English ni tatizo lakini kufundisha kwa kutumia English kuna faida zake. Mfano, kulikuwa na skolarship za Master ulaya, wale wote waliosoma Sudan hawakuchaguliwa kwa vile walisoma kwa lugha ya Kiarabu. Wanafunzi ambao hawakusoma kwa lugha English wana nafasi ndogo tu ya kupata skolarship nje ... mfano, ni nchi kidogo sana zinazosomesha digirii kwa Kiswahili (Interview, August 2013).

[I agree that English is a problem for many students and some teachers... but it should be remembered that English medium of instruction is an advantage. For example there was an opportunity for Master Degree abroad. All students who studied their undergraduate in Sudan were not selected only because they studied through Arabic medium of instruction. If students are not using English as a language of learning and teaching in their schools they narrow their opportunities of further studies ... for example, very few countries if any offer degree level studies in Kiswahili (Interview, August 2013)].

This notion brings forth a contradiction and challenge to teachers because as Webb and Kembo-Sure (2000) claim, English language policy in fact denies students access to education.

Furthermore, the accusation that teachers are responsible for students having limited English proficiency when they join universities because Kiswahili was frequently used in secondary schools also presented a tension and challenge for teachers that the

researcher learned of during the interviews. This assertion is a challenge for secondary school teachers because they use Kiswahili in the classroom with good intent. They however insisted during the interviews that the argument that secondary school teachers should familiarize students with English for the preparation of university was not valid. The researcher found it noteworthy that content teachers sometimes did not familiarize students with English for preparation for university at the expense of using Kiswahili in English medium subjects. This is relevant as it suggests that the correct way to help students learn or improve English is to invest resources in English language as a subject (Qorro, 2004).

During the focus group discussions, four teachers seemed to have the understanding that the English language proficiency problem in schools and universities is the result of poor language education policy and not the weakness of secondary school teachers as some university lecturers' claim. These teachers supported their belief that it is important for students to understand the subject matter regardless of which language was used. These respondents further noted that teachers should not allow themselves to feel guilty for disobeying the English only policy. The need to change this policy then exists in all levels of education in the country.

However, some respondents did not have the belief that English medium of instruction policy was the benchmark for opportunity to further studies. Of special interest was the example given by some respondents that there are a number of students who had high English proficiency but they were required to use Turkish in their studies in universities in Turkey. Taken together, the data from students and teachers suggests that the use of English language medium of instruction as a benchmark for further studies is a challenge and contradiction. This research shows that language use in the classroom suggests that cognition in fact takes place through the use of Kiswahili and not through the use of English. This belief is supported by a growing body of evidence discussed elsewhere in this thesis.

6.2.5.2 English medium of instruction as a benchmark for future career opportunities

Very few responses from interviews and focus group discussions with students revealed English as a language of learning and teaching is regarded as an added advantage in the job market. Three students seemed to believe that using English as a language of instruction is the benchmark for employment. This was evidenced by their by statements during the interview as one student explained:

Japo kuwa hatufahamu Kingereza, sera hii ya kutumia Kingereza isiondoshwe. Kule mtu kuonekana tu katika cheti chake kuwa kasoma kwa kutumia Kiswahili basi anaweza akaachwa katika ushindani wa kutafuta ajira (Interview, August 2013).

[Although we don't understand well when our teachers use English only the policy should not be changed. If our certificates show that the medium of instruction was Kiswahili we may not compete in a job market (Interview, August 2013)].

Further to this matter, these students explained during the focus group discussions that sometimes they would prefer their teacher to use much English because this could reduce or eliminate their anxiety of understanding and speaking English. The stance of these students shows a contradiction as they believed that English only was a barrier to communication and subsequently learning, nevertheless they wish their teachers to use English only. When asked how they could achieve qualifications for the job market by using English, the language which they did not understand; these respondents had no answer. This may suggest that students believe that the suitable language to be used for learning and teaching is Kiswahili but due to the perceived hegemony of English or to use Bourdieu's terminology (1997) 'linguistic market', students contradict themselves as to which language should be used in the classroom.

Likewise, one teacher during the interview showed the belief that studying in English medium schools might give students further opportunity of employment. According to Ali the first qualification which most employers demand is English; in this regard students from English medium schools at least might be considered compared to those from Kiswahili medium schools as suggested in this thesis as a route that the government should take. One teacher during the conversation in the focus group

discussion highlighted that the criteria which the employers need is English and not English medium of instruction. This argument made Ali to fail to defend his view that teachers should strictly obey an English-only policy because it created opportunity for employment.

Another challenge which the teachers of English medium subjects experienced was the role of teachers using English as medium of instruction for content subjects versus the role of English language subject teachers. The following section will discuss this issue.

6.2.6 The role of English usage in content subjects versus teaching English as a subject

As shown in Chapter 4, Section 4.2.4.1, teachers who participated in the data collection for the present study all were content teachers and none of them were English language teachers. The tension, contradiction and challenge which all teachers highlighted during the interviews and subsequent focus group discussions was that many education stakeholders including parents were not able to understand the distinction between the role of English medium content subjects and the role of English language teachers who teach English as a subject. It became clear in this research that education stakeholders blamed the students' limited English proficiency on English medium subject teachers who teach their subject in Kiswahili. During the interviews the researcher learned that the head teacher insisted English medium subject teachers help students learn English during their lessons. However, all teachers during the conversation in the focus group discussion stressed that teaching students English is the role of English language teachers and not English medium subject teachers. Conspicuous was Sabrina's argument which seemed to show the distinction between the role of English medium subject teachers and the English language teacher. Sabrina explained:

Mimi ni mwalimu wa Chemistry, kama mwalimu mkuu anataka niwasaidie wanafunzi kusoma English katika kipindi changu, je mwalimu wa English atawasaidia hao wanafunzi kusoma Chemistry? Sitotumia muda kusomesha English kwani dhamana yangu ni kusomesha Chemistry (Focus group discussion, September 2013).

[I am a chemistry teacher, if the head teacher assigns me the task to teach English ... will the English teacher be assigned the task to teach chemistry? I will never devote my time to teach students English because my role is teach chemistry ... not English language (Focus group discussion, September 2013)].

The above excerpt illustrates that there is a tension among content subject teachers as they were assigned the additional task to teach English language by their head teachers. However, many teachers seemed to be aware that the role of teaching English lies with English language teachers and the Secondary school curriculum has explicitly shown that (see Chapter One, Section 1.2.2.2).

During the interviews it was learned that though many English medium subject teachers vehemently oppose teaching English to students as it was not their role, some of them spent time on helping students with English in order for them to better understand the lesson. This was evidenced by Haidar who explained:

Baadhi ya wakati nikisomesha somo langu (Geography) nashangaa wanafunzi hawajuwi hata Kingereza rahisi. Hujiona tu naacha somo langu na kufundisha English (Focus group discussion, September 2013).

[Sometimes when I teach my subject (Geography) I do surprise students don't understand even simple English ... I unconsciously see myself leaving my topic pending and help students learn English (Focus group discussion, September 2013)].

Haidar's response coincides with the findings of Probyn et al, (2002) conducted in South Africa where non-English language teachers claimed that they had to carry two burdens, to teach their subjects and to help students learn English at the same time at least to alleviate the language problem (see Chapter 3, Section 3.3.2 for more discussion). Thus, it is evident that some teachers experience challenges of teaching students English at least to help them cope with the content subject lesson.

6.2.7 Summary of the discussion of research question three

The sections and subsections above have discussed tensions, contradictions, and challenges which teachers and students experience and share with regard to language use in the classroom. The first tension, contradiction and challenge which both teachers and students highlighted was intervention of English in English medium subject tests and examinations. Data shows that the examinations and tests of content subjects assess English language proficiency instead of contents of the subject only. Consequently the test takers (students) who had grasped the knowledge of the subject

failed tests or examinations only because of lack of proficiency in English. Respondents alluded to the fact that the situation encouraged students to engage in rote learning. However, it was noteworthy that teachers also gave examples of countries such as China and Japan which have overcome that problem and they were aware that in such countries content subjects are taught in the mother tongue. Responses from teachers and students revealed that the intention of an English-only policy more often than not contradicts with the implementation process, in that teachers and students knew the policy but they disobeyed it. Further to this matter, some teachers who obeyed it sometimes unintentionally misled the students as they failed to say what they wanted to say. In addition, responses from the teachers show that they worked under tension and constant threats when inspectors visited their classes, only because of English language usage. Similarly students highlighted that nervousness and anxiety which they experience when they were required to speak English in the classroom is a huge tension and challenge, and consequently it led to students' passivity in the classroom. Opoku-Amankwa (2009) reported similar findings in his study in Ghana i.e. that students were nervous and fearful when they were required to use English in the classroom.

Moreover, data indicates that there was a misconception between second language learning and acquisition and the use of English as a language of learning and teaching which the head teachers and inspectors insisted upon. These education stakeholder's beliefs brought tensions and challenges since teachers were regarded as the ones who did not develop students' English proficiency because they used Kiswahili in their classes. Likewise, data indicates that a misconception between competent teachers and English language proficiency was considered an issue with respect to language use in the classroom. Teachers reported that there was a fundamental belief that competent teachers are the ones who use English only in the classroom and conversely those who use English alongside Kiswahili were regarded as incompetent teachers. However, it was noteworthy that teachers themselves were able to demarcate English proficiency as not necessarily indicating teacher competency. They gave the example of Japanese and Chinese who have limited or no English proficiency, yet they are among the best scientists.

Regarding the use of English as a language of learning and teaching as a benchmark for further studies as well as future career opportunities, this also provided for challenges and contradictions regarding language use in the classroom. Data indicates that, despite English causing communication barriers in the classroom, some students, head teachers and inspectors insist on the use of English since it is regarded as a yardstick for further studies. Apart from that, during the interviews and focus group discussions with teachers, the researcher learned that due to the students' failure to use English in the classroom, some head teachers assigned content teachers the role of helping students with the understanding and use of English. Few teachers admitted that they found themselves unconsciously helping students with English, however, many teachers seemed to be aware that it was not their role and that they could not take on this extra burden.

The section which follows will provide a detailed delineation about the extent to which Kiswahili is suitable to be used as a language of learning and teaching in secondary schools of Zanzibar.

6.3 Kiswahili as a language of learning and teaching

The sections and subsections below will present data and provide a detailed analysis and discussion in order to answer research question four: *To what extent is Kiswahili suitable to be used as a sole language of instruction in secondary schools in Zanzibar?* Data from the following research approaches will be used to answer this research question: interviews and focus group discussions with teachers, interviews and focus group discussions with students, interviews with a key actor from the Zanzibar Kiswahili Council, and an interview with the key actor from the Global Centre for Swahili Studies at the State University of Zanzibar. The following section will discuss data that confirms Kiswahili having a suitable vocabulary and extensive subject terminologies as a compelling argument for replacing English as a language of learning and teaching.

6.3.1 Terminologies and vocabulary

Responses from interviews with teachers underscored that the aim of any language is to make sure that language users can effectively communicate in their daily life. The

teachers argued that by using Kiswahili they could communicate regarding any subject. They highlighted the fact that Kiswahili has an extensive vocabulary and terminologies that could facilitate communication, reading and writing in any subject. According to them the rich vocabulary and terminologies which Kiswahili possesses empowers them to have the fundamental belief that Kiswahili is indeed suitable to be used as a sole language of learning and teaching in secondary schools in Zanzibar.

In terms of scientific terminologies teachers appeared to have a good understanding that there was no need to change every English or other foreign language terminology list into Kiswahili. The large majority of teachers highlighted the fact that English itself still uses many words and terminologies which have origins with other languages such as Greek, Latin and French. This view coincides with Ipara and Mbori (2009) (see Chapter 3, Section 3.5 for more discussion) who reported that Kiswahili has lexical items and terminologies, for example the Kiswahili computer glossary created by Microsoft. The teachers also indicated that more words can be coined when the need arises as suggested by Ramani and Joseph (2006). Of particular interest was the statement made by Bakar during the interview. He explained as follows:

Unaposoma vitabu vingi vya sayansi kama vile Biology, Physics, na Chemistry utaona terminologies nyingi asili yake ni Latin na Greek. Waandishi huonyesha wazi wazi asili ya istilahi hizo. Si udhaifu kutumia istilahi kutoka lugha nyengine. English licha ya umaarufu wake inaazima maneno kutoka lugha nyengine. Kiswahili kuazima maneno sio udhaifu (Interview, August 2013)].

[When you read most of science books such as biology, physics, and chemistry you can see there are many terminologies which have either Latin or Greek origin. The authors of those books explicitly mention for example this word has Latin or Greek origin. It is not a weakness of a language to use terms which have the origin of other languages. English which is the dominant language uses lots of loan words ... it is not embarrassing for Kiswahili to use loan words ... Kiswahili can be used to teach any subject in our secondary schools (Interview, August 2013)].

Such a stance particularly empowers teachers to use Kiswahili during their lesson. Teachers also highlighted the fact that though English is an official language of learning and teaching, for the existing policy learning occurred only when Kiswahili was used with English concurrently. They further argued that this occurs because Kiswahili has enough terms for explaining different concepts and ideas. According to them students

would understand fully if only Kiswahili was used, in this regard they concluded that to a large extent Kiswahili is suitable to be used as a sole language of instruction in secondary schools in Zanzibar.

Further to the issue of terminologies and vocabulary, during the focus group discussions with teachers provided instances of primary schools in Zanzibar where Kiswahili was sufficient for teaching all subjects. In conversation with Bakar during the focus group discussions he indicated that Kiswahili is suitable as a sole language of instruction in secondary schools of Zanzibar and he gave the following evidence:

Kila siku nasikiliza BBC inayotangaza kwa Kiswahili. Kipindi hiki hujadili maswala ya kijamii, kiuchumi, kisiasa, na kisayansi kwa kutumia lugha ya Kiswahili. Wasikilizaji wanaelewa kila kinachozungumzwa kwa Kiswahili. Kwa vile watangazaji wanaweza kuzungumza maswala ya uvumbuzi wa kisayansi, bila shaka walimu wanaweza kutumia Kiswahili kufundishia masomo ya sayansi katika skuli za secondary Zanzibar (Focus group discussion, September 2013)].

[I always listen to the BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation) which broadcasts in Kiswahili. This programme discusses social issues, political issues, economic issues, and scientific issues by using Kiswahili. The listeners whom most of them are Kiswahili speakers understand all information and discussions which are broadcasted in Kiswahili. Because BBC announcers manage to discuss scientific innovations which exist day to day, indeed teachers can use Kiswahili to teach all subjects in secondary schools in Zanzibar (Focus group discussion, September 2013)].

This corroborates with Mutasa (2002:242) who argues that African languages can adequately be used as “language of philosophy and scientific discourse”. Likewise Ipara and Mbori (2009) specifically argue that Kiswahili should be used as a language of science and technology. Bakar’s comments along with others’ above seem to indicate that Kiswahili has sufficient terminologies and vocabulary for teaching all subjects in secondary schools in Zanzibar.

To turn to students’ views about the extent to which Kiswahili is suitable to be used as a sole language of teaching and learning in secondary schools in Zanzibar, the large majority of students seemed to believe that Kiswahili could serve that purpose since it

has rich terminologies and vocabulary. This view was enhanced by student's statements which were made during the interviews as shown in the excerpt below:

... walimu wetu na sisi tunaamini Kiswahili kinafaa kufundishia. Kiswahili kina maneno ya kutosha kufundishia sayansi na sanaa. Walimu wengi hutumia English kwa vile wanawaogopa mabosi wao ... na sio kuwa Kiswahili hakijitoshelezi (Interview, August 2013).

[... our teachers and we [students] know that Kiswahili can fit for language of instruction purpose. Kiswahili has enough words to be used for science subjects and arts subjects. Many teachers only use English in the classroom because they fear their boss ... not because there are no enough words of Kiswahili (Interview, August 2013)].

This student's comments along with the other nine students gave evidence to confirm that to a large extent Kiswahili is sufficient in terms of terminologies and vocabulary to be the sole language of learning and teaching in secondary schools of Zanzibar. This is relevant to the findings reported by Ramani and Joseph (2006) that Sesotho sa Leboa, an African indigenous language has been successfully used in an undergraduate degree which was offered through a bilingual English/Sesotho sa Leboa model at the South African University of Limpopo. However, two students showed some reservation about the use of Kiswahili for teaching science subjects especially in terms of terminologies. During the focus group discussions ten students tried to counter that reservation when they claimed that when Kiswahili becomes the medium of instruction it is not meant that one will be stopped to loan some English words. Again, the example that Kiswahili was successfully used as a language of learning and teaching for all subjects including science in primary schools was given.

Data from the observations provides empirical based evidence that Kiswahili has a number of terminologies. The researcher noted a large number of Kiswahili scientific terminologies which were frequently used during physics, chemistry, and biology lessons. Despite the researcher being the native speaker of Kiswahili, after every observation he asked the teachers and students the meaning of Kiswahili terminologies which were used in English medium subjects. Further to this matter, the researcher discussed with the teachers if Kiswahili scientific terms which were used in English medium subjects were methodological and conceptual correct. During the discussion

with the teachers some terminologies were analysed and it was found that most them were conceptually and methodologically correct.

Some Kiswahili scientific terminologies which were noted during the classroom observations are analysed and discussed below.

Analysis of some Kiswahili scientific terminologies which were used during biology lessons:

Terminology	Concept	Methodology
usanisinuri (photosynthesis)	usanisi = production by means of biological process nuri = light	compounding
chanikiwiti (chlorophyll)	chanikiwiti=green substance in a leaf or grass	compounding
uchavushaji (pollination)	chavua = powder in a flower (usually yellow in colour) male seeds.	affixation
kibwakizo (stigma)	kibwakizo = take in / swallow	adoption (internal source)
kiinitete (embryo)	kiini = the inner part of something which is the origin or source	compounding

tete = crucial

bronkili (bronchial)	bronkili =bronchial	borrowing (English)
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The section below presents analysis of some Kiswahili scientific terminologies which were used during Chemistry lessons:

Terminology	Concept	Methodology
atomi (atom)	atomi = atom	borrowing
kiyeyushi (solute)	kiyeyushi = it makes something dissolve	affixation (internal source)
kiyeyushwa (solvent)	kiyeyushwa = that can dissolve in liquid	affixation (internal source)
myeyusho (solution)	myeyusho = liquid in which solid object has been dissolved	affixation (internal source)
tindikali (acid)	tindi = liquid kali = corrosive	compounding
silinda ujazo (measuring cylinder)	silinda = cylinder ujazo = measuring	compounding (English and Kiswahili)
yabisi (solid)	yabisi = very hard and firm or stiff	borrowing (Arabic)

The section below shows analysis of some Kiswahili terminologies which were used during physics lessons:

Terminology	Concept	Method
kani (force)	kani= effect of movement on something	adoption (internal source)
egemeo (fulcrum)	egemeo= object that something sustains on it	adoption (internal source)
roda (pulley)	roda = a wheel around which a rope is pulled to lift an object	adoption (internal source)
nyenzo (lever)	nyenzo = a rod or handle which boost pushing or pulling of pushing or pulling of an object.	adoption (internal source)
miale (rays)	miale = beams of light	adoption (internal source)
nuru (light)	light = brightness from a source that help see something.	adoption (internal source).

ujazo (volume)	volume = is the amount that object contains or occupies.	adoption (internal source)
velocity (velocity)	velocity = velocity	borrowing

It can be noted from the analysis above that Kiswahili terminologies which were used in biology, chemistry and physics lessons comply with the methods and principles of terminology development / formation. These terms are concept based rather than word based (Sager, 1996; Batibo, 2010; ACALAN, 2014). In addition, order of priority is also considered, that is, to start with internal source (standard language and then one of the varieties of that language (ACALAN, 2014). Most terminologies were formed by adoption of standard Kiswahili whereas only a few terms were formed by borrowing from foreign languages. This is consistent with Batibo's (2010) assertion that terminology development / formation should try as much as possible to avoid borrowing heavily. Added to that, as outlined by Sager (1996) the loaned terms analysed above were changed to suit phonological, morphological, and orthographical features of target language in this case Kiswahili. Based on the analysis above, one can safely argue that Kiswahili has appropriate scientific terminologies and this compels this language to be suitable to be used as a sole language of instruction in secondary schools in Zanzibar.

In the conversation with the key actor from the Kiswahili Council of Zanzibar she highlighted that the role of that council is to coin new Kiswahili words and terminologies. When asked if Kiswahili had enough vocabulary and terminologies for teaching all subjects in secondary schools, this respondent indicated that Kiswahili has a rich vocabulary and terminologies for teaching all subjects in secondary schools and even at university level. This respondent contended that

Lugha yoyote ile huunda maneno na istilahi pale haja inapotokea, kwa mnasaba huo Kiswahili kitaunda maneno na istilahi haja inapotokea (Interview, September, 2013).

[Any language coins its new words when the need arises, in this regard Kiswahili will coin more vocabulary and terminologies when there is a need (Interview, September, 2013)].

This is consistent with Batibo (2010:17) who argues that “term development in an on-going activity”. This respondent further reported that if Kiswahili was declared as a language of learning and teaching in secondary schools there would be more new terminologies in order to satisfy the needs of the language users.

Further to the issue of terminologies and vocabulary, the respondent from the Kiswahili Council of Zanzibar indicated that her organization was in the final stage of producing a bilingual dictionary of scientific terminologies from English to Kiswahili. She concluded that it cannot be denied that the inventory of Kiswahili terminologies satisfies the demands of the users. This view coincides with Batibo (2010:17) who points out that more than 27000 Kiswahili terms in the field of science and technology and education have been approved by the National Kiswahili Council of Tanzania. These findings seem to reject the stereotypical ideas that African languages in this case Kiswahili cannot be used in education and science in particular as reported by Alexander (2000, 2003b); UNESCO (2003); Webb and Kembo-Sure (2000), Bamgbose (2004) and Qorro (2004).

Likewise the interviewee from the Global Centre of Swahili Studies of the State University of Zanzibar shared a similar view that in terms of vocabulary and terminologies Kiswahili can be used as a sole language of learning and teaching in secondary schools of Zanzibar.

During the interviews and focus group discussions with teachers, and interviews with key actors from the Zanzibar Kiswahili Council, respondents highlighted the significance of complying with the procedures of coining new words and terminologies. The large majority of respondents claimed that there has been a tendency of some linguists to coin new words or terminologies while the existing ones satisfy the use. This was evidenced by five respondents who gave the example of the word ‘television’ which has been used as the Kiswahili word *televisheni*⁴ or *TV* (loan word) for more than 50 years

⁴ Televisheni is a Kiswahili word which means television. Kiswahili has borrowed this word from English.

in their community and all people accept it. Nonetheless, some linguists came with the new word to replace it. As Batibo (2010) demonstrates, about one-third of Kiswahili words are formed by the borrowing technique, though this technique is not given priority. However, this researcher elsewhere argues that in developing terminologies, the terms already used by the majority in a community should be considered. The excerpt below shows Badria's explanation during the focus group discussion:

Kwa kweli pale neno limeshatumika kwa miaka mingi na limekubalika na jamii japo kuwa lina asili ya kigeni - ambapo mabadiliko kidogo ya matamshi yameshafanywa bila ya hoja za msingi hutokea wataalamu wakaleta neno jipya la Kiswahili badala ya hilo lililozoweleka. Simuelewi mtu anapotaka tutumie neno luninga badala ya televisheni. Mimi ni mwalimu wa Chemistry, nakutana na maneno mengi katika English ambayo ni ya kigeni. Wataalamu kama hao wanakiharibu Kiswahili ... wanakifanya kigumu. Kwa kukifanya Kiswahili kigumu ni bora tukaendelea na matumizi ya English (Focus group discussion, September 2013).

[I really surprise when words have been used for many years, people have accepted them ... though they have foreign origin, slight changes have been made to fit Kiswahili pronunciation ... pointlessly few linguists coin new words to replace them. I don't understand someone who want Kiswahili users to use the word *luninga*⁵ to replace *TV* or *televisheni* which everyone is happy to use these words. I'm a chemistry teacher but I come across so many words in chemistry books with non English origin. Such linguists destroy Kiswahili by complicating it ... for such artificial Kiswahili⁶ [underlined for emphasis] we should better remains in English medium forever, because Kiswahili is made as difficult as English (Focus group discussion, September 2013)].

Badria's comments along with others above reveal that despite Kiswahili having developed, the problem of terminology formation was raised. This comment seems to justify the argument made by Baldauf (1994) and Spolsky (2004; 2009) that there should not be the delusion that sociolinguists and language planners can always control language use. Likewise, Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) and Shohamy (2006) posit that the coining of new words (lexicon) is in dispute with language preservation and subsequently most people use language in their own particular way. This also justifies

⁵ Luninga is a Kiswahili word which replaces another Kiswahili word televisheni.

⁶ Artificial Kiswahili: the respondent used it as a derogatory phrase indicating her belief that Kiswahili does not follow procedures of terminology formation.

Batibo's (2010) statement that when the language users are familiar with other terms, they become reluctant to abandon them and use the new ones.

During the focus group discussions Bakar highlighted an insightful suggestion when he emphasized that Kiswahili scientific terminologies should be coined by science teachers, or science lecturers because they know the clear meaning of the words. This respondent added that, linguists and language teachers should seek advice from science teachers when they coin scientific terminologies. This supports Batibo (2010:15) who underscores that in developing terminologies “terms must be concept based rather than word based” since one word can take different meanings. As suggested by teachers, Batibo's (2010) insightful suggestion works well if experts in the field concerned are involved in developing Kiswahili terminologies.

The following section will present, analyse, and discuss data showing that Kiswahili has a large number of published works and content subject literature.

6.3.2 Literature published in Kiswahili

When asked to what extent Kiswahili is suitable to be used as a sole language of instruction in secondary schools in Zanzibar, teachers and key actors from the Zanzibar Kiswahili Council and the Global Centre of Swahili Studies of the State University of Zanzibar all seemed to be aware that having literature published in Kiswahili is crucial for using Kiswahili as language of learning and teaching. Their attention to the importance of literature published in Kiswahili was delineated during the interviews and focus group discussions. Teachers thought that Kiswahili has a good number of books in primary schools, and secondary schools for subjects which use Kiswahili as language of learning and teaching. The interviewees appeared to believe that once Kiswahili was given the status of being language of learning and teaching in secondary schools a great focus would be kept on publishing in Kiswahili. Responses from the focus group discussions with teachers revealed that the government had been publishing books in Kiswahili inside and outside the country for example in Europe for the primary schools use. Therefore, that is a good indication that secondary school books would be published in Kiswahili if Kiswahili were the language of learning and teaching in secondary schools.

This instance of teachers' insightful responses seem to coincide with Ipara and Mbori (2009) who mentioned some Kiswahili published literature, and they further indicate that Kiswahili is a powerful language which has a growing corpus of literature (see further discussion in Chapter 3; Section 3.5). In this regard, many teachers concluded that to a large extent Kiswahili is suitable to be used as a sole language of learning and teaching in secondary schools of Zanzibar.

In the interview with the key actor from the Zanzibar Kiswahili Council, the interviewee contended that there was a good corpus of literature which was published in Kiswahili. He gave examples of different types of dictionaries which his organization had published and he indicated that they were available in schools and other libraries. The interviewee stressed that his organization tries to conduct a need analysis in order to see what is needed. Therefore, if schools were in need of literature written in Kiswahili, the Zanzibar Kiswahili Council would put an emphasis on publishing such literature. Further to the issue of literature published in Kiswahili, the interviewee highlighted that his organization has a unit which deals with translation and interpretation. That unit would seriously engage in translating books and other literature published in English into Kiswahili. These comments, including comments by teachers above reveal that literature published in Kiswahili would not be a problem if Kiswahili would be declared as language of learning and teaching in secondary schools of Zanzibar.

Similar views were given by the respondent from the Global Centre of Swahili. Thus, taken together, responses from the participants of the present study suggest that once Kiswahili is given the status of being language of learning and teaching in secondary schools of Zanzibar, apart from the existing literature published in Kiswahili, more literature would be published (see Ramani and Joseph, 2006) and that this can be done in phases (Alexander, 2007; Ramani & Joseph, 2006).

Kiswahili as a standardized language also emerged as a compelling factor for the use of Kiswahili as a sole language of learning and teaching in secondary schools. The following section will provide further discussion in this regard.

6.3.3 Kiswahili as a standardized language

Asked the extent to which Kiswahili is suitable to be used as a sole language of instruction in secondary schools in Zanzibar, the large majority of the respondents pointed out that to large extent Kiswahili suits that role since it is the language which has been standardized. Data from the interviews with teachers reveals that teachers seemed to be conscious that Kiswahili is a standardized language. During the interview Badria explained,

Licha ya Wazanzibari kuzungumza Kiswahili tofauti kidogo kutokana na sababu za kijiografia, tofauti zao hazisababishi kutofahamiana, katika kuandika wote huandika namna moja. Bila ya kujali wapi mtu katokea wote wanatumia grammar ya namna moja, na herufi za namna moja. Namna wanavyoandika namna moja mtu hawezi kupambanua mwanafunzi huku katokea mjini au shamba, wote wanaandika namna moja darasani. Kiswahili ni lugha iliyosanifiwa na inafaa kuwa lugha ya kufundishia sekondari (Interview, August 2013).

[Despite Zanzibaris speaking Kiswahili slight differently due to the areas one comes from, when it comes to writing all people use more or less the same words. Regardless to where one comes from, the same letters or sounds and even grammar are used. In our classrooms no teacher can distinguish the essays written by students from rural area or in town... sure we can use this language as language of instruction without discriminating students according to where they are from ... it is a standardized language and it is quite fit to be the medium of instruction in secondary schools (Interview, August 2013)].

The above excerpt indicates that all secondary school students can use standard Kiswahili though they belong to different dialects and this avoids the debate of harmonization since all students can write in the same way. Teachers expressed similar views in the focus group discussions and they further gave examples from primary schools that children of all schools of Zanzibar use books published in Kiswahili without a problem and with respect to their dialects.

The interviewee from the Zanzibar Kiswahili Council likewise made the same argument in that Kiswahili being a standardized language is a significant step towards declaring this language as a language of learning and teaching. In conversation with the interviewee from the Global Centre of Swahili Studies of the State University of Zanzibar it was indicated that Kiswahili had been standardized for nearly a century now. People of Zanzibar though they have their own dialects of Kiswahili, in a formal setting such as

school they use Kiswahili nearly in exactly the same way. That interviewee concluded that this gives Kiswahili great benefit and to a large extent makes that language to be a suitable medium of instruction. This view is also shared by Ipara and Mbori (2009) who reported that Kiswahili is a standardized language and this was among the factors which empowered them to suggest the use of Kiswahili as a language of learning and teaching in Kenya.

The fact that Zanzibar is a Kiswahili monolingual island was another influential factor mentioned by the large majority to justify the use of Kiswahili to be used as a sole language of instruction. This factor will be discussed in the following section.

6.3.4 Zanzibar is a monolingual island

When asked to what extent Kiswahili is suitable to be the sole language of instruction, five of the six teachers indicated that since all people of Zanzibar are Kiswahili monolingual speakers, indeed that language can successfully serve as the medium of instruction. During the interviews many teachers highlighted that unlike many countries, Zanzibar Island has only one language, Kiswahili, which is the mother tongue of all Zanzibaris. They stressed that that was an opportunity and therefore Kiswahili deserves to be the language of learning and teaching in secondary schools in Zanzibar. Four teachers noted that currently English is the language of learning and teaching, however, students requested teachers to elaborate ideas by using Kiswahili instead of any other language. This was evidenced by the explanation given by Sabrina during the interview:

Hapa Zanzibar tumebahatika ... wanafunzi wetu wasipofahamu chochote kilichozungumzwa kwa Kingereza wakati wa masomo lugha pekee watakayoomba wanafunzi itumike kuwafahamishia zaidi ni Kiswahili. Sipati picha katika nchi nyingine ambapo wanafunzi katika darasa moja wana lugha za kwanza zaidi ya moja. Yawezekana kuna baadhi ya lugha za wanafunzi hata mwalimu hazifahamu kuzungumza. Zanzibar kuwa na lugha mama moja ni bahati njema. Hii inakifanya Kiswahili kufaa kuwa lugha ya kufundishia sekondari na vyuoni (Interview, August 2013).

[Here in Zanzibar we are lucky ... when our students don't understand anything spoken in English during the lesson the only language they ask us [teachers] to use is Kiswahili. I can't get picture in other countries where in a classroom there are students who have different mother tongues. When students don't understand English, in which student's mother tongue the teachers can use to

help them. I believe there are some students' mother tongues which the teachers don't understand them. Zanzibar being Kiswahili monolingual community makes Kiswahili to be a suitable language of instruction in secondary schools and tertiary. This is an opportunity which many countries are crying for (Interview, August 2013)].

This comment is inconsistent with Pattanayak's (1986:5) assertion that African countries tend to use ex-colonial languages to serve a "neutral-mediation" role among people who speak different languages in one country. As Sabrina explained Zanzibaris should make use of the opportunity of being Kiswahili monolingual speakers by using that language for learning and teaching in secondary schools. Likewise, in the focus group discussions with teachers the issue that Kiswahili is the mother tongue of every student was explained frequently and teachers seemed to believe that it is a compelling argument for the use of Kiswahili as a sole language of learning and teaching.

To turn to the students, data from interviews and focus group discussions indicate that many students were conscious that they were Kiswahili monolingual speakers and hence, that language never created communication barriers for them. They frequently pointed out during the interviews and focus group discussions that when they sat together to discuss the topics of their subjects the only language they used was Kiswahili; and everybody participated fully in the discussion and understood well. In this regard many students seemed to believe that to a large extent Kiswahili is a suitable language to be used as a sole language of learning and teaching.

Regarding this matter, data from the interviews with key actors from the Zanzibar Kiswahili Council and the Global Centre of Swahili Studies of the State University of Zanzibar indicate that the interviewees appeared to be conscious that the significant language of instruction is the one which both teachers and students understand well i.e. in Zanzibar, Kiswahili. Furthermore, the key actor from the Zanzibar Kiswahili Council thought that people from the outside world might be surprised why to date the secondary schools of Zanzibar opt for the use of English as a language of learning and teaching. She added, different people use English as a language of learning and teaching since it unites teachers and students as they have different languages (English as a lingua franca); conversely, Zanzibaris have the same mother tongue which is Kiswahili.

6.4 Conclusion

The importance of using mother tongue as a language of learning and teaching has been underscored by a growing body of research such as UNESCO (1953; 2003), Kaschula (1999), Cummins (2000; 2005) Bamgbose (2005), Alexander (2007), Garcia (2011), Wolff (2011) and Brock-Utne (2012). Likewise, the use of second or foreign language as a language of learning and teaching has been persistently reported as an impediment to teaching and learning. Ruiz (1984) theorizes language as a right, language as a problem, and language as a resource in his language planning orientations model. Data in this chapter indicates that teachers and students who are the main implementers of language-in-education policy alluded to the fact that an English-only language-in-education policy is a problem by highlighting a number of tensions, contradictions, and challenges which they experience with regard to language use in the classroom. Teachers and students highlighted that the use of English in tests and examinations led to tensions, contradictions and challenges and as a consequence students underachieved (see detailed discussion in Chapter 7) though they grasped some knowledge. Further to this matter, setting tests and examinations in English encourages students to engage in rote learning which was reported as a problem in learning. This supports Shohamy (2006) who argues that assessing students in second or foreign languages leads to an examination focus teaching for the teachers and rote learning for students.

The use of English as a language of learning and teaching was reported to bring tensions, contradictions, and challenges for teachers since they failed to give detailed explanations of what they taught and sometimes they unintentionally misled the students. This suggests that as Ruiz (1984) argues language can be a problem. Further to this, an English-only policy kept teachers in persistent tension as they frequently disobeyed the policy while the head teachers and inspectors who “serve as soldiers” to guard the top-down policy, strongly condemn teachers who dared disobey the policy. Similar responses from students attest to the use of English as a language of learning and teaching as a problem as it kept them in tension, anxiety and nervousness or “culture shock” to borrow the words of Kembo-Sure (2006:22) when they are instructed to give answers or explanations in English.

Data in this chapter also revealed the misconception that using English as language of learning and teaching equates to learning English and that teachers has contradictory views with regard to language use in the classroom. Despite the fact that the use of Kiswahili facilitated learning and cognition (see detailed discussion in Chapter 5) when teachers used Kiswahili they were regarded as not facilitating the students' standard of English. Though many teachers seemed to have good understanding that English language should be learned in English as a subject on its own (see Qorro, 2004), according to them some head teachers and inspectors seemed to hold to that misconception. Likewise, the misconception between competent teachers and English language proficiency was another tension, contradiction and challenge which the teachers experienced in the classroom. This situation led teachers to lack confidence when using language in the classroom. This may stifle the opportunity of judicious use of Kiswahili by the teachers in English medium subjects.

Furthermore, data in this chapter reveals that some teachers experienced the challenge of a double workload. This is because apart from teaching their content subjects, the teachers were sometime requested to teach some basic English in order to assist students to follow their lessons. Some teachers unconsciously kept their lessons pending and taught students some basic English, however, most of them seemed not to be ready to offer basic English to students and they underscored it as a double workload. The tendency of regarding English medium of instruction as a benchmark for further studies and future career also brought challenges in the language use in the classroom. The researcher learned that though students admitted that English as a language of learning and teaching was a problem, few of them were still reluctant for the change of that policy to Kiswahili as a language of learning and teaching.

This chapter has also presented a detailed analysis and interpretation of data which shows the extent to which Kiswahili can be used as a sole language of learning and teaching in secondary schools in Zanzibar. The study reveals that Kiswahili has an adequate corpus of vocabulary and terminologies from different disciplines and that new terminologies are formed to suit the need. As Batibo (2010) contends, terminology formation is a continuous activity. Thus, it is concluded that Kiswahili can indeed be used as a sole language of learning and teaching in secondary schools of Zanzibar. This

finding is significant as it is supported by earlier research for examples, Mutasa (2004), and Ramani and Joseph (2006) who show that African languages can be used in all levels of education and in all disciplines. Ipara & Mbori (2009) specifically mention Kiswahili as a language which can serve as a medium of instruction in all disciplines and levels of education.

Added to this, the finding is contrary to many earlier research findings which reported some people's stereotypical beliefs that African languages are suitable only for domestic and religious purposes as indicated in Webb & Kembo-Sure (2000) and Alexander (2003b). Data in this chapter further reveals that Kiswahili has published literature which is adequate for schools. This further supports the previous finding reported by Ramani and Joseph (2006) and Alexander (2007) that preparation for the use of African languages in education should be made step by step. The present study further indicates that Kiswahili has been a standardized language for nearly a century now and there is a standardized version which ensures mutual intelligibility between teachers and students and among students themselves in both oral and written Kiswahili.

In the chapter that follows the data which was collected in two respective secondary schools will be presented, analysed and discussed in order to respond to the fifth research question.

CHAPTER 7

STUDENT ASSESSMENT

7.1 Introduction

This chapter provides data that responds to the fifth research question of the present study: *What is the difference in terms of pass rate when a particular subject is taught and assessed in English and when the same subject is taught and assessed in Kiswahili?* This chapter provides background on the assessment and grading system in secondary schools. Furthermore it presents and analyses Form 4 National Examination Results of Islamic knowledge which is assessed by using Kiswahili language in School A as well as presents and analyses Form 6 National Examination Results of Islamic knowledge which is assessed by using English language for the same students in School A. The chapter then provides comparisons of the examination results of the same subject when it was taught and assessed in Kiswahili and when it was taught and assessed in English. It also presents and analyses Form Two test results of biology as a subject when it was taught and assessed in Kiswahili. It then presents and analyses Form 2 test results of biology as a subject when it was taught and assessed in English. Finally the chapter provides a comparison of the results of biology as a subject when it was taught and assessed in Kiswahili and when it was taught and assessed in English.

7.2 Background

It has been noted in the previous chapters (Chapters 1 and 3 specifically) that English is the language of teaching and learning in secondary schools in Zanzibar for all subjects except for Kiswahili and Islamic knowledge (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training Zanzibar, 2006). However, in the advanced level, Form 5 and 6, English is the language of learning and teaching for Islamic knowledge as well (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training Zanzibar, 2006). In this regard, from Form 1 up to Form 4, students learn Islamic knowledge by using Kiswahili as a language of learning and teaching and subsequently they are assessed in Kiswahili whereas in Forms 5 to 6 they learn Islamic knowledge in English and they are assessed in English. The objective here is to make a comparison of students' achievements (in National Examinations) between

a subject which is taught and assessed in Kiswahili and a subject which is later taught and assessed in English i.e. Islamic knowledge as a subject. This is the only subject which can give authentic results in regard to language of teaching and learning as teaching is conducted in both Kiswahili and in English, and each language is used for the different grades. This is then because Islamic knowledge is taught and assessed by using Kiswahili in Ordinary level (Form 1 up to Form 4) whereas it is also taught and assessed by using English in the Advance level (Form 5 and Form 6).

In assessing students in both national examinations and internal tests, the grading system for Ordinary Level (Form 1 up to Form 4) is as follows:

Table 7.1 Form 1 up to Form 4 grading system

Marks	Grades	Achievement description
70 – 100	A	Excellent
55 – 69	B	Very good
45 – 54	C	Good
35 – 44	D	Satisfactory
0 – 34	F	Poor

For Advance Level (Form 5 and 6) the grading system which is used when assessing students is different from those of Ordinary Level. The grading system shown below is used for both Form 6 national examinations as well as for internal tests.

Table 7.2 Form 5 up to Form 6 grading system

Marks	Grades	Achievement description
70 – 100	A	Excellent
60 – 69	B	Very good
55 – 59	C	Good
50 – 54	D	Satisfactory
40 – 49	E	Satisfactory
30 – 39	S	Subsidiary pass
0 – 29	F	Fail

Since the national examination results are recorded and displayed by using different grading systems (A, B, C, D, F) and (A, B, C, D, E, S, F) for Ordinary level and Advance level respectively, the researcher used class-mark (average score) of students' achievements for Islamic knowledge when comparing achievement of Form 4 to Form 6.

7.3 Form 4 National Examination Results of Islamic knowledge (assessed in Kiswahili)

Once in a year Form 4 students sit for a number of examinations including Islamic knowledge subject. The Form 4 national examination results of Islamic knowledge of 70 students were randomly selected from the documents issued by the National Examination Council of Tanzania in the years 2008 and 2009 and are summarized in the table below:

Table 7.3 Summary of students' performance in Form 4

No. of Students	No. of Pass (Grades)					No. of Fail
	A	B	C	D	F	
70	2	16	43	9	0	
Percentage	3%	23%	61%	13%	0%	

As can be observed in Table 7.3 above, two students out of 70 which is equivalent to 3% performed outstanding and both obtained a grade A which is described as 'excellent' after scoring 85% marks each. 16 students out of 70 which is equivalent to 23% obtained grade B which is described as 'very good' after each scoring the marks which range between 69 and 55. The majority of the students, 43 out of 70, which is equivalent to 61% achieved grade C the marks which ranged between 54 and 45 which is described as 'good'. The lowest marks scored in that examination ranged between 45 and 35. Nine students out of 70 which is equivalent to 13% obtained this score and achieved grade D which is described as 'satisfactory'. In that examination of Islamic knowledge which is taught and assessed by using Kiswahili, none of the students (0%) failed. The overall mean (average) for that examination results was 51.086% (see Table 7.5). This average is equivalent to grade C.

The students' performance of the Islamic knowledge examinations of Form 4 after being computed statistically can be graphically presented by using the pie chart below.

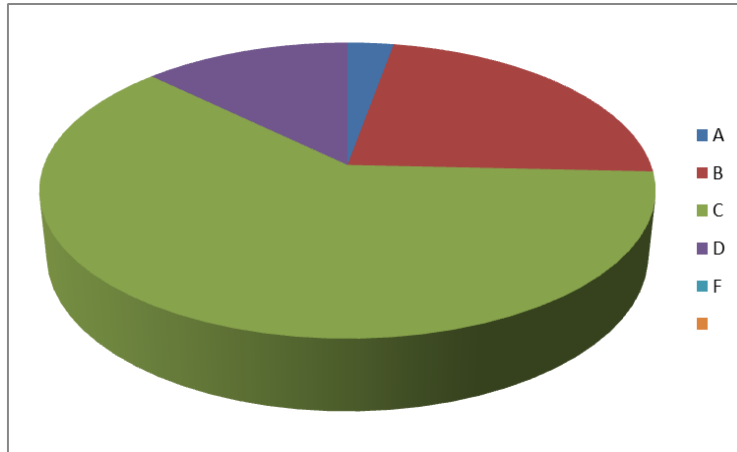


Figure 7.1 Students' performance in Islamic knowledge that used Kiswahili as MoI

These results might be linked to the claim that when mother tongue in this case Kiswahili is given a status of being the language of learning and teaching, students perform well in their examinations (as discussed in Chapters 5 and 6). This can be justified by the quality of pass in that 87% of the students achieved grades which are described as 'excellent, very good and good' and only 13% of the students achieved low pass (grade D) which is described as 'satisfactory'. Of particular interest was that none of the students failed entirely in this subject in which Kiswahili was the language of learning and teaching as well as assessment.

The section below presents and analyses the achievements of the same students when Islamic knowledge was taught and assessed in English.

7.4 Form 6 National Examination Results of Islamic knowledge (assessed in English)

The same students whom the researcher examined for the Form 4 examination results for the years 2008 and 2009 were then examined during their Form 6 national examination results of Islamic knowledge in the years 2011 and 2012. These students were assessed by using English. The table below shows the summary results of those Form 6 students.

Table 7.4 Summary of students' performance in Form 6

No. of Students	No. of Pass						No. of Fail
	(Grades)						
	A	B	C	D	E	S	F
70	0	1	2	6	25	21	15
Percentage	0%	1%	3%	9%	36%	30%	21%

Table 7.4 illustrates that none of the students (0%) who were taught and assessed Islamic knowledge by using English score the highest grade (grade A) on the one hand, and 15 students out of 70 which is equivalent to 21% entirely failed the examinations on the other hand. As it can be noted in the table above, only one student achieved grade B which is described as 'very good' as he scored 61% marks. This was the highest score in those examinations. Two students out of 70, which is equivalent to 3% achieved a score that ranged between 59 and 55, and therefore achieved grade C. Six students out of 70, which is equivalent to 9%, achieved grade D in that their marks range between 54 and 50. The largest group of students which was formed by 25 students, equivalent to 36% achieved grade E as their scores range between 49 and 40, this grade is described as 'satisfactory'. The second larger group which was formed by 21 students which is equivalent to 30% achieved grade S, which is described as 'subsidiary pass' in that their scores range between 39 and 30. It can be obviously noted that the largest group of students and the next large bulk of students achieved a low quality pass. Hence, the overall mean (average) for the examination results was 36.321 (see Table 7.5). This average falls under grade S which is described as a subsidiary pass.

The students' performance of Islamic knowledge examinations of Form 6 students (assessed in English) after being computed statistically can be graphically presented by using the pie chart below:

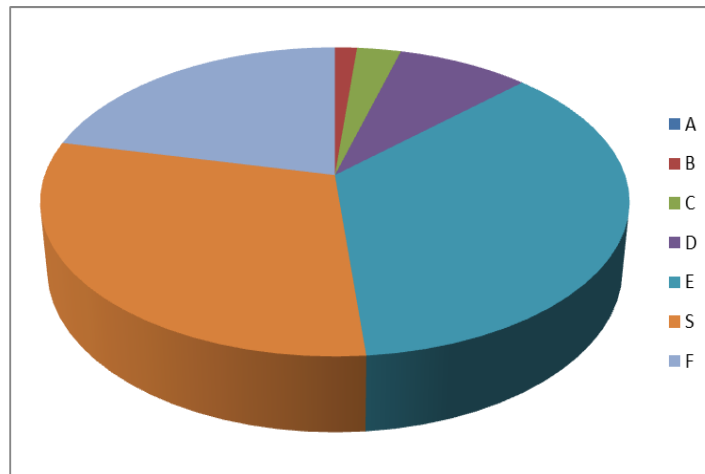


Figure 7.2 Students' performance in Islamic knowledge that used Eng as Mol

7.5 Comparison of the pass rate of Islamic knowledge taught and assessed in Kiswahili in Form 4 with the course taught and assessed in English in Form 6

The appropriate technique to be used to make that comparison is students T-test which lead to the formulation of various hypotheses. Based on the research question the researcher postulated null hypothesis of equality of means between the two groups. There are two subjects in which comparison was made, thus two hypotheses were used. For the first one, there is no significant difference in performance between Islamic knowledge examination when it was taught and assessed in Kiswahili and when it was taught and assessed English. For the second hypothesis it is hypothesised that there is no significant different in performance of Biology examination when it was taught and assessed Kiswahili and when it was taught and assessed in English. These hypothesis were tested by using T-test to check whether they are valid or not and the results are shown below.

This section then compares students' achievements in Islamic knowledge examinations when it was taught and assessed by using Kiswahili and when it was taught and assessed by using English. The Form 4 and Form 6 national examination results of 70 students were recorded and SPSS (software package used for statistical analysis) was used for calculation in order to make the comparison.

Table 7.5 Comparison of the students' performance between Islamic knowledge that used Kiswahili MoI and English MoI

Group Statistics					
Medium of instruction	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	
Kiswahili	70	51.086	7.6561	0.9151	
English	70	36.321	12.9234	1.5446	

Group statistics are meant to provide descriptive statistics for each of the two groups under test. From this table four kinds of information are sought for each group which are the number of observations for each group, mean score, standard deviation and standard error of the mean. Out of all this information, the important point is the mean of each group which will be used in the test for equality of performance between the two groups.

The following table shows the t-test result as performed using SPSS. In the table there are two kinds of tests which have been performed simultaneously. These tests are Levene's test for equality of variances and t-test for equality of means.

Table 7.6 t-test result as performed using SPSS

	Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means			
	F	Sig.	t	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference
Equal variances assumed	24.580	0.000	8.224	0.000	14.7643	1.7954
Equal variances not assumed			8.224	0.000	14.7643	1.7954

Levene's test checks for equality of variances between the two groups which in turn is an important test to decide which method has to be used in the computation of t-statistic. Results of the Levene's test are provided with F-statistic which its p-value (significance value). The test produces F-value of 24.580 whose p-value is 0.000. The observed p-value is much smaller than 0.05 (the set level of significance) hence proves the rejection of the null hypothesis of equality between the variances of the two groups. Hence, these two groups have unequal variances. This decision leads us to use the second row of t-test which is titled Equal variances not assumed.

The results from this row shows a t-statistics of 8.224 with p-value = 0.000. Again this p-value is smaller compared to 0.05 and hence leads to the rejection of the null hypothesis of equality between the two group's means. This means that the performance of those who used Kiswahili as a medium of instruction is not the same as that of those who used English. It is clearly seen from the previous table that the mean score of those who used Kiswahili is higher compared to those who used English (51.086 against 36.321) with a difference of 14.7643.

From these results it can be noted that the performance of students who used Kiswahili as a language of learning and teaching is not the same as when the same students used English for the same subject. Therefore, one can safely articulate that language of teaching and learning has an influence on the performance of students in their exams.

The comparison of 70 students' achievements of the Islamic knowledge subject which is taught and assessed by using Kiswahili to the one taught and assessed in English is graphically shown below.

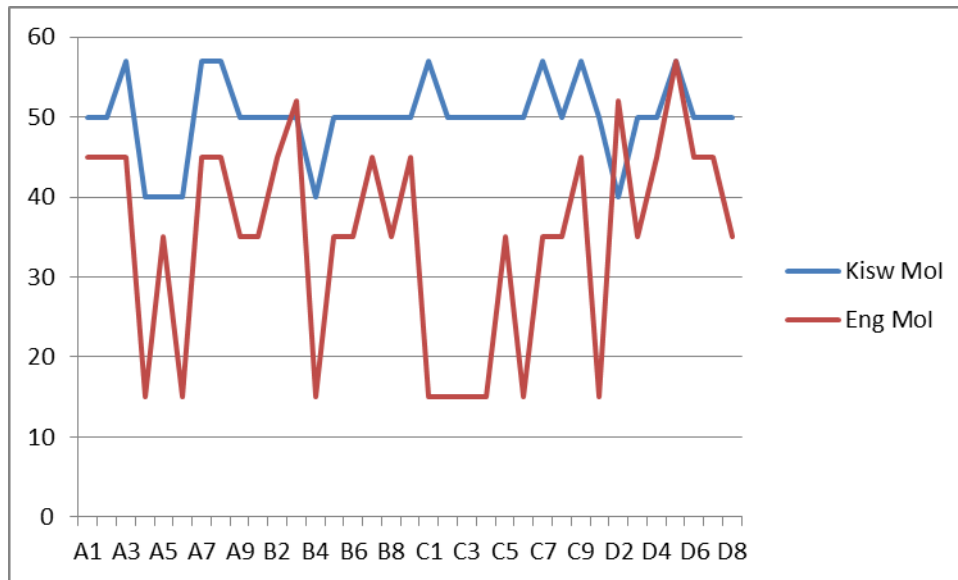


Figure 7.3 Comparison of students' achievement in Kiswahili MoI and English MoI

Figures 7.3 and 7.4 compare achievements of 70 students for the same subject when assessed in Kiswahili and when assessed in English. Figure 7.3 above compares achievements of 35 students. The students are named as A1, A2, ... A9, B1, B2 ... B9, C1,C2 ... C9, D1, D2 ... D8; and Figure 7.4 below compares the achievements of the other 35 students. The students are named as E1, E2 ... E9, F1, F2, ... F9, G1,G2, ... G9, H1, H2, ... H8.

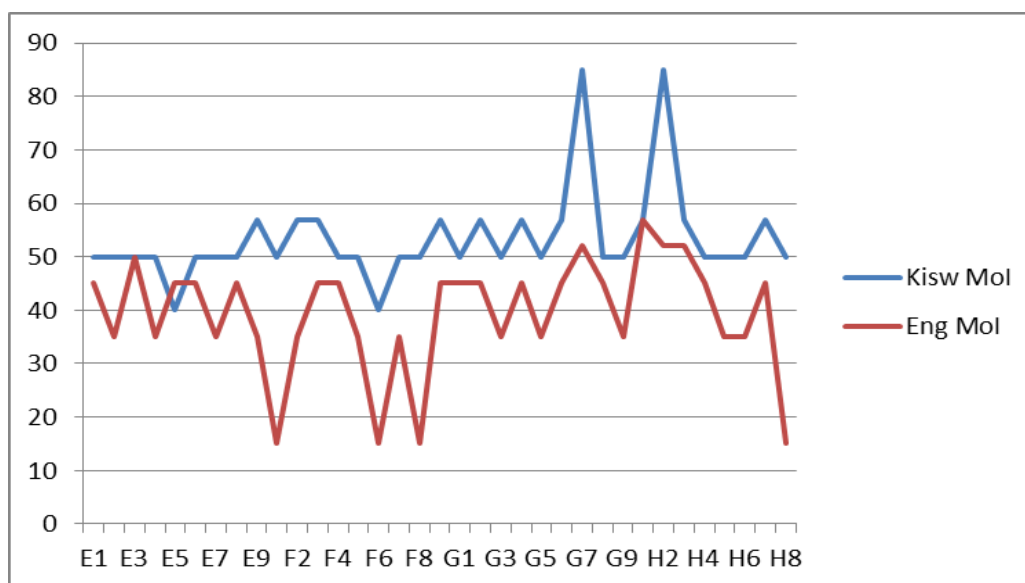


Figure 7.4 comparison of students' achievement in Kiswahili MoI and English MoI

In comparing the performance of Islamic knowledge taught and assessed in Kiswahili to Islamic knowledge taught and assessed in English, in Figures 7.3 and 7.4 it can be observed that the overall performance of Islamic knowledge taught and assessed in Kiswahili was considerably better than the one that is taught and assessed in English. In Figure 7.4 above it can be noted that two students (G7 and H2) achieved grade A as they scored 85% marks each in the Form 4 examination which was administered in Kiswahili. The same students scored 52% each in the examination which was administered in English. In-depth analysis shows the pass rate of these students who achieved grade A which is described as 'excellent' in Islamic knowledge examination which was administered in Kiswahili. Their mark has gone down by 33 marks in the examination which was administered in English. In the results of Islamic knowledge which used English as a language of teaching and learning the highest score was 57% which only two students achieved (Figures 7.3 and 7.4). This highest score, 57% is 28 marks less compared to that of Kiswahili medium examination (which is 85%). The lowest score of Islamic knowledge which used Kiswahili as a language of teaching and learning was 40%; whereas the lowest score of Islamic knowledge which used English as a language of teaching and learning was 15%. In the results of Islamic knowledge subject which used Kiswahili as language of learning and teaching, out of 70 students none of them failed whereas the results of Islamic knowledge that used English as a language of learning and teaching 15 out of 70 students failed outright. This supports Ipara and Mbori's (2009) study conducted in Kenya which shows that in the year 2005 the results of the National Examination in Kenya showed that only 554 students obtained grade A in English out of 260000 students who did the English examination. The students who achieved grade A were equivalent to 0.2% and yet English persists to be used as a language of learning and teaching.

Further to the comparison of pass rate, three out of 70 students which is equivalent to 4%, the students B3 and D2 in Figure 7.3 and the student E5 in Figure 7.4 their scores of Islamic knowledge administered in English was higher than the ones administered in Kiswahili. Similarly, it can also be observed that three out of 70 students, student D5 in Figure 7.3 and students E3 and H1 in Figure 7.4 each achieved equal marks in the Islamic knowledge subject which used Kiswahili as a language of learning and teaching

and the one that used English as a language of learning and teaching. These six students out of 70 seemed not to be negatively affected by the use of English as a language of learning and teaching. The crucial finding is that the students who were not negatively affected by English medium of instruction form only 8.5% of 70 students. This small percentage includes few students who had the opportunity of exposure to English at home as well as extra tuition of English (see Chapter 5, Section 5.2.1 for more discussion). This is consistent with Qorro (2004) who claims that there was only a small percentage of students who could positively function in English medium policy since their parents sent them for extra English tuition and at the same time they had exposure to English at their homes. This also supports the findings of the studies of Malekela (2004) and Galabawa (2004) which show that the use of English which is an unfamiliar language in Tanzania is a problem.

Based on the analysis of the data above, it can be argued that the same students can perform outstandingly if the subject is taught and assessed in the mother tongue, in this case Kiswahili; and conversely they can underachieve if the same subject is taught and assessed in a foreign language, in this case English. Researchers such as Wolff (2000; 2003b; 2011), Probyn (2006), ADEA (2006), Harrison (2007, 2009), Alexander (2007), Save the Children (2009) and Brock-Utne, (2012) bring the same argument that students learning through languages which they do not have a command of endangers the possibility of their academic success.

7.6 Form 2 test results of biology when it was taught and assessed in Kiswahili

A total of 54 students from two Form 2 classes were randomly selected and then they were taught a given biology topic by using Kiswahili. The next day, their teacher gave them a biology test which was written in Kiswahili and students had to write the test in Kiswahili. The test was marked and Table 7.7 below shows the students' performance.

Table 7.7 Students' performance in the biology test that used Kisw MoI

No. of Students	No. of Pass					No. of Fail
	(Grades)					
	A	B	C	D	F	
54	19	26	7	2	0	
Percentage	35%	48%	13%	4%	0%	

In the Table 7.7 above it can be observed that 19 out of 54 students which is equivalent to 35% achieved grade A, the highest grade, that grade ranges between 70 and 100 marks. Out of 19 students who achieved grade A, the scores of eight students ranged between 80 and 88 marks; and the scores of 11 students range between 70 and 78 marks. Table 7.7 also illustrates that the large majority of the students, that is 26 of 54 students which is equivalent to 48% achieved grade B as their marks ranged between 55 and 69. Particularly interesting to note with these results is that the scores of the biggest group fall under grade B which is described as 'very good' and the scores of the next big group fall under grade A which is described as 'excellent'. These results strongly empower one to advocate the use of Kiswahili as a language of learning and teaching in secondary schools in Zanzibar.

Table 7.7 also illustrates that seven out of 54 students which is equivalent to 13% achieved grade C as their scores ranged between 45 and 54 marks. There were only two students, equivalent to 4% who achieved grade D, which is the lowest grade of pass. In the observation of the Table 7.7 it can further be noted that out of 54 students who did the biology test administered in Kiswahili, none of them failed, that is none of the students scored below 35%. The overall mean of that test was 65.056 (see Table 7.9). This average falls under the grade B which is described as 'very good'. Again, the student achievements can be linked to the claim that using Kiswahili enhances learning and subsequently students' achievements. This claim is supported by a considerable number of researchers such as Wolff (2000; 2003a; 2006; 2011), World Bank (2005),

Brock-Utne and Alidou (2006), Alexander (2007), Babaci-Wilhite (2012) and Brock-Utne, (2012).

After statistically computing students' scores, the pie chart below (Figure 7.5) presents students' performance of the biology test in the class when the teacher used Kiswahili as a language of learning and teaching and subsequently she used that language to assess her students:

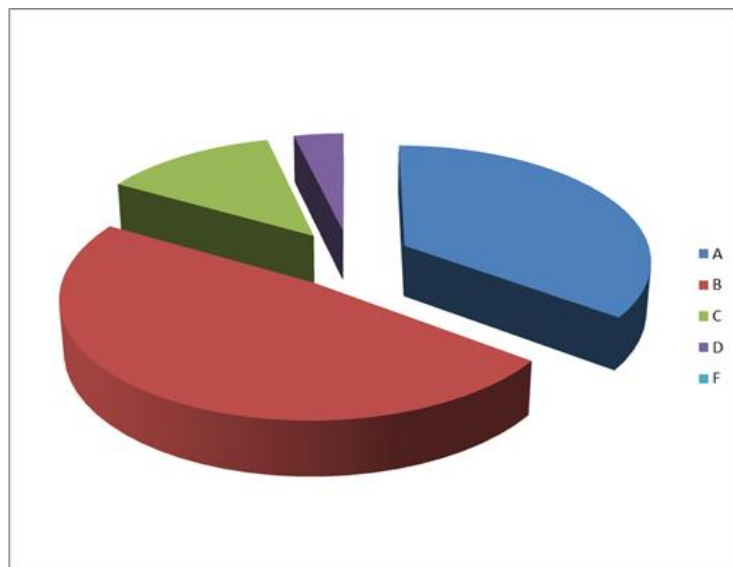


Figure 7.5 Students' performance of biology test that used Kisw Moi

Figure 7.5 above explicitly illustrates that the biggest group of students (red) achieved grade B and the next biggest group (blue) achieved grade A whereas none of the students failed the test.

7.7 Form 2 biology test results when it was taught and assessed in English

In the same week the same teacher taught biology to the same students by using English as a language of learning and teaching. The following day, the students were given a biology test which was written in English and they were instructed to write the test in English. The test was marked and Table 7.8 below shows the students' scores.

Table 7.8 Students' performance in biology test in that used Eng as Mol

No. of Students	No. of Pass					No. of Fail
	(Grades)					
	A	B	C	D	F	
54	2	13	16	12	11	
Percentage	4%	24%	30%	22%	20%	

On careful examination of the biology test results of the students who were taught and assessed by using English (Table 7.8) it can be found that only two students out of 54 which is equivalent to 4% achieved the highest grade which is A. One of those two students scored 71 marks and another scored 72 marks. 13 students out of 54 which is equivalent to 24% of the students achieved grade B in that their marks ranged between 55 and 69. Also it can be noted that 16 students which was the largest group in that class which forms 30% scored grade C in that their scores range between 45 and 54 marks. Another group which was formed by 12 students which is equivalent to 22% achieved grade D in that their scores ranged between 35 and 44 marks. As can further be observed in Table 7.8, it can be noted that 11 out of 54 students who form 20% of students failed the biology test which used English. The overall mean in the performance of that test was 46.759% (see Table 7.9). This average falls under grade C.

After statistically computing students' scores, the pie chart below (Figure 7.6) shows students' performance of biology test in the class where the teacher used English as a language of learning and teaching and subsequently she used that language to assess her students.

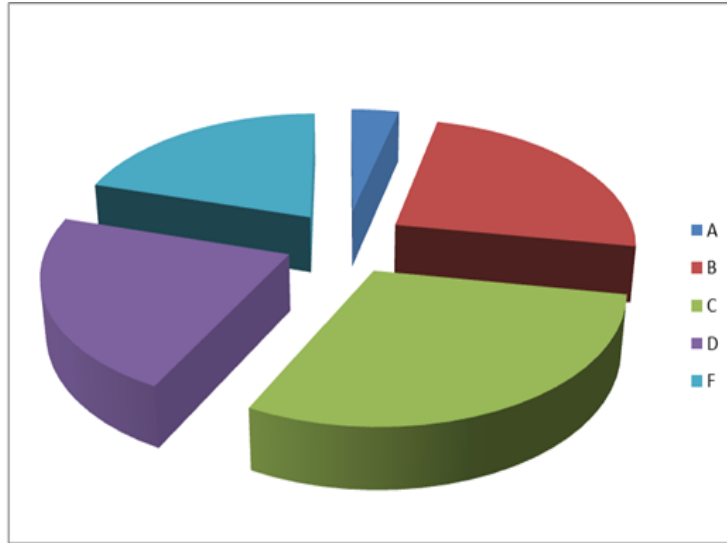


Figure 7.6 Students' performance in biology test in that used Eng as MoI

7.8 Comparison of pass rates of biology subject when taught and assessed in Kiswahili and when taught and assessed in English

A comparison of the pass rate of Islamic knowledge taught and assessed in Kiswahili in Form 4 to Islamic knowledge taught and assessed in English in Form 6 (Section 7.5) shows that there might be minimal likelihood of other factors apart from language to influence the results due to the interval of two years between Form 4 examinations (assessed in Kiswahili) and Form 6 examinations (assessed in English). To remove the possibility of other factors apart from language to intervene, the biology test which was assessed in Kiswahili and the one which was assessed in English took place within the interval of one week. SPSS was used to make the calculation in order to make the comparison of the pass rate.

Table 7.9 Comparison of the students' performance between biology that used Kiswahili as MoI and English MoI

Group Statistics

Medium of instruction	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Kiswahili	54	65.056	11.9723	1.6292
English	54	46.759	12.5607	1.7093

Group statistics are meant to provide descriptive statistics for each of the two groups under test. From this table four kinds of information are sought for each group which are the number of observations for each group, mean score, standard deviation and standard error of the mean. Out of all this information, the important point is again the mean of each group which will be used in the test for equality of performance between the two groups.

The following table shows the t-test result as performed using SPSS. In the table there are two kinds of tests which have been performed simultaneously. These tests, as with the previous example, are Levene's test for equality of variances and t-test for equality of means.

Table 7.10 t-test result as performed using SPSS

Independent Samples Test

	Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means			
	F	Sig.	t	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference
Equal variances Assumed	0.305	0.582	7.748	0.000	18.2963	2.3614
Equal variances not Assumed			7.748	0.000	18.2963	2.3614

Levene's test checks for equality of variances between the two groups which in turn is an important test to decide which method has to be used in the computation of t-statistic. Results of the Levene's test are provided with F-statistic which its p-value (significance value). The test produces F-value of 0.305 whose p-value is 0.582. The observed p-value is much greater than 0.05 (the set level of significance) hence does not prove the rejection of null hypothesis of equality between the variances of the two groups. Hence, these two groups have equal variances. This decision leads us to the use of the first row of t-test which is titled Equal variances assumed.

The results from this row shows a t-statistics of 7.748 with p-value = 0.000. This p-value is smaller compared to 0.05 and hence leads to the rejection of the null hypothesis of the two group's means. This means that the performance of those who did the biology test by using Kiswahili as a medium of instruction is not the same as those who used English. It is clearly seen from Table 7.9 that the mean score of those who used Kiswahili is higher compared to those who used English (65.056 against 46.759) with a difference of 18.2963.

As the in-depth analysis shows, the performance of Form 2 students who used Kiswahili as a language of learning and teaching to learn a given topic of biology and who are subsequently assessed by using Kiswahili is considerably higher than their performance when English was used as a language of learning and teaching and subsequently as a language of assessment. This performance justifies that given that Kiswahili is given the status of being the language of learning and teaching, students can perform well even in science subjects such as biology. As empirical evidence shows, the pass rate has gone down when the biology class was taught and assessed by using English.

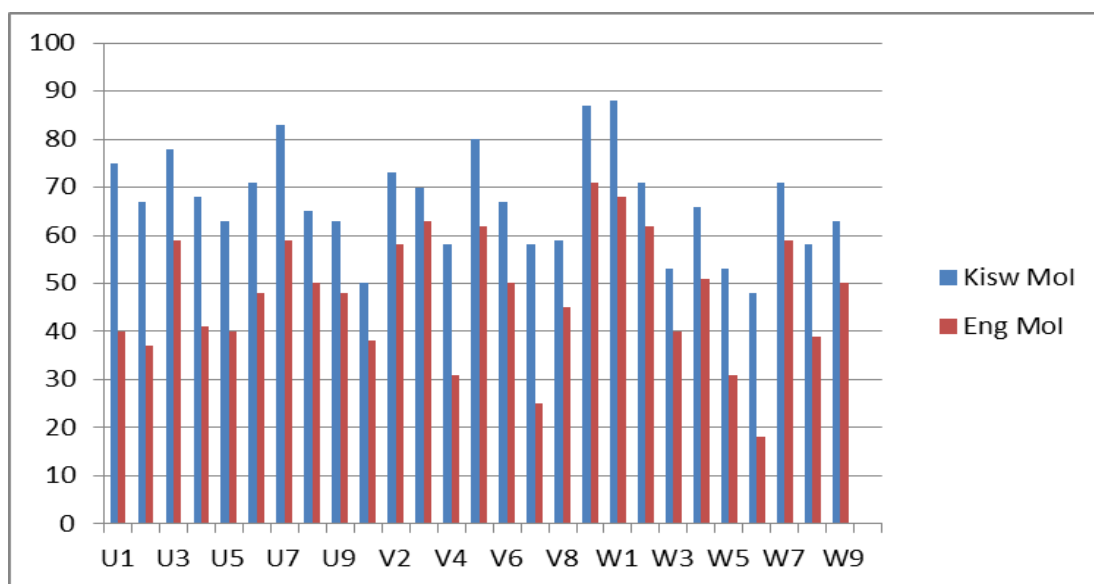


Figure 7.7 Students' performance of biology test in Kisw Mol and in Eng Mol

An examination of the results from individual students Figures 7.7 and 7.8 revealed that none of the students performed better when English was used as a language of learning and teaching compared to when Kiswahili was used as a language of learning and teaching. Students V9 in Figure 7.7 and Y7 in Figure 7.8 both achieved grade A in both tests (Kiswahili medium and English medium). However, the marks scored in Kiswahili medium of both students were higher compared to those scored in English medium. Student V9 scored 87% in Kiswahili medium whereas in English medium he scored 71%. That is, student V9 scored 16 marks more when the test was administered in

Kiswahili. Likewise, student Y7 scored 81% in Kiswahili medium whereas she scored 72 in English medium. Again, student Y7 scored nine marks more when the test was administered in Kiswahili.

As can be observed in Table 7.8, 11 students failed in the biology test which used English medium. The interesting part of this research is that, all those students who failed in the biology test which used English as a language of learning and teaching, passed in the biology test which used Kiswahili medium. Some of them passed with a higher grade. For example students V4, V7, W5, W6 in Figure 7.7 and X2, X7, Y3, Z2, Z7 in Figure 7.8 who entirely failed with grade F in the biology test which used English medium, they all passed with grade C (two grade levels better) in the biology test which used Kiswahili medium. It can also be noted that some of the students who failed in the English medium test, in Kiswahili medium test they scored more than twice the marks they obtained in the English medium test. For example, student V7 who scored 25% in English medium test, scored 58% in the Kiswahili medium test; student W6 who scored 18% in the English medium subject, scored 48% in the Kiswahili medium test; and student Z4 who scored 15% in the English medium test, scored 35% in the Kiswahili medium test (see Figure 7.7 and 7.8). This corroborates the findings of Alidou (2003), World Bank (2005), Baker (2006), Shohamy (2006) Save the Children (2009) and Wolff (2011) who indicate that the use of non-mother in education leads to a major problem in the sense that students underachieve.

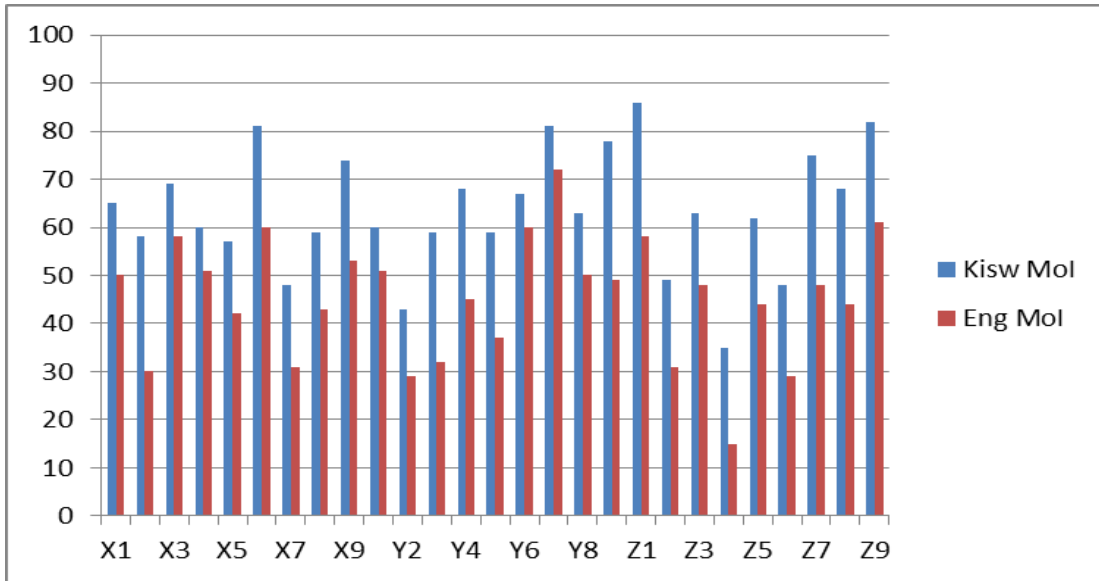


Figure 7.8 Students' performance in biology test in Kisw Mol and in Eng Mol

Data analysis further confirms that there is a huge scoring margin between the biology test that used English as medium against the one that used Kiswahili as medium. As it can be noted, the scoring margin of the two tests for student U1 is 35 marks, for student U2 it is 40 marks, for student V7, 33 marks, for student W6, 30 marks, for student X2, 28 marks, for student Y3, 27 marks, for student Y9, 29 marks, for student Z1, 28 marks, and for student Z7 it is 27 marks. However, for a few students the scoring margin is a little bit narrow. For example, the scoring margin for student Y7 it is 9 marks, for student X4, 9 marks, for student Y1, 9 marks, and the least scoring margin is 7 marks which was for student Y6 (see Figure 7.7, Figure 7.8).

Regarding these results, the crucial point is that the quality of pass was considerably higher when Kiswahili was used as a language of learning and teaching compared to when English was used as a language of learning and teaching.

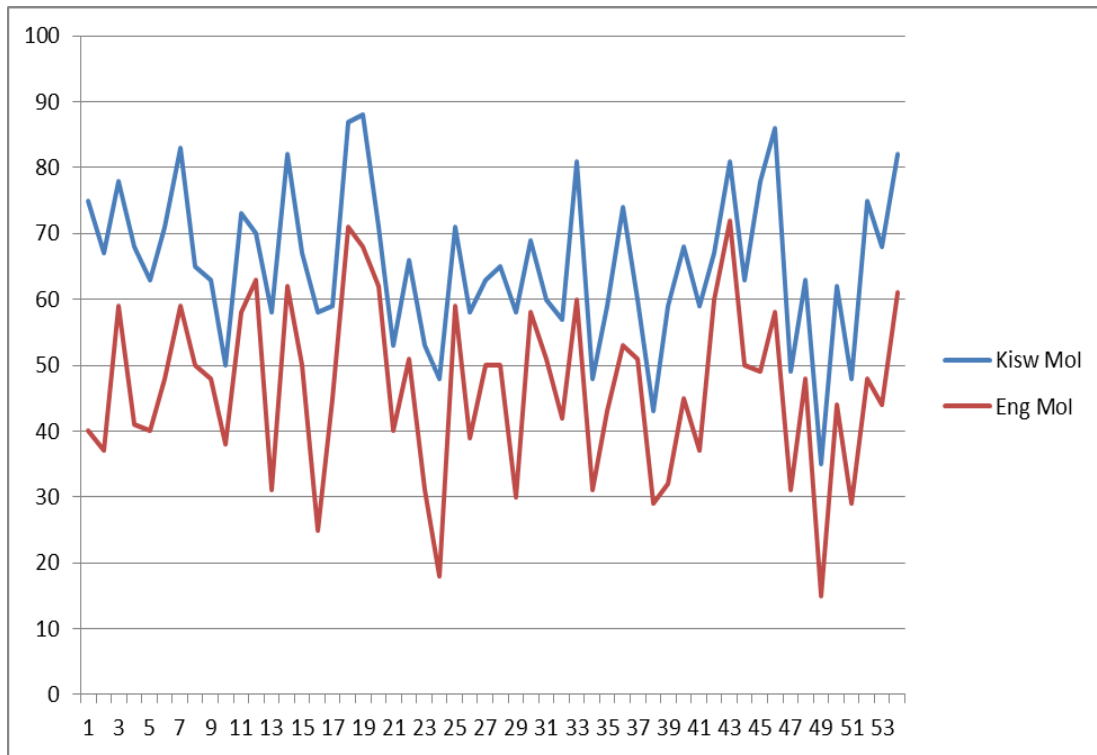


Figure 7.9 Scoring margin between biology test that used Kisw Mol and Eng Mol

On a closer examination of Figure 7.9 it can be noted that the curve which represents scores of biology test that used Kiswahili medium is higher at every point for 54 students. Conversely, the curve which represents the scores of the biology test that used English medium is lower at every point for 54 students. These results confirm qualitative data which were the results from both teachers' and students' interviews as well as focus group discussions presented and discussed in Chapters 5 and 6 which indicate that the use of English as language of learning and teaching is a responsible factor for underachievement for most students. These results also confirm the qualitative data presented and discussed in Chapters 5 and 6 which shows that the use of Kiswahili as a language of learning and teaching is suitable for both arts and science subjects. It can be noted in Figures 7.8, 7.9 and 7.10 that students performed much better in the biology test (science subject) which was assessed in Kiswahili compared to the same test which was assessed in English. These findings are contrary to the claim made by various authors such as Wright (2002) that African languages are not suitable for medium of instruction purpose in secondary schools.

7.9 Summary of the discussion of research question five

This chapter has presented quantitative data and provided detailed analysis and interpretation in order to compare students' pass rates when a subject is taught and assessed in English as opposed to being assessed in Kiswahili to the same students. The results show that students' pass rates were always higher when Kiswahili was used as a language of learning and teaching and when subsequently assessed in Kiswahili rather than when English was used.

7.10 Conclusion

This chapter has presented, analysed and discussed data which answers research question five as explicated at the beginning of the chapter. The data indicates that the pass rate of both individual students and a class as a whole seemed to be considerably higher when Kiswahili was used as a language of teaching and learning compared to when English was used as a language of teaching and learning. This supports Save the Children's (2009:vii) findings that "a major cause of education failure for many children is the use, in school, of a language that children are not familiar with". In the present study students' achievements vary with a wide margin when Kiswahili was used as a language of teaching and learning compared to when English was used as a language of teaching and learning. These findings seem to suggest the choice of use of Kiswahili as a language of learning and teaching since students were able to effectively engage with the curriculum and subsequently performed well in their examinations. This also supports the findings from the previous research that students underachieve when unfamiliar language is used as the language of instruction whereas the use of mother tongue must be seen as a resource in the provision of education as supported by Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir (2003), Alexander (2007), Wolff (2011), Brock-Utne, (2012) and Babaci-Wilhite (2012), among others.

The quantitative data presented, analysed, and discussed in this chapter were collected from a large sampling. These data have attested to the data presented, analysed and discussed in Chapters 5 and 6. The statistical data supports the notion that the use of English as a language of learning and teaching is a problem and consequently leads to students' underachievement on the one hand. On the other hand, the use of Kiswahili as

a language of learning and teaching is a source which facilitates learning and cognition and subsequently students' achievement.

The chapter that follows provides some general conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSIONS, LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 Introduction

The present study sought to explore the relationship between an English-only language-in-education policy and bilingual practice in secondary schools in Zanzibar. Chapters 5, 6, and 7 of this thesis have presented and discussed data related to the objectives of the study and subsequently attempted to answer the research questions. This last chapter of the thesis provides a summary of the findings of the present study in Section 8.2, followed by limitations of the study in Section 8.3. Section 8.4 provides recommendations for language-in-education policy and planning as well as teaching and learning. Recommendations for further research are also provided in Section 8.5. Thereafter, Section 8.6 serves as a general conclusion.

8.2 Summary of the findings

Chapters 5 presented and discussed the data which relate to objectives one and two, Chapter 6 presented and discussed data which related to objectives three and four, and Chapter 7 presented and discussed data which related to objective five. For easy reference, the objectives of the study are revisited below.

Objectives of the study

- i. to explore teachers' and students' perspectives on the main variances between policy stipulations concerning the official language of instruction and actual practices.
- ii. to explore the extent to which Kiswahili is used in English medium subjects and the extent to which that bilingual practice facilitates students' learning and cognition.
- iii. to address tensions, contradictions and challenges which the teachers and the students experience with regard to language use in the classroom.
- iv. to investigate the extent to which Kiswahili is suitable to be used as a sole language of learning and teaching in secondary schools in Zanzibar.

- v. to examine the difference in terms of pass rate when a particular subject was taught and assessed in English and when the same subject was taught and assessed in Kiswahili.

8.2.1 Perceptions on the major discrepancy between official language of instruction and practice

The present study reveals an array of teachers' and students' perceptions on the major discrepancy between an official language of instruction and practice. Both teachers and students believed that students' inadaptability to the abrupt switch of the language of learning and teaching leads to the inconsistency between policy and practice. Likewise, some teachers' lack of capacity of using English throughout the lesson contributes to the tension between policy and practice as does the use of bilingual English and Kiswahili as a scaffolding tool. Lastly, the Zanzibari community is monolingual Kiswahili, thus culture influences teachers and students to unconsciously switch to Kiswahili when they try to speak English and consequently this leads to further tensions between policy and practice.

8.2.2 Bilingualism as a Resource in English Medium Subjects

The present study indicates that bilingual (Kiswahili and English) in English medium subjects is a resource rather than presenting a deficit. Both teachers and students frequently used Kiswahili in English medium subjects. In thirty four out of forty two observations made, teachers used Kiswahili alongside English to a large extent. Added to that, when students used English only, they merely used one word, a phrase, or a simple sentence. All explanations and discussions were in Kiswahili only or Kiswahili alongside English. Furthermore, teachers pointed out that the extent of using Kiswahili varies due to a number of factors: when teaching abstract ideas Kiswahili is used more frequently compared to when teaching concrete concepts. Also, when teaching unfamiliar concepts Kiswahili is used more frequently. Furthermore, the type of method of teaching determines the extent of using Kiswahili in English medium subjects. Students' level of English proficiency, teachers and students personality, and pressure from authority also influence the extent of using Kiswahili in English medium subjects.

Kiswahili only and bilingual Kiswahili and English were likewise found to be a resource in teaching vocabulary and terminologies as well as for clarification of ideas. Finally, Kiswahili and bilingualism was proven as a resource for comprehension checking as it was not easy if not impossible to do that by using English only.

8.2.3 Tensions, Contradictions, and Challenges of language use in the classroom

Most tensions, contradictions and challenges which teachers experience in language use in English medium subjects are shared with students. The notion that examinations and tests do not assess what is intended to assess was one among the major tension, contradiction and challenge which teachers and students faced. They both claimed that these assessment tools are not valid as they assess English proficiency rather than subject matter of the target subjects. Policy intention versus implementation was another challenge experienced by teachers. It was evident from the observations made that sometimes teacher unconsciously misled students due failure to use English well. Furthermore, teachers experienced severe tension as they were condemned by their head teachers and inspectorates because they used Kiswahili in English medium subjects. This was the result of misconception that strict use of an English-only policy helped students' acquisition of English. Closely related to that, failure to distinguish between English proficiency and competent teaching added the tension.

8.2.4 Suitability of using Kiswahili as a sole Language of Learning and Teaching in Secondary Schools

In contradiction with a number of studies which claim that African languages are not suitable for education especially at secondary and tertiary level, the present study reveals that Kiswahili is suitable to be used as a sole language of learning and teaching in secondary schools in Zanzibar. Respondents gave compelling evidence to support their claim as follows: First, Kiswahili has a large number of terminologies for teaching arts and science subjects. Added to this, analysis of Kiswahili terminologies which were used in science subjects were appropriate in that they comply with the theory, principle and methodology of terminology formation, Likewise, they claimed that like other languages, Kiswahili can form more terminologies when there is a need. Second, there is literature published in Kiswahili especially for primary schools. Interviewees argued that more literature would be published in Kiswahili once this language was given the

status of being a language of learning and teaching in secondary schools. Third, Kiswahili is a standardized language for more than seventy years. The last argument was that Zanzibar is a monolingual island, thus using Kiswahili as a language of learning and teaching would be beneficial to all students.

8.2.5 Students' pass rate for subjects taught and assessed in English versus the subjects taught and assessed in Kiswahili

Empirical evidence shows that when students were taught and assessed in Kiswahili they performed considerably better compared to when the same subject was taught and assessed in English to the same students. Seventy Form 4 students who studied Islamic knowledge in Kiswahili and were assessed in Kiswahili produced the average marks (mean) of 51.086% whereas the same students in Form 6 who were taught and assessed Islamic knowledge in English produced a mean of 36.321% in the national examination. Similarly, fifty four students who were taught a given topic of biology in Kiswahili and wrote a test in Kiswahili performed considerably better compared to the performance of the same students when they were taught the same topic in English and assessed in English. The score mean of the test administered in Kiswahili was 65.056% whereas the mean for the test administered in English was 46.759%. Thus, it is evident that there is inextricable connection between language of learning and teaching and students' achievements.

8.3 Limitations of the Study

There was likelihood of respondents (students) to try to give the answers which might please the researcher. The researcher then followed these interviews with focus group discussions with students who were familiar with the researcher and others who were not familiar with the researcher. The use of multiple data collection instruments helped to address that problem. The use of these tactics assured the researcher that the students were honest and none of them was giving answers for the sake of pleasing the researcher.

Second, some respondents refused to be audio recorded during the interviews and focus group discussions. The researcher tried hard to take notes during the interviews and focus group discussions. To assure that the researcher recorded answers and discussion

correctly in his field notes, the transcripts of interviews and focus group discussions were sent back to the respondents to check clarity of their answers and to make changes where required. The above tactics were used to address limitations and to ensure that the findings of the present study are not the intuitions of the researcher as explained by Crooks (1986, cited in Ansary & Babii, 2004).

8.4 Recommendations for language-in-education policy and planning, and teaching and learning

The recommendations of the present study basically focus on the policy amendments that have to be made so as to bring an enabling situation for teachers and students to effectively implement language-in-education policy and enhance students learning and cognition. The recommendations are presented in the subsequent subsections.

8.4.1 Language-in-education policy and planning

Due to the limited English proficiency of teachers and students it is recommended that the use Kiswahili in English medium subjects (bilingual) in the form of code switching be accepted, and the use of translation must officially be recognized. The findings presented and discussed in Chapters 5, 6, and 7 indicate that the value of Kiswahili use in English medium subjects confirms the urgency of the need for changes of the language-in-education policy. As the findings reveal, the existing policy encourages students' passivity in the classroom and consequently impedes learning.

The education policy of Tanzania and Zanzibar is guided by the philosophy of Education for Self Reliance which emphasises meaningful learning in that it puts a focus on shaping students' creativity and analysis of issues. To achieve this, education language policy must be changed by officially using Kiswahili as language of learning and teaching. Likewise, as indicated in Chapter 1, the vision 2025 states that the curriculum should focus on creativity, problem solving and exposing students with science and technology. To achieve this study recommends that Kiswahili should be used as a language of learning and teaching. As Wright (2002:6) emphasises, the value of the right language in education is similar to “a fish trying to express the value of water”.

Based on the strong empirical-based evidence shown in Chapters 5, 6, and 7, the researcher recommends the frequent use of Kiswahili and codeswitching in English medium subjects. This should be a transition to the use of Kiswahili as a language of learning and teaching in secondary schools in Zanzibar. The change of the policy will allow democratic society in the classroom where every student will be able to participate in discussion. The change of language of learning and teaching from English to Kiswahili, to borrow Baker's, (2006:386) words is realistic rather than idealistic since all children speak Kiswahili as their mother tongue and the resources of that language will benefit all students.

The present study shows students experience learning problem and consequently they underachieve because of using English as a language of learning and teaching. Along the same lines the findings of the previous studies show that the longer the period a child learns through mother tongue the greater the chance of success in his / her current and future study (Cummins, 2001; Heugh, 2011). The researcher of the present study claims that these findings are both timely and crucial in terms of providing a recommendation that the use of English as a language of learning and teaching for science, geography, mathematics, and Information and Communication Technology from Standard 5 in primary schools in Zanzibar should be changed to Kiswahili. Clay (1998:28) makes the following point:

Children need to ask the questions, explain things to other children, and negotiate meanings between themselves and other children, and between themselves and adults, they need to continue their oral language development during school years to expand their vocabulary and their control over the structures of language.

8.4.2 Language use in Assessment

The use of Kiswahili in English medium subjects (bilingual) has proven fruitful in enhancing students' learning and cognition. In order to make assessment tools valid, the use of Kiswahili in English medium subjects should be extended to the writing of tests and examinations. Thus, students should be given options of using Kiswahili or English. It was found in Chapters 5, 6, and 7 that students grasped the knowledge of what they learned but since English acted as a gatekeeper, they failed to demonstrate their

learning. The study therefore recommends that there should be a change of the “one-size-fits-all” approach in that students should be given options to choose the language they could use in the examinations. This would help to break away from students’ rote learning style and examination-focus teaching by teachers using English.

8.4.3 Teaching and Learning Approach / Pedagogical Effectiveness

The curriculum issued by the Tanzania Institute of Education (2010) aims at shaping the learners to be creative and innovative by engaging them in problem-solving (see Chapter 1). To achieve this, pedagogical consideration is required in that a learner-centred approach is required rather than a teacher-centred one. Kiswahili must be used in order to engage learners in activities (see Chapter 5 for detailed discussion). While the current language-in-education policy instructs the use of English only, teachers should violate that policy for the sake of using recommended teaching methods such as problem-solving and collaborative learning. Studies show that an English-only language-in-education policy entertains teacher frontal pedagogical strategies. These approaches hinder problem-solving methods and others which lead to students’ interaction. As Malone (2003:344) argues “current trends in formal education towards learner-centred and activity-based methodologies require language of instruction that children speak and understand”. The strict use of an English only approach in the classroom brings students’ passivity and consequently the teacher-centred approach dominates. The present study therefore recommends the use of Kiswahili in English medium subjects in order to create a conducive environment for problem-solving and activity-based teaching.

8.4.4 English Language Teaching

The findings of the present study support the earlier research that mother tongue is the best for effective learning (UNESCO, 2003; Alexander, 2003b; 2004; 2011; Kamwangamalu, 2009).

The importance or hegemony of English should not marginalize Kiswahili from being used in learning and teaching. It is a misconception that the use of English as a language of learning and teaching helps improve the learning of English. As the secondary school

curriculum has an intention to improve the standard of English of the students the Ministry of Education should invest resources for better teaching of that subject instead of expecting that students would learn English through using it as the language of learning and teaching. English should be learned as a subject on its own right. As indicated in many parts of this thesis, mother tongue is crucial in learning second or foreign language. Hence, the use of Kiswahili in English lessons is crucial, as Aurbach (1996:15) asserts “knowledge of learners’ first language should be considered as important teaching qualification”. In this case, Kiswahili will assist with learning English.

8.4.5 English medium and Kiswahili medium secondary schools

The recommendation is the establishment of Kiswahili medium schools at secondary level. This was suggested by students and some teachers during the interviews and focus group discussions i.e. that there should be both English and Kiswahili medium schools at secondary level.

The introduction of Kiswahili medium secondary schools will remove what Webb and Kembo-Sure (2000) called “restriction to the access to education to many students”. This kind of school may also assist to improve the quality of education as UNESCO (2005:160) delineates “the choice of language of instruction and language policy in schools is critical to effective learning”.

8.5 Recommendations for Further Studies

Throughout the classroom observations, interviews and focus group discussions with teachers and students the use of Kiswahili or bilingual Kiswahili and English was found as an important pedagogical strategy in English medium subjects. In this regard, therefore further research is needed in order to know if teacher education colleges and universities in Zanzibar recognize that bilingualism in the classroom as a strategy and if they equip their trainees with the efficient use of that bilingual strategy. As Ferguson (2009) argues, the use of code-switching in the classroom where second or foreign language is the language of learning and teaching is an important strategy and therefore teachers need to be trained on how to employ that strategy.

The issue of terminology formation was raised during the interviews and focus group discussions. There was concern that a number of new terminologies were first seen in the books for use without being disseminated first. Thus, a second promising area of investigation would be whether new terminologies are disseminated and the effectiveness of the means of disseminating the new terminologies to the users especially in Zanzibar. Third, closely linked with the second, terminologies especially in science subjects often do not exactly fit the concepts they represent and was another issue raised during the present study. It was hypothesised that sometimes linguists did not involve experts of that specific discipline. The importance of terminology to be “concept based rather than word based” is underscored by Batibo (2010:15). Hence, further research is needed to explore the process of terminology formation in the Zanzibar Kiswahili Council and the National Kiswahili Council of Tanzania.

8.6 Conclusion

In terms of suitability of using Kiswahili as a sole language of learning and teaching in secondary schools in Zanzibar, the present study sheds new light on that debate. It was repeatedly shown in the interviews and focus group discussions that once Kiswahili is given the status of language of learning and teaching it can positively serve that purpose. Although the use of mother tongue in the context where second or foreign language is the language of learning and teaching was regarded as deficient by some, in the present study it was learned that the official recognition of the use of Kiswahili in English medium subjects would remove tensions, contradictions, and challenges which teachers and students experience with language use in the classroom. This would help achieve the secondary school curriculum objectives and subsequently the implementation of Education for Self Reliance which is the ideology of the country.

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APPENDIX 1

Transcript for classroom observation, Physics

Class: Form 4

Date: 11th September, 2013

Note: T stands for teacher; S stands for student or students; Words in italic and enclosed in square brackets were spoken in Kiswahili.

T: Our topic today is 'six simple fundamental machines'. [*First of all, who can tell us what is machine?*]

S: [*Machine is a device which simplifies the work; this device uses petrol, diesel, or electricity*].

T: Do you mean [*there is no machine which doesn't use petrol, diesel or electricity?*]

S: No, [*machine must use electricity or diesel or petrol*].

T: There are some machines which don't use electricity or petrol or diesel. [*They simply use hands or other parts of the body to operate*].

S: [*What kind of machine is that?*]

T: OK, there are only six simple fundamental machines. [*All machines no matter how big they are, no matter how expensive they are, they are formed by combination of six simple machines.*]

S: [*Even if they are complicated?*]

T: [*No matter complicated they are, they are formed by combination of lever, wheel and axle, pulley, inclined plane, screw, and wedge. Have you understood?*]

S: [*Yes, ... but every machine must have all these six simple fundamental machines?*]

T: No, [*not necessarily*], ... OK, [*inclined plane is a flat surface which is one side lower and one side higher*]. This simplifies the movement of things. Take an example of [*the ball which is on the hill, if someone leaves it, it will roll down the hill*]. Have you understood?

S: Yes, ... [*the hill is an example of inclined*].

T: [*Screw is similar to inclined plane which is wound around the stick. Look this example of screw*].

S: Yes, [*we have seen*].

T: [*Wedges ... simple machines which is used to break or split things, for example hammer, look at this diagram. Who mostly use this machine?*]

S: [*Carpenter and mechanics*].

T: OK, now let's continue with lever. Let's start with first class lever. [*A good and common examples of first class lever are pliers, scissors, and seesaw*]. Have you understood?

S: Yes, we have understood the examples.

T: Now, ... second class lever. [*A good and common examples of second class lever are bottle openers, wheel barrows, and others*]. Can you give me more examples?

S: [*No, we don't have any example*].

T: OK, third class lever. Good and common examples of third class lever. [*Good examples of third class lever are shovel and arm hammer*], ... can you give me more examples?

S: No, [*we don't have any example*].

T: Pulley is another type of simple machine. [*Pulley must have a rope or belt in order to work. Take an example of people from the village who get water from the well. They use pulley and rope and a small bucket. The bucket is tied with rope at one ends. When the bucket is full of water the rope is pulled through the pulley*]. Have you understood?

S: Yes, we have understood.

T: OK, now let's focus on calculation.

S: [*Calculation!*]

T: [*Inclined plane mechanical advantage is equal to length of slope divided by inclined plane height. If the length of slope is 15 cm and inclined plane height is 5 cm. Therefore Mechanical advantage = $15/5 = 3$ cm*]

S: Yes, [*not difficult*]...

T: OK, open your exercise book and then [*copy the diagrams on the blackboard and then do the exercise written on the black board*]. Are you OK.

S: [*Yes, we are going to do*] ...

APPENDIX 2

Transcript for classroom observation, Geography I

Class: Form 4

Date: 5th August, 2013

Subject: Geography

Note: T stands for the teacher; S stands for a student or students;

T: We are going to a new topic today, this is erosion. Please listen ...[*when you observe the trees like coconut trees which are very near to the sea ... what is the condition of those trees. Do they look strong?*]

S: [*We don't think so ... the trees which are near to the sea usually their roots become out ... not covered by sand or soil.*]

T: [*Why the roots are not covered by soil?*]

S: Because of water ... [*water from the sea take off soil and the roots of the tree become out.*]

T: Very good. Today's lesson is very simple. The things which you have explained is what is called erosion ... soil erosion. [*Erosion means wearing off the land surface ... soil by water for example rain, sea water or by wind and removing soil from one place to another. Have you understood?*]

S: [*Yes, like we have said, sea water wear away soil from under the tree to the sea or beach.*]

T: [*Good. Soil erosion can occur through three steps. The first one is detachment. This is the action of removing particles from the soil by the effect of the energy of wind or rain. Rain and wind have energy so the energy removes soil particles. Have you understood?*]

S: Yes, [*true ... wind also removes soil.*]

T: The second is [*transport ... this is the carrying of particles of soil in the water or wind. Have you understood?*]

S: *[No, ... the first one and the second one sound the same.]*

T: *[OK, I will explain later. When I explain the third one it will be easier to understand the second one. The third one is known as deposition. This action keeps sediment due to energy from wind and water. When the wind blows with high speed ... I mean strong wind on the area of dry soil which is not covered for example by grass ... wind erosion occurs. This is a big problem in the world especially in the places where the soil is not protected. ... when water moves for example down the hill, it removes soil and this is water erosion. Have you understood?]*

S: *[Yes, but we can't give many examples of wind erosion like examples of erosion which is caused by water. Much sand is removed from one place to another during the rain but we can't see much sand moved from place to another when it is windy.]*

T: Yes, in our country *[water has more effort for erosion than wind.]* Any question?

S: *[When people sweep the front of their ground they remove top soil from one place to another ... is that the example of soil erosion?]*

T: Yes, this is an example of soil erosion. *[Human activities can cause soil erosion ... you will learn this in our next lesson.]*

S: OK, ... *[even building and farming.]*

T: Very good examples. Now let's look types of water and wind erosion.

S: Wind and water are types of erosion ... *[and there are some other types of water and soil erosion?]*

T: Types of water erosion are sheet erosion, rill erosion, splash erosion and gully erosion. And types of wind erosion are soil creep, saltation, and suspension.

S: That means there are four types of water erosion and three types of wind erosion?

T: Yes, but I will explain them *[in our next period]*.

APPENDIX 3

Transcript for classroom observation, Geography II

Class: Form 4

Date: 17th September, 2013

Subject: Geography

Note: S stands for student or students; T stands for teacher, words in italic and enclosed in square brackets were spoken in Kiswahili.

T: We are going to learn about [*how to prevent or to stop soil erosion*]. Who can tell us what is soil erosion?

S: [*Soil erosion is the wearing away of top soil*].

T: In English

S: Soil erosion is wearing away of soil by rain, water or wind.

T: Good. There are different ways which people can use to prevent or stop soil erosion. The first one is planting grass to cover the land. Have you understood?

S: No.

T: If the ground is covered by grass, the wind or running off of water can't erode the soil because the wind or water doesn't reach the soil. They only reach the grass. Have you understood?

S: [*not much*]

T: The second method is to cover soil by stones or rock to cover soil by stones or rock . Even if there is a slope, the soil which is covered by stone can't be taken away from one place to another. Or if the soil is covered by husk neither water no wind can take the soil away. Any question?

S: No question.

T: The third method is to build proper drainage system for collecting water to build proper drainage system for collecting water. For example [*instead of water running off randomly*] they should be control to run in gutter or pipe in gutter or pipe. Here water will run safely to the hole or pit without damaging soil. If there is no such system water will take top soil away. Are you clear?

S: [*Yes, but how about the play ground*]?

T: Ask in English. Another method is raising awareness to people of different ages from children to adults. I mean the whole population should be educated on how to stop soil erosion. Are you clear?

S: Not clear. [*Can you give us example?*]

T: [*I mean people should be given education on how to stop or prevent soil erosion*]. Another method is building fence or wall [*building fence or wall*]to prevent water example from the sea or any source, it also prevents even wind not to sweep soil or sand. For example, building fence around the sea or lake and river.

S: Sea water can break the wall.

T: [*If is built strong*] it can function for many years. Have you understood?

S: Yes [but not very clear]

T: [*OK, I've explained different methods which we can use to stop or prevent soil erosion. The first one is planting grass or vegetable. If you plant grass neither wind nor water can sweep the soil away. Are you clear?*]

S: Yes. [*it is clear*].

T:[*Another method which I've explained is to cover soil by using things such as husks or stones. These things block the wind or water to sweep soil. Are you clear*]

S: Yes. [*very much*].

T: [*Another method is to build adequate drainage stytem. This helps water to pass through particular path which do not affect soil. Are you clear?*]

S: [*Yes, but how can we build drainage system all over the place?*]

T: [*This can be done in the most affected. OK, ... another method is to educate people on how to prevent soil erosion. Have you understood?*]

S: Yes, [*we have understood*].

T: [*Another method which I've explained is building fance or wall in order to prevent water and sometimes even wind*]. [*Any questions?*]

S: [*Yes, I've a question. Farmers are advised to weed their farms or garden that means they remove grass on the top soil. Do they cause erosion?*]

T: [*If they through the grass away they may cause erosion. But they are advise to leave grass on their farms in order to increase fertility and also to prevent erosion.*]

S: [*Now I've understood.*]

T: [*OK, now write down some notes in your books.*].

APPENDIX 4

Transcript for classroom observation, Mathematics I

Class: Form Two

Date: 27th August, 2013

Mathematics lesson

Note: T stands for teacher; S stands for a student or students

T: Our topic today is perpendicular line... [*but let's just remind ourselves*] what did we learn in our last period?

S: Straight lines.

T: Straight line. What do you understand ... a straight line?

S: [*A line with continues without bending or making a curve*].

T: Very good. After straight lines [*what else did we learn?*]

S: Parallel lines.

T: Very good ... what are parallel lines?

S: [*These are lines which are in the same direction and they are always the same distance apart in all points ... they never touch each other.*]

T: Very good. [*Now who can draw parallel lines?*]

S: [*Let me try*].

T: [*Well done. Let's now see perpendicular lines... . Look at these two lines, ... are they parallel?*]

S: No. [*they meet somewhere*]

T: Why?

S: *[Because they are not in the same direction... also there is a point where they meet.]*

T: *[Very good. Yes, these line meet at one point. Who can come and measure the angles they form at the point where they meet?]*

S: *[each angle is 90 degrees.]*

T: *[Very good. Perpendicular lines are lines in which the point where they meet they form 90 degrees. Let's look our lines. Line AB is perpendicular to line CD because the point they meet they form right angles, that is 90 degrees. Here ... there are four right angles ... that mean each of these four angles has 90 degrees... Have you understood?]*

S: Yes.

T: *[Let's see how to draw perpendicular lines. But let's consider two characteristics of perpendicular lines. First, the lines must meet. Second, the points where the lines meet must form right angles, that is 90 degree. OK ... now let's follow the steps for construction perpendicular lines. First, ... draw a straight line, let's call it PQ, but you can call it by any name. Second, draw a circle with R at centre to create points P' and Q' on the line PQ which equal distance from R. Third, draw circles centre at P' and Q' that have equal radius. Make X and Y be the meeting points of these two circles. Four,... connect X and Y to make the required perpendicular line. ... OK, have you followed all the steps?]*

S: Yes. *[we think we can do ourselves]*

T: Now, please sit in your groups ... *[each group has to draw perpendicular lines on a sheet of paper.]*

APPENDIX 5

Transcript for classroom observation, Mathematics II

Class: Form Two

Date: 28th August, 2013

Note: T stands for teacher; S stands for student or students; words witten in italic and enclosed in square brackets were spoken in Kiswahili.

T: Today I am going to teach how to make an element in a given formula or equation as a subject. ... but before that let's start with revision of sign rules which you learn in Form 1.

S: We learned [*but we have forgotten*].

T: OK. ... plus times plus we get plus, $+2 \times (+4) = 8$. Now look this one $5 \times 8 = 40$, remember if the number is not preceded by negative sign this number becomes positive but there is no need to write it. For example five times eight means plus five times plus eight equal to 40. Are you clear?

S: [*teacher if I borrow 3 books and then I borrow 2 books how many books will I have?*]

T: This is another case. If you borrow let say three books this means -3 and you borrow another two books this means -2 you will have borrowed five books which means -5.

S: [*We need more examples*]

T: If you borrow 5,000 shillings this is -5,000; and then you return 3,000 shillings this means [*+3,000 shillings now you will have borrowed -2,000 shillings. Mathematically means $-5000+3000 = -2000$*]. Have you understood?

S: [*Just little*] can you repeat?

T: Ali please go [*and borrow two books from Moza*], to borrow [*means minus*]. This is means -2, and then go and borrow 3 books which means -3. So you will have borrowed five books altogether which means -5. Are you clear?

S: Yes, [*we have got idea. but why minus times minus you get plus?*]

T: You have just to know when you multiply two numbers and both have minus your answer will be plus. For example, minus five times minus seven is equal to 35.

S: [*It is difficult to understand*].

T: The rules are when you multiply two negative numbers the answer is positive; and when you multiply one negative number with one positive number the answer is negative number.

S: OK, [*this is just a rule*].

T: Now let's see how to make an element as a subject of the formula or equation. If you have this equation for example, $3 + x = 6$ and you want to make 'x' as a subject; you remove 3 to other side of equal sign, but remember +3 will change to -3. Therefore you will have $x = 6 - 3$; $x = 3$. Have you understood?

S: No, we need more examples.

T: OK, let's take this equation now. $y - 4 = 12$, we move minus four to other side of the equation [*so we will have $y = 12 + 4$, remember here 4 had minus sign so when we moved it to other side of minus sign it changed to plus 4*]. Therefore $y = 12 + 4 = 16$. Have you understood?

S: Yes, somehow.

T: OK, now Farid solve this problem $3 + z = 9$.

S: [*We move 3 to other side of the equal sign, so it changes instead of plus it will be minus 3*]. $3 + z = 9$; $z = 9 - 3 = 6$.

T: Is it correct?

S: Yes, it is correct.

T: Let's look this problem, $5 + q - 3 = 10$, here also we do the same. We move all numbers to other side of equal sign, remember their signs will change, it will be

$q = 10 - 5 + 3$; $q = 8$. Please note, [*- 5 changed to + 5; and +3 changed to - 3*]. Are you clear?

S: Yes, [*if you give us problems like the one you have done we can do*].

T: OK, now let's look this equation, $2x = 8$, remember, $2x$ means $2 \times x$. [*If the number is multiplied to move it to other side of the equal sign, multiplication will change to division*]. So it will be $2x = 8$, $x = 8/2 = 4$. Have you understood?

S: More examples.

T: $5y + 2 = 22$, here first let's remove + 2, so we will have $5y = 22 - 2$; $5y = 20$; now let's move 5 to other side of equal sign. Here 5 is multiplied so when we move to other side of equal sign it will be divided. $y = 20/5$; so $y = 4$. Have you understood?

S: [*We can try*].

T: Now look another example; $x/4 = 20$, here [*we have to remove 4, because it is divided when we remove to the other side of equal sign it will be multiplied*] ... so it will be

$x = 20 \times 4$; $x = 80$. Are you clear?

S: Yes, we can try.

T: Who can try to solve this problem? $5 + 4t = 17$

S: OK, I will try; [*we remove 5 to other side of equal sign so it will be -5 so $4t = 17 - 5$; then we move 4 to other side of equal sign, so 4 will be divided*]; $t = 12/4$; $t = 3$.

T: Now copy down this exercise and then do it in your homework book.

S: Thank you.

APPENDIX 6

Transcript for Focus group discussion with students

Name: Group One

Class: Form Two

<i>Planned question</i>	<i>Additional question</i>	<i>Answer in short form</i>	<i>Themes emerged</i>
What is your knowledge MoI policy in Zanzibar schools? (Primary and Secondary)		- Kiswahili is used for primary schools and English for secondary schools.	
Are you happy with An English-only language in Education policy? Why?		- In one side yes, but for one side no. when only English is used we're not happy because sometimes we don't understand. When English is used with Kiswahili we are happy because we understand well.	
	What if only Kiswahili is used?	- We will be happy because we will understand easily and quickly but the problem will be in our tests and examinations as we must use English only. If only Kiswahili will be used for teaching and learning, and for examination our education will not recognized outside and therefore it will be very difficult to study overseas and even to get a job in international organizations.	
What problems you face in an English-only language in education policy?		- Sometimes it is difficult to understand the lessons; we understand when Kiswahili is used to explain some concepts and ideas. Also we have	

		<p>problems about writing as only English must be used.</p> <p>- Another problem, we sometimes cant explain our ideas.</p>	
<p>What should be done to overcome those problems?</p>		<p>- To overcome the problem of understanding lessons, Kiswahili must be used for teaching and learning. The more Kiswahili is used the more we understand very well. Because to be able to speak English doesn't mean to know subject matter of a subject-e.g., students from Art Stream are better in English than we from Science Stream but the are very poor at math whereas we are very good at math.</p>	
<p>If you are given options which language would you prefer for teaching and learning? Why?</p>		<p>- For solid understanding of lessons we would prefer Kiswahili. But to go simultaneously with the world English is important. But English doesn't always help, lots of Zanzibar students who got scholarship Turkey don't use English, they use Turkish; and they study medicine and engineering. We should use both English and Kiswahili. But not English only because we cant speak English well even some of our teacher. We should better use Kiswanglish.</p>	
<p>Do you think Kiswahili is a suitable language for teaching all subjects in secondary schools? Why?</p>		<p>- Yes Kiswahili can fit to teach all subjects in secondary schools. When we revise our subjects together or when have discussion 95% of the language we use is Kiswahili and we understand everything,</p>	

		<p>we don't need to change every word. Even our Kiswahili has lots of English words such as bus-basi, coat-koti, school-skuli, etc.</p>	
<p>What are your perceptions of an English-only language in education policy?</p>		<p>- To be honest an English-only language in education policy cant successfully work alone, it must be supported by Kiswahili. A good example is when a visitor (Inspector) comes our teachers use only English not even little Kiswahili, in such lessons, teachers have to teach those lessons again. Because very few understand but majority don't understand. In short the good policy is the one that allow English and Kiswahili.</p>	

APPENDIX 7

Transcript for Focus group discussion with teachers

Name: Group One

Class: Form Two & Three

<i>Planned question</i>	<i>Additional question</i>	<i>Answer in short form</i>	<i>Themes emerged</i>
What is your knowledge about the language of instruction policy in Zanzibar sec. schools?		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The policy instructs the use English as MoI; should be use throughout the lessons. 	
Do you strictly comply with an English-only Language in educational policy? Give reasons.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - We don't usually comply with this policy. Reasons: - Students wont understand well - We cant explain concepts and clearly. - It is time consuming to explain things for language that teachers and students don't understand. - It makes students to hate teachers and subjects as they feel bored. 	
What problems do you face in the implementation of this policy?		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Many students understand only when only Kiswahili is used or English and Kiswahili are used concurrently. - Many students feel shy to answer question in English. - We sometimes fail to explain concepts detailed and thoroughly. - Students understand the lesson as English and Kiswahili are used 	

		<p>concurrently but in writing where only English is used students fail to explain ideas they know.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Conflicts between teachers and inspectors when Kiswahili is used in the classroom. 	
	<p>Why the inspectors insist on the use of English whereas they know students don't understand?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - They blame us because we don't comply with policy. - They insist whatever the case only English should be used. - They don't carry the burden of teaching by using the language which students sometimes even teachers don't understand. - They are the blind followers of the rules. 	
<p>What are consequences of using an English-only policy?</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To most teachers this makes the policy to remain on paper only. - It weakens students understanding. - It creates classes for those who can afford to attend private English tuition and who cant. - It leads students' failure. - Wrong way of assessment. Students know contents but they fail because of English. - Some students hate English medium subjects. - To underestimate teachers whose English proficiency is poor. 	
<p>In your opinions what</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Because we don't have enough 	

<p>should be done overcome these problems?</p>		<p>qualified English teachers who can shape our students with good English proficiency, Kiswahili should be the medium of instruction.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - If English remains the medium of instruction it should used concurrently used with Kiswahili. - Children learn better using Kiswahili in secondary. - If Kiswahili is not destroyed by adding unnecessary words from tribal language of Mainland Tanzania. It is a good language of instruction for secondary schools. 	
<p>Do you think Kiswahili suits the medium of instruction role for all subjects in sec schools?</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Yes, Kiswahili can serve the medium of instruction for all subjects in sec schools. Yes, to large extent it does. <p>Reasons:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Kiswahili is used to explain everything, e.g., business, science, geology, space, politics, etc. everyday I listen to BBC broadcasted in Kiswahili and it talks and discuss about all these. - Kiswahili suits the MoI role because it is Mother tongue of all teachers and students of Zanzibar (we don't have and other language). - The alphabet of English is the 	

		<p>same as of Kiswahili, our books if are written in Kiswahili can be printed even in Europe of America (some books use Kiswahili language and printed in USA or Europe.</p>	
	<p>Do you think Kiswahili enough terminologies for Science subjects?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No language is self sufficient; every language borrows words from other languages. E.g. if you read many Science books or education books you will see some are taken from Greek or Latin languages. So Kiswahili will borrow from English or other language. - Yes and some English words with France origin takes even accent e.g. fiancé and café. - Of course Kiswahili doesn't have enough words for science but will borrow from English. It is not a problem, Kiswahili has borrowed many words from Arabic even most of our names are borrowed from Arabic. - As China produce qualified professional doctors who studies in Chinese and work everywhere even here in Zanzibar we have them, Zanzibaris can use Kiswahili in schools even university and produces professional people like 	

		doctors, etc. I think Kiswahili is an advanced language than Russia- why Russians can?	
Zanzibar is going to introduce English as MoI policy from std Five Primary school next year. What is your opinion on this matter?		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Because the children don't know English and there are no good teachers improve pupils English, situation is going to be worse. - Most primary school teachers are poor English proficiency so it likely for them to mislead children. - This can cause the increase of school dropouts as they'll hate schools. 	
What are your perceptions on an English-only language in education policy in Zanzibar secondary schools?		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - This policy undermines students thinking and as teachers and students don't understand it, consequence they cant be creative and innovative. - This policy contributes to the dropping down of standard of education as it influences rote learning (creaming) and copying in examinations and tests. - Under this policy, we believe that all examinations assess English language rather than the content. - If we want to develop lets use Kiswahili as a medium of instruction and learn English for effective communication. I don't ignore English, I believe it is the most important language in the 	

		<p>world but we have to teach for our language then students have to learn English for employment.</p> <p>- To use English as MoI is like to buy a car while you don't know how to drive, you don't have someone to teach you how to drive and you can't afford to hire someone to drive for you-you should buy a motor bike which you can ride yourself, so we should use Kiswahili which we can speak.</p> <p>- Using Kiswahili in teaching is beneficial to students as they understand the subject matter of the content subjects and for students who don't understand English using English is meaningless.</p>	
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APPENDIX 8

Transcript for Student's interview

Name: Alma

Class: Form Two

<i>Planned question</i>	<i>Additional question</i>	<i>Answer in short form</i>	<i>Themes emerged</i>
What do you know about the language of instruction policy of secondary schools in Zanzibar?		- English is the MoI for all subjects except Islamic knowledge, Arabic and Kiswahili language. Kiswahili and Islamic knowledge use Kiswahili as MoI and Arabic is taught by Arabic.	
	Do you learn Arabic by using Arabic only? Why?	- No, our teacher must use Kiswahili for elaboration otherwise it will be very difficult to understand. - Because Arabic isn't my language.	
Can you describe your level of English proficiency?		- It is neither good nor bad. Most of time I understand what the teacher says but I understand fully when little Kiswahili is used. - I'm not very confident in speaking because I lack some vocabulary.	
Are you happy to speak English during lessons?		- On the one hand, I'm not happy because I cant express some of my ideas or I feel pressure to ask questions or sharing ideas. On the other hand I'm happy to hear people speaking and I happily	

		practice. But to compare the two I'm happy with Kiswahili.	
What is your preference language of teaching and learning?	Why do you think it is important your certificate to show that you studied English medium?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - For understanding lesson I prefer Kiswahili but for examinations I prefer English because I want my certificate to show I have used English as MoI. - Every advertisement for a job required the applicants to have some skills of English. Though I cant speak or write English well at least there will be a hope if certificate shows that I studied in English medium school. I wonder why they insist on English because in all office only Kiswahili is used. - Another reason almost all universities use English if changes are done together I love Kiswahili. 	
To what extent an English-only language in education policy suits your class?		- To be honest this policy suits my class to very little extent, to many students it doesn't suit.	
What problems do you face in the implementation of this policy?		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - If English is used as a sole MoI many students don't understand. - We can't express our ideas well if teachers don't us to use Kiswahili. - It is difficult to answer exam question in English although we understand the language. 	

What's the role of Kiswahili if any in an English-only language in education policy in your school/classroom?		- As I have said, Kiswahili assists understanding of lessons in an English-only language policy in our classroom.	
To what extent do you use Kiswahili in an English medium subject?		- To very language I and my colleagues use Kiswahili in English medium subjects for example during discussions. Sometime when we ask or answer questions.	
Why do you think it crucial to use Kiswahili in an English-only language policy?		- Because we understand well when we use Kiswahili, it is our language. Even teachers teach well by using Kiswahili.	
Do you think there is a need to change the policy of the language of instruction? Why?		- Yes, I think there is a serious need to change the policy of the language of instruction. Because: - It is very difficult to understand when teachers use only Kiswahili, Kiswahili must be concurrently used.	
	What do you think if Kiswahili becomes the MoI in your school?	- For understanding of our lessons it will be very easy, we can discuss and answer exams well; we can have in-depth discussion but for future it is not good because our country prefers English to Kiswahili. Our country needs English for many things.	
Do you think Kiswahili is suitable to be used as MoI		- Yes, because in all subjects even science like physics, chemistry,	

<p>in secondary? Why?</p>		<p>biology and mathematics usually all our teachers use Kiswahili to help us understand. For example when the visitor comes our teachers use only English; so they must repeat the teaching next time by using Kiswahili and English concurrently in order to help us understand.</p>	
<p>Do you think Kiswahili has enough terminologies that suit science subjects? Why?</p>		<p>- To large extent yes. When our teachers teach us science e.g. physics, chemistry and biology many science terms are explained in Kiswahili. Even when we use Kiswahili as MoI English is inevitable. In our normal use of Kiswahili, a lot of Arabic and English words are included.</p>	
<p>In your opinion what should be done to reduce if not to remove the discrepancy between an English-only language in education policy and practice?</p>		<p>- To reduce discrepancy, English should be taught very well so that students can communicate in English in both oral and writing. - Or the policy should allow the use of both English and Kiswahili concurrently. - The use of Kiswahili as MoI can reduce discrepancy but can't remove because English must be included.</p>	
<p>What's your perception of an English-only language in education policy in your</p>		<p>- Frank speaking it's inappropriate, because without concurrent use of Kiswahili and</p>	

class/school?		English during the lesson many can't understand. English and Kiswahili must concurrently used or only Kiswahili must be used.	
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APPENDIX 9

Transcript for Teacher's interview

Name: Hamza

Class: Form Two

<i>Planned question</i>	<i>Additional question</i>	<i>Answer in short form</i>	<i>Themes emerged</i>
What subjects do you teach?		- I teach Physics	
What do you know about the language of instruction policy?		- Kiswahili is the MoI in primary schools whereas English is the MoI in secondary schools.	
Can you describe level of English proficiency that most students have?		- Yes, frank speaking most students have low English proficiency. They can't express themselves, things or situation.	
Are students happy with the use of English during the lessons?		- Majority of students are not happy when English is used as the sole language of instruction. But they are happy when English and Kiswahili are concurrently used during the lesson. Very few are happy when only English is used.	
	Do you think students will be happy when only Kiswahili is used? What do you mean	- I don't think so. Because the policy of assessment strictly uses English in tests and exams; students want to be familiar with some English words. But if there was a choice of languages in exams and tests I'm sure they would opt for Kiswahili if it is	

	by Kiswahili of Mainland Tanzania?	<p>Kiswahili of Zanzibar and not the one of Mainland Tanzania.</p> <p>- Almost all people who work with the Tanzania Institute of Research whom among other things their responsibility is to coin new words, they unnecessarily include lots of words from their tribal languages. We believe they do it purposely remove the fact that Zanzibar is the origin of Kiswahili. Mainland Kiswahili is as difficult as English. Mainlanders destroy Kiswahili.</p>	
What is/are students' preference language(s) of instruction?	Why they like both English and Kiswahili?	<p>- It seems most students prefer the use of both English and Kiswahili concurrently.</p> <p>- I think because they know their tests and exams are written in English. They need Kiswahili to understand and English as a model of writing tests and exams.</p>	
To what extent an English-only language in education policy suits your students?		<p>- To large extent this policy doesn't suit our students. Majority doesn't understand and that is why we don't comply with it. Kiswahili must help to complement English MoI policy in our school if we really want to teach.</p>	
What is your preferred		- If our country is independent I	

<p>language of instruction in the classroom?</p>		<p>would prefer the use of Kiswahili as MoI. But we depend on and cooperate with others, so those who studied in English are recognized, for this case I prefer to use both English and Kiswahili. I can't teach with English only as many students can't interact in the classroom and consequently will not understand. Again, test and exams in English is inevitable.</p>	
<p>What problem(s) do you face in the implementation of this policy?</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Students can't communicate in English and teaching needs communication that leads interaction. - When I use Kiswahili and English concurrently students understand but they don't have this chance in their tests and exams. - Sometimes students understand the questions but they can't give answers in English; and others have questions but they cant ask in English. 	
<p>What is the role of Kiswahili if any, in an English-only language in education policy?</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To be frank, Kiswahili complements learning and teaching. Without Kiswahili students learning couldn't occur to most students. Even teaching occurs effectively with the help 	

		of Kiswahili. I myself cant explain some concepts and ideas in detail without using Kiswahili.	
To what extent do you use Kiswahili in English medium subjects?		- It depends, sometimes fifty-fifty if the topic is new. If the topic continued i.e. students have got ideas, I reduce the amount of using Kiswahili. But sometimes I use more Kiswahili than English.	
What are your students' perceptions of an English-only language of instruction policy?		- Students believe this is a good policy for getting employment of pursuing further studies that is a problem for learning- and they believe Kiswahili is a good helper in learning.	
In your opinions what should be done to reduce if not to remove the discrepancy between an English-only language in education policy and practice?	Are people employed by having expertise or communicating in English?	- To remove this discrepancy is to opt on the use of Kiswahili as MoI and resources should be prepared to suit Kiswahili. Students will learn better but opportunity for employment will be limited, and also students will be despised as they are not educated in English language. - Education or expertise is the most important. But I'm sure you know our context and many contexts employers demands English language as a criterion though community doesn't speak. It is stupidity but this is how the world is. On the case of further	

	<p>Do you think to be able to speak and write English is to use it as MoI or to learn as a subject? If so, why English is the MoI but students can neither speak nor write well?</p>	<p>studies, donors of scholarships require the applicants should pass TOEFEL test at the high score.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To learn English is the way to be able speak English but to use English as MoI helps to practice English. Learning a language needs lots of practice. - This is a difficult question! But I think a lot of teachers have limited English proficiency even those who teach English as a subject, they can't teach without Kiswahili otherwise many students won't understand. 	
<p>What are consequences of using an English-only language in education policy in your school?</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Not all but many students don't understand the lessons. And some teachers can't teach well as a result many students fail. - Some students know the answers or concepts but they feel shy to say in English. Some don't feel shy but they can't speak English though they know the answers. 	
<p>Do you think there is a need to change the MoI policy? Why?</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To be honest yes. To allow the use of Kiswahili as MoI, teachers will teach well and students well understand well. But I'm in dilemma, I can't imagine if we can compete in East African Community, etc, and we will 	

		miss many scholarship abroad.	
Do you think Kiswahili is suitable and sufficient to be used as MoI for all subjects in secondary schools?		- To large extent yes. We can express many ideas and concepts of different areas like science, economy, etc. it is true that Kiswahili doesn't have some terminologies but it will borrow from English but not to use Mainland Kiswahili. Primary pupils learn well in Kiswahili but when they are given books which are written in Mainland Kiswahili-it would be rather if it were written in English. We can solve this problem if teachers of subjects from different schools meet together to coin new terminologies instead of people who are ignorant of particular subjects to coin terminologies.	
What is your perception of an English-only language in education policy?		- I believe if Kiswahili is going to be MoI in secondary schools, teachers who cant function with English will be able to teach well and subsequently students will do better in their exams, so there will be no mass failure-because physics exam will assess physics and not English. - Also students will be able to show their creativity and innovation however they may	

		lose some opportunities of employment and scholarships abroad.	
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APPENDIX 10

LETTER REQUESTING PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

The State University of Zanzibar

P.O. Box 146

Zanzibar

July 12, 2013

Principal Secretary

The Second Vice President Office

Zanzibar

Dear Sir / Madam,

**RE: REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH PROJECT IN
ZANZIBAR**

I would be very grateful if you would consider my letter with the above mentioned request.

I am a PhD student with registration number 13M4120 at Rhodes University in South Africa. I am writing to inform you that as part of my PhD programme, I am required to conduct the research project under the supervision of Professor Russell Harold Kaschula and Dr Dion Nkomo. The topic of my research is *Exploring the relationship between an English-only language-in-education policy and bilingual practice in secondary schools in Zanzibar*.

In this research, my interest is specifically to explore teachers' and students' perceptions on the main variance between policy stipulation concerning the official language of instruction and actual practices. Data will be collected through classroom observations, focus group discussions, and interviews with teachers and students. I intend to observe ethical issues during my data collection process by projecting anonymity and confidentiality of participants' responses to the fullest possible extent. In the final report, participants will be referred to by pseudonym.


I enclose herewith the research proposal of my research.

Yours faithfully,

Haroun Ayoub Maalim

APPENDIX 11

RESEARCH PERMIT


SERIKALI YA MAPINDUZI YA ZANZIBAR
WIZARA YA ELIMU NA MAFUNZO YA AMALI

S.L.P 394
ZANZIBAR-TANZANIA
Barua Pepe:edu@zanznet.com

Tel: +255-24-2232827
Fax: +255-24-2234356

Kumb. Nam: P33/18/1/VOLI/57 **Tarehe:** 10 Novemba 2014

Nd: Haroun A. Maalim
Chuo Kikuu cha Taifa,
Zanzibar.

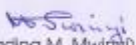
KUH: RUHUSA YA KUFANYA UTAFITI

Kwa heshima naomba uhusike na mada ya hapo juu marudio ni barua Na.
OMPR/M/95/C.6/VOL.XIII/73 ya tarehe 27/10/2014.

Wizara ya Elimu na Mafunzo ya Amali imekuruhusu kufanya utafiti unaohusiana na "Exploring the Relationship Between an English only in Education Policy and Bilingual Practice in Secondary Schools in Zanzibar. Kwa barua hi, wakuu wa taasisi za elimu utazozifembelea zinaombwa zikupe ushirikiano.

Nakutaikia kila la kheri.

Ahsante


(Madina M. Mwiriyi)
Kny: Katibu Mkuu,
Wizara ya Elimu na Mafunzo ya Amali,
Zanzibar

Kwa mawasiliano ya moja kwa moja:
Waziri 2238205, Katibu Mkuu 2238210, Naibu Katibu Mkuu 2234356.

APPENDIX 12

Consent form for respondents participating in the research projects

PROJECT TITLE: Exploring the relationship between an English.-only language-in-education policy and bilingual practice in Zanzibar secondary schools.

Name of participant: _____

Name of investigator: _____

1. I consent to participate in the project named above, the particulars of which – including details of interviews and lessons observation have been explained to me. A written copy of the information has been given to me to keep.
2. I authorize the researcher to use for this purpose the interviews and lessons observation referred under (1) above.
3. I acknowledge that:
 - (a) the possible effects of interviews and lessons observation have been explained to me to my satisfaction;
 - (b) I have been informed that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without explanation or prejudice and to withdraw any unprocessed data previously supplied;
 - (c) The project is for the purpose of research;
 - (d) I have been informed that the confidentiality of the information I provide will be safeguarded subject to any legal requirements;
 - (e) I have been informed that the copies of the interview transcripts will be returned to me for verification;
 - (f) I have been informed that with my permission the interview will be tape recorded;

(g) I have been informed that I will be referred to by pseudonym in any publications arising from the research.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

(participant)