A CRITICAL REVIEW OF POLICY ON LANGUAGE-IN-EDUCATION FOR AFRICA: A CASE OF ZIMBABWE

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DECLARATION

I, **GAMUCHIRAI TSITSI NDAMBA**, hereby declare that the research report submitted in the fulfillment of my Doctor's Degree in Curriculum Studies is my own work and that it has never been produced before in any other institution. Moreover, all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

Signature

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ABSTRACT

There is overwhelming evidence the world over on the pedagogical benefits of learning in the mother language. Zimbabwe recognized this significant role played by the mother tongue in education when a policy enshrined in the 1987 Education Act was enunciated. The language-in-education policy, which was amended in 2006, allows mother tongue usage up to Grade Seven. Contrary to the stated policy, primary school teachers continue to use English as the medium of instruction in primary schools. The purpose of this study was thus to explore the barriers that rural primary school teachers face in implementing the proposed policy in Masvingo District of Zimbabwe. Literature suggests that factors that inhibit implementation of a mother tongue education policy in ex-colonial African countries include state-related factors, uninformed language myths and language attitudes which support the dominant role of English. The postcolonial theory paradigm guided this study since the intention was to conduct the research as well as to contribute to how to generate teachers' participation in mother tongue policy implementation in a postcolonial context. A qualitative case study was employed where semi-structured open ended questionnaires, focus group discussions and individual interviews were used to collect data. Fifteen rural primary school teachers, three school heads and two District Schools Inspectors were purposefully selected to participate in the study. It emerged from the study that all the participants were not knowledgeable about the stipulations of the 2006 language-in-education policy. The major barriers identified include inadequate policy dialogue, unavailability of educational material resources in the mother tongue, language attitudes and individual teacher concerns which contribute to low self-efficacy. A critical analysis of the barriers to implementation success indicates that they are mainly related to postcolonial mentality where language attitudes are deeply entrenched in people's minds. Participants believed that the challenges they faced could be resolved and they proposed some intervention strategies. The study recommends that teacher education institutions should spearhead

the designing of professional development modules that impart knowledge and skills on the implementation of additive bilingual education in primary schools.

KEY WORDS

Mother tongue education; language-in-education policy; postcolonial theory; barriers to policy implementation; implementation failure; language attitudes; additive bilingualism; subtractive bilingualism; teacher education; implementation strategies.

Contents

APPENDICES

APPENDICES A: RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

LIST OF TABLES

ACRONYMS

ACALAN:	African Academy of Languages
AU:	African Union
BSPZ:	Better Schools Programme Zimbabwe
CBAM:	Concerns Based Adoption Model
COMMESA:	Common Market of East and Southern Africa

CUP:	Common Underlying Proficiency
ECD:	Early Childhood Development
ETF:	Education Transition Fund
LIEP:	Language-In-Education Policy
MDG:	Millenium Development Goal
MoESAC:	Ministry of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture
OSISA:	The Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa
SADC:	Southern African Development Community
SDC:	School Development Committee
SPED	Special Education
SUP:	Separate Underlying Proficiency
UN:	United Nations
UNESCO:	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF:	United Nations International Children Education Fund

CHAPTER 1: ORIENTATION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

This study examines language policy and practice in Zimbabwean primary school classrooms. Specifically, the study focuses on exploring the experiences of rural primary school teachers on factors that stifle effective implementation of the 1987 Education Act (amended in 2006) which stipulates that children may be taught in the mother tongue up to the end of primary school (Grades 1-7). Accordingly, this chapter provides the background to language and education in African countries in general and the Zimbabwean context in particular. A brief literature review, the problem, key research questions, motivation, delimitation and limitations of the study are also presented in this chapter.

1.2 Background of the study

The mother tongue plays a crucial role in creating the capacity for children to access and create knowledge. Research indicates that learning in an unfamiliar language restricts access to quality education and results in poor scholastic attainment (Chimhundu, 1997:146; Le Mottee, 2008:36; Bamgbose, 2009:13). This view was echoed by Erik Solheim as the Norwegian Minister of Development at the Languages in Education in Africa (LEA) conference in Oslo in June 2006 when he said that greater empowerment and the use of the first languages in the education of African children would provide an opportunity for maximising creativity and resourcefulness that would help promote individuals as well as community development (Skattum and Brock-Utne, 2009:15).

The intrinsic value of local languages and cultures is now being appreciated globally for the purposes of education in particular and national development in general (Mutasa, 2006:63; Chimhundu, 2010:2). Baker (2006) notes that as early as 1953, a UNESCO report entitled '*The Use of Vernacular languages in Education*' stated that:

> It is important that every effort should be made to provide education in the mother tongue [---]. On educational grounds we recommend that the use of the

mother tongue be extended to as late a stage as possible. In particular, pupils should begin their schooling through the medium of the mother tongue, because they understand it best and because to begin their school life in the mother tongue will make the break between home and school as small as possible (p.293).

Bamgbose (2004, cited in Le Mottee, 2008:35) also notes that UNESCO still maintains its position on the significance of the mother tongue and has further developed its stance to consider mother tongue instruction as a means of improving the quality of education by tapping on the existing knowledge base of both teachers and learners. UNESCO is concerned about the ruling elite in Africa, who inherited the colonial language-in-education policies and continues to use them without changing anything to suit the African context (Prah, 2008:23). Prah goes further to note that whereas Africans are made to believe that English is the most important language, all European countries insist on the use of their own mother tongues as languages of instruction.

In Third World countries where native populations pre-dominate, Africa happens to be the only place where the issue of colonial languages in education is not contested many years after attaining political independence (Bamgbose, 2009:13). This scenario goes against the spirit on language in the global village, where Africans should read, write and speak their language as languages of science and technology (Prah, 2000; 2008:21).

The issue of language and culture as basic rights is also gaining increased attention globally as enshrined in the United Nations (UN), African Union (AU), Southern African Development Community (SADC) and Common Market of East and Southern Africa (COMMESA) protocols on language and culture (Chimhundu, 2010:29). Citing Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that deals with the right to education, Miti (2008:12) suggests that this Article may be considered together with the Millennium Development Goal (MDG) 2 which reads: Goal: "Achieve Universal Primary Education". This MDG 2 may not be achieved when learning and teaching are not carried out in a familiar language.

In the United States, the Bilingual Act of 1988 stipulates that learners who do not speak English as their first language should receive bilingual education for three years and up to five when there is need, until such a time when they become proficient enough to use it in school. Berns (2007:226) cites a Supreme Court decision in 1974 (Lau v. Nichols) where forcing children to learn in a language that they do not understand has been challenged. The current policy on language-in-education for Zimbabwe seeks to address the challenge of learners who are not proficient in English when they enter school. By learning in their mother tongue up to Grade 7, learners would access the curriculum easily while learning enough oral language to prepare them for immersion in English at secondary school level.

In Africa, where children continue to learn through a foreign language, the question of language-in-education is currently of particular concern. This situation restricts access to the curriculum especially where the majority of teachers and students have not mastered the language well (Miti, 2008:21; Skattum and Brock-Utne, 2009:18). Interest in the language issue by African countries is illustrated by how the AU has drawn up an agenda for the development, promotion and empowerment of African languages. To demonstrate its commitment, the AU created the African Academy of Languages (ACALAN) whose mandate is to coordinate and monitor language development activities in African countries (Mutasa, 2006:69). Alexander (2008, cited in Mtenje, 2008) says:

> This new phase of the development and use of African languages in high status functions should be approached and understood against the background of the strategies, activities and programmes of the African Academy of Languages (ACALAN), viewed as an instrument of the African Renaissance and of the cultural revolution on the continent during this 'African century'--- (p.30-31).

The formation of this agency appears to be a move towards the right direction as elevation of indigenous African languages would be guaranteed as languages of learning and teaching. This can only be possible if member states show their commitment by formulating and implementing language policies which promote the languages and cultures of the African people.

In the SADC countries, Mtenje (2008:29) notes that indigenous African languages continue to be heavily marginalised and that all are restricted to the lower levels of primary education. Many of the SADC countries pronounce and acknowledge the significance of African languages but these are not followed up by development and implementation of these policies. Some of the SADC countries do not have formal and explicit language policies, while others simply state what the official languages are but there are no formal language policies that provide guidelines on the status of other languages.

The Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa (OSISA) has the mandate to operate in ten Southern African countries namely Angola, Botswana, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe (Miti, 2008:7). The official language in the ten countries in which OSISA operates is either English, French or Portuguese. OSISA is concerned with coming up with initiatives which promote the status and enhance the use of African languages. By so doing the majority of people of Southern Africa would enjoy their language rights (Miti, 2008; Makoni, 2012).

Zimbabwe is no exception in making pronouncements and signing declarations which indicate desire to raise the status of the mother tongue. In March 1997, Zimbabwe showed its commitment by hosting the African Intergovernmental Conference on Language Policies for 51 member countries. This culminated in the Harare Declaration where member states attending were tasked to formulate comprehensive language policies within the agreed timeframes. A National Language Policy Advisory Panel was immediately appointed and it came up with an official "*Report on the Formulation of a National Language Policy*", which the government accepted (Chimhundu, 2010:2). Like many other African countries, Zimbabwe does not have a national language policy, but an Education Act which makes reference to language (Chimhundu, 1997:129). Soon after independence in 1980, Zimbabwe realised the significant value of the mother

tongue in learning and a language-in-education policy which raised the status of the local languages was formulated in the Education Act of 1987 under Section 55 of Part X1 (revised 1990; 1994). The policy stipulated that children in Grade One up to Grade Three should be taught in the mother tongue in all subjects and that English becomes one of the subjects as indicated below:

Languages to be taught in schools:

> PART XI GENERAL
>
> 55. (1) Subject to the provisions of this section, the three main languages of Zimbabwe , namely, Shona, Ndebele and English, shall be taught in all primary schools from the first grade as follows:
>
> (a) Shona and English in all areas where the mother tongue of the majority of the residents is Shona; or
>
> (b) Ndebele and English in all areas where the mother tongue of the majority of the residents is Ndebele.
>
> (2) Prior to the fourth grade, either of the languages referred to in paragraph (a) or (b) of subsection (1) may be used as the medium of instruction, depending on which language is more commonly spoken and better understood by the pupils.
>
> (3) From the fourth grade, English shall be the medium of instruction: Provided that Shona or Ndebele shall be taught as subjects on an equal-time-allocation basis as the English language.
>
> (4) In areas where minority languages exist, the Minister may authorise the teaching of such languages in primary schools in addition to those specified in subsections (1), (2) and (3).

The policy was amended again in 2006, whereby teaching in the mother tongue was extended up to Grade 7 as illustrated by the amended policy quoted below:

The Education Act (Chapter 25: 04) as amended, 2006 Part XII Section 62

Languages to be taught in schools

(1) Subject to this section, all the three languages of Zimbabwe, namely Shona, Ndebele and English, shall be taught on an equal-time basis in all schools up to form 2 level (former group A schools included).

(2) In areas where indigenous languages other than those mentioned in sub-section (1) are spoken, the Minister may authorise the teaching of such languages in schools in addition to those specified in sub-section (1).

(3) The Minister may authorize the teaching of foreign languages in schools.

(4) Prior to form one, any one of the languages referred to in subsection (1) and (2) may be used as the medium of instruction, depending upon which language is more commonly spoken and better understood by the pupils.

(5) Sign language shall be the priority medium of instruction for the deaf and hard of hearing.

As a way of addressing the above stated policies, the Ministry of Education sent the Secretary's Circular No. 1 of 2002 on '*Policy Regarding Language Teaching and Learning'* and the Secretary's Circular No. 3 of 2002 on '*Curriculum Policy: Primary and Secondary Schools*'. Further communication to policy implementers was made through the Director's Circular No. 26 (2007) on '*Policy Guidelines on the Teaching of Local Languages in Primary and Secondary schools in Zimbabwe'* which highlights the Ministry's concern on "---the realisation that the majority of educationists in this country are apparently giving a cursory attention to the provision of these documents". Besides expressing concern over failure to implement the language policy provisions, the same Director's Circular No. 26 of 2007, under the section on '*Implementing the Teaching of Local Languages',* spells out the Ministry position on the significant role played by the mother tongue by saying:

> The underlying principle for using Local Languages as media of instruction lies in their proven ability to ensure effective communication between the learner and the teacher. Effective and efficient communication is important for full comprehension of fundamental concepts by the learner.

Despite these efforts by the Ministry of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture for Zimbabwe, (hereafter to be referred to as the MoESAC) to recognise the crucial value of the mother tongue in the learning of primary school pupils, teachers appear not to pay heed to the suggestions. Teachers are regarded as key role players in the successful implementation of any language policy (Nyawaranda, 2000:33; Ndawi and Maravanyika, 2011:41). Failure to implement the language-in-education policy therefore challenges

the mandate of teachers to provide access to and equality of education to all learners in the primary school through using a familiar language in teaching and learning.

1.3 Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework through which the problem is analysed proceeds firstly from theories of language and thought and secondly from theories of bilingualism. In both cases, the assumption is that language is a crucial part of thinking and that its acquisition constitutes an important achievement in the development of the child at school.

1.3.1 Theories of language and thought

For the purpose of this study, Vygotsky's theory will be briefly highlighted. In his theory, Vygotsky (1978) believed that the development of language and thought can be explained in terms of unity as follows:

> The structure of speech is not simply the mirror image of the structure of thought [---]. Speech does not merely serve as the expression of developed thought. Thought is restructured as it is transformed into speech. It is not expressed but completed in the word (p.251).

The above quotation seems to suggest that accessing the school curriculum cannot be possible without language, since language development is inextricably related to the development of knowledge and one cannot be said to be complete without the other.Thus, it can be argued that there is an intrinsic link between language and thought as speech is regarded as an extension of intelligence (Le Mottee, 2008:33). The development of language for classroom teaching and learning purposes cannot be therefore regarded as a separate entity from the development of knowledge.

1.3.2 Theories of bilingualism

Theories of bilingualism are also crucial in shedding some light on the fundamental role played by language in accessing the curriculum in the case of bilingual learners. This study will focus on the balance theory and the thresholds theory.

1.3.2.1 The Balance theory

In the balance theory, the assumption is that "the first and second languages are kept apart in two 'balloons' inside the head" and that they operate separately (Baker, 2006:168). Cummins (1980a cited in Baker, 2006) terms this the 'Separate Underlying Proficiency' (SUP) model of bilingualism. Baker further states that the SUP model presents problems because there is evidence which suggests that language attributes transfer readily and are interactive. The model whereby it is thought that language attributes are not separated in the cognitive system but operate through the same central processing system is termed the Common Underlying Proficiency (CUP) (Cummins, 1980a, 1981a in Baker, 2006:169). Cummins suggests that if two languages are sufficiently well developed, information from one language can readily transfer into the other language. The CUP model also does not fully address research findings on cognitive functioning and bilingualism. Pavlenko (2005a cited in Baker, 2006:170) argues that continuing debate on the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis that different languages intrinsically lead to different world-views, challenges the view that bilinguals have one integrated source of thought.

1.3.2.2 The Thresholds Theory

The thresholds theory partially summarises the relationship between cognition and the degree of bilingualism. Toukomaa and Skutnabb-Kangas (1977) and Cummins (1976) (cited in Baker, 2006:171) were the first to suggest that research on cognition and bilingualism can best be explained in terms of two thresholds, with each threshold being a level of language competence that has consequences for a child. The theory proposes that there are children who may gain cognitively whereas other children may get negative consequences from their bilingualism. Baker (2006:173) is of the view that the low level proficiency in the second language may limit the ability of children to cope with the curriculum.

The Zimbabwe language-in-education policy is meant to assist children with low proficiency in English to cope with the curriculum using the mother tongue until such time that they become proficient to be able to learn in the second language. This study investigated factors that contribute towards non-implementation of the language policy by assessing rural primary school teachers' conceptualisation and response to the language-in education policy.

1.3.3 Models of Bilingualism

Hamers and Blanc (1992 cited in Thondhlana, 2002:37) identified 3 categories of bilingual education as follows:

- Instruction is given in both languages.

- Instruction is given first in the first language, and the pupil is taught until such time as he or she is able to use the second language as the medium of learning.

- The largest part of instruction is given through the second language, and the first language is introduced later – first as a subject and later as a medium of instruction.

The 2006 amendment to the Education Act on the language of instruction in Zimbabwe has adopted the second category, whereby the local indigenous languages are to be used up to the seventh grade, while English would be taught as a subject until children are ready to use it at secondary school level. These categories of bilingual education are based on bilingual models. Bilingual education models include the transition, additive and subtractive models (Heugh, cited in Le Mottee, 2008:36).

1.3.3.1 Transition model

The aim of transitional bilingual education is to shift the child from the home language to the dominant second language with a view to assimilating the subjects socially and culturally. The students are temporarily allowed to use their mother tongue until they are believed to be proficient enough to learn in the second language (Cummins 1980b, cited in Baker, 2006:221). The idea behind transitional bilingual education models is to

increase the use of the second language while proportionately decreasing the use of the mother tongue in the classroom.

Transitional bilingual education may follow the early exit or late exit type. The early exit type allows learners to receive maximum help for two years while using the mother tongue while the late exit type allows around 40% classroom teaching in the mother tongue until children are in Grade 6 (Ramirez and Merino 1990 cited in Baker, 2006:221). Heugh (2005, cited in Le Mottee, 2008:36) suggests that these transition models were inherited from the colonial language policies and maintain a failed education system. The same sentiments are echoed by Skatum and Brock-Utne (2009:16) who argue that bilingual theories meant for western societies do not necessarily fit the African context where the majority live and work in African languages. The Zimbabwean language-in-education policy of the 1987 Education Act, amended in 2006, was meant to adopt the transitional bilingual education model.

1.3.3.2 Subtractive model

In this model, learners are moved away from the mother tongue as soon as possible. A subtractive form of bilingualism may occur when the second language and culture are acquired with the intention to replace or demote the first language. Baker (2006:74) suggests that when the second language is prestigious and used in education and in the job market, this may lead to less positive self-concept and loss of cultural identity. Baker goes further to state that subtractive bilingualism refers to the negative cognitive and affective effects of bilingualism, for example where both languages are not fully developed.

1.3.3.3 Additive model

In the additive bilingual situation, the addition of a second language or culture is unlikely to replace or displace the first language and culture. Landry et al. (1991 cited in Baker, 2006:74) say that in additive bilingualism, members become proficient in both languages and have positive attitudes towards the first and second language. The

mother tongue is not removed as the language of instruction. The official or foreign language is taught as a subject. The foreign language and the mother tongue can be used as two media of instruction to the end of school. Le Mottee (2008:36) observes that children who are taught in the mother tongue up to the end of the primary school perform better than those in the subtractive or transitional models.

Heugh (2005 cited in Le Mottee, 2008:36) suggests the following periods of mother tongue instruction for successful learning to take place in the primary school:

a) Mother tongue education to be reinforced and developed for at least 6 years of formal school for successful official language and academic success to take place.
b) International second language acquisition literature says it takes 6-8 years to learn a second language sufficiently well to use it as a medium of instruction.
c) Language models which result in the removal of mother tongue instruction before Grade 5 will facilitate little success for the majority of learners.
d) Language education models which retain mother tongue instruction for 6 years can succeed under well resourced conditions; in African settings, 8 years of mother tongue instruction may be enough under well resourced conditions.

The Zimbabwean language-in-education policy, amended in 2006, is a move towards the right direction as the use of the mother tongue in learning was extended from three years to seven years of primary education. The policy suggests that the mother tongue should be used as media of instruction up to Grade Seven. Chimhundu (1997:149) proposes a situation where there is balanced and healthy bilingualism in which national languages complement each other.

1.4 Literature Review

The status of indigenous languages in Africa has remained low as a result of colonial language-in-education policies which raised foreign languages to languages of instruction from upper primary up to university level (Kamwangamalu, 2009: 140). In some African countries, the medium of instruction is a second language from the beginning. In the post colonial era, African governments continue to perpetuate the colonial masters' languages as the media of instruction. According to Ngefac (2010):

>Colonialism has come and gone, but its impact in postcolonial multilingual contexts continues to shape and mould people's ideologies, identity, culture, perceptions and attitudes (p. 149).

These African governments could have seized the opportunity to fully develop indigenous languages by providing adequate resources to upgrade these languages and to make them languages of instruction (Chimhundu, 1997).

Despite efforts by UNESCO which emphasises the crucial role played by the mother tongue in learning, African governments are not taking the issue seriously. Instead, they make one declaration after another and make plans which merely remain on paper. Bamgbose (1991:111) states that the problems of language policies in African countries are characterised by "avoidance, vagueness, arbitrariness, fluctuation and declaration without implementation". Two of these problems cited by Bamgbose, namely, avoidance and declaration without implementation, perfectly fit the SADC region (Mtenje, 2008:24). Mtenje says avoidance is failure by government to issue a formal language policy statement, and declaration without implementation is inability to implement an officially declared policy by a government.

The majority of SADC states do not have formal provision for African languages, except for South Africa and Namibia (Mtenje, 2008:29). Mtenje further observes that in South Africa and Namibia, the legal instruments and policy provisions are available to support the use of indigenous languages but the policy is not fully implemented especially in the area of education and this manifests the problem of declaration without implementation. There is need for genuine commitment and willingness by African countries to address problems that contribute towards the low status of African indigenous languages. Mtenje (2008:30) lists the widely acknowledged factors as follows:

- the colonial mentality of African elites who vigorously fight for the use of the former colonial languages in formal domains, at the expense of African languages, in order to protect their minority socio-economic interests and exclude the majority of Africans who do not have proficiency in the foreign languages from participating in national affairs (the "elite closure syndrome");
- the lack of a market value for African languages in comparison with foreign languages – proficiency in an African language does not attract sufficient economic rewards;

- misconceptions about the intrinsic scientific capabilities of African languages to function effectively in the domains of science and technology;
- persistent hegemony of ex-colonial languages;
- the fact that most Africans look down upon their cultures and languages as inferior to the ex-colonial languages;
- the absence of a strong political will among African leaders to genuinely promote and develop indigenous African languages to appreciate levels of modernity.

The issue of attitudes seems to play a central role in language policy implementation as almost all the factors listed above have to do with the colonial mentality of the supremacy of the European languages. This view is illustrated by Ngugi waThiog'o (1986) who says education during the colonial period in Africa was equated with learning of a European language, and this had a negative influence on Africans since the colonial and neo-colonial subjects tend to undermine their own languages. The same view is held by Adegbija (1994:33) who asserts that:

> This attitude of denigration towards one's own language and the exaltation of European languages has not been easy to remove in Africa. Its scars are still very visible today, particularly in the education system.

As illustrated above, use of foreign languages as media of instruction has greatly influenced attitudes of Africans towards their own languages which they consider as inferior because they are not used in the education sector. Attitudes can therefore be created due to functions that people perceive particular languages as performing (Muthwii, 2004:21; Kamwangamalu, 2009:138).

In order to effectively implement a mother tongue instruction policy in Africa, Beukes (2009) suggests the need to make people understand the importance of studying through the language that one knows best. Without such public awareness, Beukes (2009:50) avers that "the idea will not become entrenched in the hearts and minds of people, and hence no changes in attitudes and behavior will follow". My submission is that if teachers do not have favourable attitudes towards the children's first language, then they may not be in a position to transmit the same attitudes to their pupils. The above view is supported by Ngugi waThiong'o (1986) who describes how teachers inflicted humiliating punishment upon school children caught speaking in the mother

tongue during his schooling in Kenya. Those who excelled in English were rewarded while speaking in the mother tongue was a punishable offence as a way of inducing negative attitudes towards African indigenous languages. Such negative attitudes were confirmed in a study conducted by Muthwii (2004) where Kenyan teachers indicated the desire to move away from the mother tongue as the language of instruction towards the languages of wider communication.

Zimbabwe as a former British colony has also experienced the imposition of English and more than thirty years after political independence, the indigenous languages continue to occupy a low status in education. Chimhundu (1997:146) suggests that the national and minority languages are suffering from lack of policy and planning, and as a result these indigenous languages neither have a status nor defined or officially recognised roles. Although it has an education language policy, Zimbabwe is not guided by a formal language policy or statement (Chimhundu, 1997; 2010) and this reflects the problem of avoidance cited by Bamgbose (1991).

The success of the Zimbabwe language-in-education policy largely depends on the commitment of teachers in order to bring about the desired change. Baker (2006:306) affirms that the success of bilingual education in a school depends on the enthusiasm and commitment of teachers, principals and auxiliary workers, but this is often underestimated. This means that teachers' experiences and attitudes need to be investigated to establish factors that contribute towards failure to effectively implement the language policy. Ngara (1977) asserts that:

> It does not matter how good and how ideal a language policy is, if teachers are not available to make sure that it is properly implemented then no amount of planning will yield anything like the results expected by the planners (p. 329).

The above quotation implies that teachers play a central role in the implementation of the language-in-education policy. Mutasa (2006) echoes the same sentiments by stating that:

> People can develop the necessary material but without the people's will and right attitude nothing can be achieved. Everyone knows that no army general can win a war if his soldiers are unwilling to fight--- (p. 75).

Thus, in the case of Zimbabwe, teachers can be likened to soldiers who must fight for the success of the policy on the language of education. Government efforts of amending the language-in-education policy and making a follow up by issuing circulars from the MoESAC need to be supported by teachers. There is therefore need to investigate primary school teachers' experiences and attitudes towards the implementation of the 2006 policy on the language of education.

Nyawaranda (2000:39), in a study on the use of ChiShona in the teaching of English as a second language in Zimbabwean secondary schools, confirmed that a teacher's classroom practice is largely determined by his or her beliefs about teaching and learning. Nyawaranda established that a teacher who regarded ChiShona and English as complementary continued using ChiShona in the teaching of English as a second language, contrary to the then language-in-education policy which prohibited use of the mother tongue after Grade Three of the primary school.

Some studies on the language of instruction in African countries have established that learners perform better when they are taught in the mother tongue. Yohannes (2009:198) conducted a study in Ethiopia and found strong evidence on the comparative advantage of using the mother tongue as the language of instruction in the teaching of Mathematics and Science subjects in upper primary schools. Yohannes' findings indicate that instruction in the mother tongue does not appear to prevent students' learning of English, contrary to fear expressed by most African parents who insist on the use of English as a medium of instruction (Ndamba, 2008; Qorro, 2009).

In a study sponsored by UNICEF on African Girls' Education Initiative, Qorro (2009:64) cites Brock-Utne who describes as 'tragic' her experience when she observed lessons in six African countries, namely, Uganda, Swaziland, Namibia, Niger, Mali and Guinea. The study established that teachers and children lacked proficiency in English or French

as the language of teaching and learning. Qorro (2009:67) goes further to express her concern over parents and policy makers who insist on English as the language of instruction, believing that students learn English better in the process of using it, yet they do not know what actually happens in the classrooms where teaching is conducted in English.

In another study to establish primary school teachers' attitudes towards the use of home language in the teaching of Mathematics, Setati (2005) describes her study involving six primary school teachers in multilingual classrooms in South Africa. The findings indicated that all the six teachers preferred to teach in English mainly because it is an international language. Setati concluded that teachers are more concerned about the instrumental value of English at the expense of considering that learners struggle to access Mathematics concepts in the second language.

In Zimbabwe, there is growing interest in research on language policy issues as illustrated by the studies conducted recently. Makanda (2009) conducted a study on the use of indigenous African languages in the major domains of life in Zimbabwe's provincial capitals, using both quantitative and qualitative methodologies. Magwa (2008) investigated the possibility of using African languages as media of instruction in secondary and tertiary institutions in ten provinces of Zimbabwe, again using quantitative and qualitative approaches. My study employed a case study design within a qualitative paradigm, thereby filling in a gap in methodology and focus. There seems to be limited data on the experiences and beliefs of rural primary school teachers on the implementation of the 1987 Education Act, amended in 2006, which allows teachers to teach in the mother tongue up to Grade Seven. My study mainly focused on the implementation of the language-in-education policy in primary schools, with a view to determining why rural primary school teachers do not implement a policy which enables teaching and learning to be conducted in the mother language in order to allow learners to understand concepts better.

The majority of people who live in rural areas in Zimbabwe have a scant understanding of English because social relations and regular communication are largely carried out through the use of the mother tongue. The voices of rural school teachers need to be heard concerning their understanding towards the implementation of the language-in-education policy in primary schools. There is need to assess and understand the situation on the ground to enlighten stakeholders who insist on the use of English as a language of education at the expense of using the mother tongue.

1.5 The problem

The background discussed above shows that the Government of Zimbabwe, through the MoESAC has formulated policy documents aimed at raising the status of the mother tongue in learning and yet primary school teachers continue to use the second language (English) as the medium of instruction. Research shows that teachers' beliefs about policy have a significant bearing in determining their pedagogical practices in implementing the policy reforms (Nyawaranda, 2000). With reference to my study, for teachers to effectively implement a language policy which recommends mother tongue usage in learning in primary schools, depends on how they understand its requirements and benefits.

Studies conducted by Shumba and Manyati (2000) and Mkandla (2000) revealed that infant school teachers (Grade One to Three) were not effectively implementing the language-in-education policy which recommended mother tongue usage in the first three grades in Zimbabwean primary schools. Due to overwhelming evidence in literature on the benefits of using the first language in teaching and learning at primary school level (Alidou, Boly, Brock-Utne, Diallo, Heugh and Wolff, 2006; Mutasa, 2006; OSISA, 2008; Brock-Utne and Skattum, 2009), exploring reasons why primary school teachers are reluctant to implement the language-in-education policy is of paramount importance.

1.6 Aim of the study

The major goal of this study was thus to identify and critically analyse factors that contribute towards the 'policy gap', which is the gap between the intention of the 2006 language-in-education policy and the policy outcome as evident in the actual practice by rural primary school teachers in Zimbabwe.

1. 7 Research Questions

The core research question was: Which factors act as barriers to effective implementation of the language-in-education policy and what intervention strategies can be employed?

1.7.1 Sub-questions

1.7.1.1 How do teachers conceptualise and implement the language-in-education policy?

1.7.1.2 What knowledge, beliefs and attitudes are held by teachers, school heads (principals) and schools' inspectors towards instruction in the mother tongue?

1.7.1.3 Which lessons can be drawn from the findings to improve teacher understanding in the implementation of the language policy?

1.7.1.4 What is the existing knowledge base on the implementation of a language policy in education?

1.8 Objectives

The objectives of the study are to:

- o Investigate how primary school teachers conceptualise and respond to the language-in-education policy.

- o Determine views of teachers, primary school heads (principals) and schools' inspectors on a policy that promotes use of the mother tongue in learning.

- Establish the position of teachers with regards to their practices in implementing the language policy.

- Make use of study findings to draw recommendations which support and strengthen teachers' understanding of the implementation of the language-in-education policy.

- Contribute to literature on intervention strategies that empower primary school teachers to effectively implement the language-in-education policy.

1.9 Motivating the research

Learning in the mother tongue remains a critical determinant of access to the primary school curriculum. However, research shows that African languages continue to be downgraded in the education system as they are not used as media of instruction in schools (Bamgbose, 2009). Failure to implement a mother tongue policy in education is not experienced in Zimbabwe alone but in many African countries (Broke-Utne and Skattum, 2009).

Zimbabwe, through the MoESAC, has taken measures to issue policy documents which recommend mother tongue usage in learning but what is contained in policy and curriculum documents may be different from what teachers actually do in the classrooms (Ndawi and Maravanyika, 2011: 11). Despite these measures which were taken to recognise the crucial role played by the first language in teaching and learning at primary school level in Zimbabwe, there appears to be little impact in practice.

Chimhundu (2010) notes that there is lack of seriousness in the Zimbabwe education system, to implement the provisions of the 1987 Education Act on languages to be taught and used in schools. This observation was confirmed by my experience during Teaching Practice supervision of student teachers on attachment in rural primary schools, where learners were struggling to understand concepts taught in English as a second language. The issue triggered academic interest which motivated me to conduct preliminary studies (Ndamba, 2008; 2010), which both revealed that parents, pupils and teachers preferred the use of English as the medium of instruction in Grade One to

Three in Zimbabwe, contrary to the language policy which states that children in these infant grades should be taught in the mother tongue.

The current study focuses on the language policy amendment of 2006, which allows teachers to use the first language in education from the Early Childhood Education phase (Pre-school up to Grade 3) through upper primary classes up to Grade 7. The intriguing question that led to my exploring of the issue is "Why are primary school teachers reluctant to implement a language policy which facilitates learning through a familiar language for children to access the curriculum with ease?" This question spurred me to investigate the barriers experienced by rural primary school teachers in implementing the language-in-education policy for Zimbabwe.

Research in the field of language policy implementation in Zimbabwean primary schools using qualitative methods has not been done or has received little attention. The issue of language-in-education should be of major concern to educators as it has implications on policy development. It is hoped that my study will fill in a gap in methodology and knowledge, and that it may provide a basis for further interventions which empower policy planners and implementers in Zimbabwe in particular and other African countries in general.

Results generated in this study are likely to contribute as a specific action to establish factors that inhibit effective implementation of the language-in-education policy in Zimbabwe. It will also be a move to address the challenges facing primary school teachers in implementing a mother tongue policy. Insights gained are likely to contribute towards the development of intervention strategies that would empower primary school teachers to effectively implement the policy on the language of education. It is also hoped that if shared with the implementing Ministry, the findings of this study can have an impact on the language-in-education policy implementation through improved participation of teachers. The study will therefore be of significance to the MoESAC, policy makers, parents, teachers and learners.

1.10 Delimitation of the study

The study focuses on identifying and analysing factors that stifle effective implementation of the language-in-education policy at primary school level. The study is confined to rural primary schools in Masvingo Education District in Masvingo Province. Masvingo Province is one of the ten administrative provinces in Zimbabwe. It is made up of seven education districts, and Masvingo District, which is the focus of this study, happens to be one of the districts in Masvingo Province. The population of the study consists of primary school teachers teaching in rural primary schools, district schools' inspectors and primary school heads (principals) in Masvingo District.

1.11 Methodology

The study is concerned with the review of the language-in-education policy in primary schools, with a view to exploring the experiences, beliefs and behaviour of teachers. Nyawaranda (2000:29) suggests that since a teacher's beliefs cannot be observed or measured, they have to be inferred from the teacher's patterns of interaction. The study adopted a qualitative research approach to get responses of rural primary school teachers with regards to their conceptualisation and implementation of the language-in-education policy. Creswell (2007) is of the opinion that reality is best understood from the perspective of the participant hence my study sought the views and conceptions of participants. The qualitative research provided me with more insight and an understanding of multiple realities of teacher experiences in the implementation of the mother tongue policy for education. Interviews, observations, document analysis, notes and implications of salient issues in the individual teachers' lives (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011) enabled me to gain multiple perspectives of the participants and to solicit unpredicted data on how rural primary school teachers interpret and respond to the current policy on the language of education.

A case study research design was adopted in this study. The case study research design addressed a contemporary phenomenon within its natural context, that is, the

rural primary school setting. A case study research is richly descriptive because it is grounded in deep and varied sources of information (Hancock and Algozzine, 2006:16). The case study employed quotes of key participants, vignettes and other relevant techniques to investigate and bring to life teachers' views, knowledge and interpretation of the language-in-education policy. Data collection tools included individual and focus group interviews, personal accounts, documents analysis and classroom observations (Hakim, 1992:22-27). The tools of data collection were based on constitutive ethnography. Qualitative research necessitates a collection of varied empirical data sources (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005:370), results of which were triangulated for validation.

The case of three (3) rural primary schools was investigated and a total of twenty (20) participants were involved. The participants included fifteen (15) teachers, five from each of the sampled schools, three schools' heads (principals) and two schools' inspectors from Masvingo Education District. The case study design was preferred since my research is qualitative and not statistical in nature.

This case study involved obtaining a great deal of personal and intimate information from participants. Therefore, I asked participants for their permission to participate in the interviews and focus group discussions. All participants in interviews and focus group discussions were provided with informed consent statements that clearly stated the purpose of the study, that participation was voluntary and that they could discontinue their participation at will (Gilbert, 2008: 150; Silverman, 2010: 155). Where participants would show reluctance to elaborate during interviews, I would respect such decisions. In order to guarantee privacy, anonymity and confidentiality of participants, I used numbers and pseudo names rather than real names for schools, teachers, school heads and schools' inspectors.

1.11.1 The postcolonial theory paradigm

This study, which is based on bilingual education from a postcolonial standpoint, is located within the postcolonial theory paradigm. In light of the fact that participants in the current study might be influenced by their colonial past (Nchindila, 2010:240), the postcolonial theory paradigm was considered appropriate for studying factors that act as barriers to effective implementation of a bilingual education policy in Zimbabwe as a postcolony. The aim of the postcolonial theory is to capture the material, intellectual and subjective effects of colonialism, and to create room for decolonization (Rivas, 2005:63). Chilisa (2012) views the reasons for doing research under the postcolonial theory paradigm as a way of coming up with a body of knowledge that carries hope and that would bring about social change among the historically oppressed people. In other words, the formally colonised have not been described in a positive manner through forms of research that did not give them space to describe their own experiences. In order to achieve the above stated objectives when conducting research based on the postcolonial theory paradigm, Viruru (2005:9) suggests that the vital concept is the adoption of "an activist position, seeking social transformation". I used research methods which gave my participants an opportunity to speak for themselves and to suggest solutions to the challenges on language-in-education policy implementation, hoping that such an experience would provide room for their transformation.

As this study is informed by models of bilingual education, the following section illustrates the relationship between the postcolonial theory paradigm and bilingualism in a postcolonial context.

1.11.2 Postcolonial theory and bilingual education

Macedo (1999 cited in Viruru, 2005:10) traces the connections between the colonial ideologies of distinction and superiority to the debate over bilingual education in the United States, and the tension between education based on Western heritage and multicultural ideas. Macedo goes further to point out that schools are often the institutions which perform such measuring and subsequent relegation. In Bray and Koo's (2004:215) view, for a long time now, language-in-education as a system has

been recognised "not only as a very significant indicator of power relations in societies but also as a very important instrument for continuing and/or change". As a result, bilingual education is one of the key socio-political and historical arguments that continue to affect the education of postcolonial subjects (Rivas, 2005:13). Thus, colonialism imposes 'distinction' as an 'ideological yardstick' against which other people are measured and regarded as "the other", who are portrayed as weak or lacking in certain respects (Viruru, 2005; Rizvi et al., 2006; Chilisa, 2012).

In view of the above observations, Arthur and Martin (2006:177) contend that in many postcolonial societies, teachers and learners face linguistic challenges everyday in their effort to accomplish teaching and learning in a foreign language. Zimbabwe is no exception as a postcolonial state, as it has a bilingual education system in which English assumes an important position. As such, primary school teachers use English in teaching and learning instead of using the mother tongue in line with the requirements of the language-in-education policy currently in use, thereby disadvantaging learners. The use of the postcolonial theory paradigm in my study was justified, since some authorities have successfully employed it in the education context. For example, Arthur and Martin (2006) used the postcolonial perspective to analyse bilingual education policies in Botswana in Africa and Brunei Darussalam in South East Asia. Through employing the postcolonial paradigm, Arthur and Martin (2006) have come to conclude that:

> Examination of language policies demonstrates the local and pragmatic responses to educational language policies, and the way in which classroom participants have the potential to reproduce or challenge language values which such policies embody. How lessons are actually accomplished is thus, in an era of 'global English', of increasing rather than diminishing interest and importance (p.198).

The postcolonial theory paradigm was thus considered relevant for my study because those who believe in that epistemological perspective regard meaning to be socially constructed and that it should be obtained through discussion and interactions with

those participants who have experienced the phenomenon in a postcolonial context (Cohen et al., 2011; Chilisa, 2012).

1.12 Limitations of the study

The major limitation was that of financial constraints since I did not get funding for conducting the research project. As a result, the study was confined to schools in Masvingo District, which is close to my home and my workplace. Due to the fact that my study was a case study which consisted of teachers from only three rural primary schools, my findings may not be transferable nationally.

The other limitation was that the majority of primary school teachers know me as a teacher educator in primary teachers' colleges and at Great Zimbabwe University which is in Masvingo province. Therefore, I had to reassure the participants about the anonymity and confidentiality of data that they provided.

1.13 Definition of key terms

Teacher: a primary school teacher is one who is tasked to teach eleven subjects in any grade within the context of the seven primary school grades in Zimbabwe. A teacher is viewed as an expert, and as someone who commands authority and trust both within the school and outside.

Early Childhood Development: In this study, these are primary school grades which range from ECD [B] (Pre-primary) up to Grade 3.

Upper primary school: These are school grades which range from Grade 4 up to Grade 7.

Mother tongue: This is the language which the child first acquires. In this study, terms that will be used interchangeably to refer to ChiShona as the mother tongue are: first language, primary, indigenous, native or home language.

Second language: This is the language which is acquired in addition to the mother tongue. In this study the second language refers to English.

Conceptualisation: In this study, conceptualisation means the way primary school teachers view and understand policy on the language of education.

Respond: Reacting to given information or experience. In this study, it means to act according to expectations of the Zimbabwean language-in-education policy.

Implement: It means to put into action an agreed upon policy. In this study, it means the execution of the policy on the language of education at primary school level.

Language-in-education: The language of education used by primary school teachers to teach all subjects except English. In this study, the official language-in-education policy in primary schools is the mother tongue, as stipulated by the 1987 Education Act, revised in 2006.

1.14 Organisation of the study
The thesis comprises seven chapters as follows:

Chapter One: Orientation of the study
In this chapter, the background information with regard to the gap that exists between the language-in-education policy and its implementation in a bilingual context has been discussed. The statement of the problem is explained, as well as research questions, research objectives, rationale for the study, its significance, limitations and delimitations.

This chapter also describes the theoretical and conceptual framework that guided this study, followed by the definition of key terms and concepts.

Chapter Two: Conceptualisation of the Zimbabwean language-in-education policy framework

In this chapter, the conceptual framework that guides this study about issues of policy implementation in general and language-in-education in particular in a bilingual setup are discussed. External and local variables which determine the success or failure in policy implementation, in particular, teacher efficacy are explored.

Chapter Three: Language-in-education policy and Teacher Education

This chapter is devoted to reviewing the relevant literature on the factors that contribute as barriers to effective implementation of bilingual education policies in Africa. Language preferences, myths, attitudes, beliefs and knowledge of teachers and other education stakeholders are explored with regard to the use of the mother tongue in the education of primary school children.

Chapter Four: Empirical investigation: Methodological considerations

The chapter provides an explanation and justification of the postcolonial theory paradigm, the qualitative case study research design and a description of the instruments and data collection procedures. The chapter gives an overview of the qualitative data analysis that was employed. Issues pertaining to quality criteria measures (validity and reliability in qualitative research) are addressed, as well as consideration for ethical issues.

Chapter Five: Data presentation and analysis

Data from individual interviews, focus group discussions and open-ended questionnaires is presented and analysed in accordance with research questions of the study.

Chapter Six: Discussion of findings

Research findings are discussed in comparison with literature derived from chapters two and three.

Chapter Seven: Summary, conclusions and recommendations

In this chapter, a summary of the findings is presented and conclusions are drawn. Furthermore, recommendations on intervention strategies for teacher education institutions and the MoESAC are suggested as a way of empowering rural primary school teachers on effective implementation of the current language-in-education policy.

1.15 Conclusion

This chapter provides a general introduction and serves as an orientation to the study. The background to the study and the statement of the problem are outlined, followed by the rationale and significance of the study. A description of the research methodology is provided, and the sampling technique is explained. The theory that guides and frames the study is described, followed by limitations and delimitation of the study. The key terms are then put into context. The next chapter presents a conceptual framework of the study, with regards to policy implementation in general and bilingual education policy in particular.

CHAPTER 2: CONCEPTUALISATION OF THE LANGUAGE-IN-EDUCATION POLICY FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

The intention of this study was to explore factors that contribute to failure by primary school teachers to effectively implement the language-in-education policy. The preceding chapter outlined the background to language and education in some African countries in general and in particular in the Zimbabwean context. The problem, key research questions, motivation and delimitation and limitations of the study were presented.

In this chapter, I outline the conceptual framework of this study. A conceptual framework is described by Reichel and Ramey (1987 cited in Smyth, 2004 http://www.iier.org.au/iier14/smyth.html) as a set of broad ideas and principles that are taken from relevant fields of enquiry and used to structure a subsequent presentation. My study focuses on the implementation of the language-in-education policy within a bilingual education context. For this purpose, I reviewed numerous sources on teacher change as well as bilingual education programmes. Leshem and Trafford (2007:97) are of the opinion that developing a conceptual framework forces one to be selective and explicit with regard to important features and to come up with a rational explanation of the relationships in related factors of the study. As a result, I merely focused on those perspectives I consider relevant in providing the necessary background in my conceptualisation of implementation failure within the bilingual school context. In particular, Fullan (1991), Hargreaves, Lieberman, Fullan and Hopkins (2005) and Baker (2006) were key sources that provided ample guidance on the theory and description of change principles. I was mainly guided by the focus of my study in terms of the research questions and the aim of the study (Berger and Patchener, 1988 in Leshem and Trafford, 2007:96). My study set out to explore barriers to effective implementation of the Zimbabwean language-in-education policy from the perspectives of teachers, who are the implementers of the proposed policy document.

In Zimbabwe, there has been some discourse on the language of instruction, which led to the development of policies that recognize the significant role played by the mother tongue in learning. However, there has not been adequate research conducted to establish in particular, why teachers do not effectively implement the language-in-education policy of the 1987 Education Act, as amended in 2006, which stipulates that children may learn in their first language up to Grade 7.

Prior to the promulgation of this 2006 policy, Zimbabwe had been characterised by different policy models. In pre-independence Zimbabwe, children were taught in their mother tongue up to 1962 when the Judges Commission was tasked to report on the affairs of African education, and in particular Zimbabwean language-in-education policy. The Commission's report recommended that English should be introduced from the first grade. This English only model was maintained until after independence in 1980, when the significant role played by the mother tongue was realised. As opposed to the previous policy which required children to learn in English from the first day of school, the policy that was introduced in the 1987 Education Act advocated for the use of the first language as the language of teaching and learning up to Grade Three. As a way of showing its commitment to the mother tongue education, the policy was revised by the Government in 1990 and 1994 where it was maintained that learners would continue to access the curriculum in their mother tongue up to Grade Three. My contention is the 2006 amendment, which is the focus of this doctoral study especially that education in the mother tongue was extended from three years to seven years in primary schools.

This chapter conceptualised the implementation of the language-in-education policy as a curriculum change issue (Cummins, 2005:160). Consequently, it is imperative to provide the concept of policy implementation through a conceptual framework which covers factors that contribute to effective implementation of policy in general and language-in-education in particular in the Zimbabwean education system. The conceptual framework, therefore, covers local and external variables which are critical in

the process of policy implementation, the role of language in cognitive development and bilingual education programmes relevant to the African contexts.

2.2 The concept of policy implementation

Since the focus of this study is on finding out why primary school teachers fail to effectively implement the language-in-education policy, it is important to reflect on how the term implementation is defined. According to Brynard (2005:9), the most common meaning of implementation is "to carry out, to accomplish, to fulfill, to produce or to complete". The concept is further advanced by Fullan (1991:65) who regards implementation as consisting of "the process of putting into practice an idea, programme, or set of activities and structures new to the people attempting or expected to change". Based on the above perception of implementation as a concept, it shows that policy implementation can be regarded as the act of successfully achieving policy objectives pertaining to teaching strategies which may be new to teachers. In the context of this study, the concept refers to effective implementation of the 2006 language-in-education policy which recommends the language for learning and teaching to be the learners' mother tongue up to the end of the primary school level.

In order to understand implementation failure, which is the focus of this study, it is pertinent to consider its brief historical background. Jeffrey Pressman and Aaron Wildavsky (1973, cited in McLaughlin, 1998:70) were among the first implementation researchers to report that implementers did not do as told since they responded in what appeared to be an unpredictable and resistant manner. According to McLaughlin (1998), this came as something of a surprise to planners and analysts, as the policy during that period generally ignored the significance of practices, beliefs and traditions of the local community. In the context of my study, I concur with the emphasis of taking into consideration teacher beliefs and practices for successful implementation of a policy such as the one on the language of education.

As a result of the Rand Change Agent study which was conducted from 1973 to 1978 in the United States of America, it was established that "it is exceedingly difficult for policy

to change practice" (McLaughlin, 1998). It is evident that The Change Agent study contributed knowledge on the reality that, "What actually happens as a result of a policy depends on how policy is interpreted and transformed at each point in the process, and finally on the individual at the end of the line" (McLaughlin, 1998:72). In the education system, the teacher happens to be at the end of the line and, hence, he or she is the most important change agent (Ndawi and Maravanyika, 2011:68). My assumption is that the situation described above is still being experienced by policy-makers who may continue to revise and amend the mother tongue policy believing that it was adopted and yet, in actual fact, primary school teachers continue to implement an English only policy. In my opinion and in the context of my study, it is therefore of great importance to explore teachers' attitudes, beliefs, interpretation of the language-in-education policy and their choices about how to put it into practice. Such findings may result in the possibility of my study making a contribution to the existing knowledge base on reasons for implementation failure.

The other contribution that was made by The Rand Change Agent study as revealed by Pressman and Wildavsky (1973 cited in McLaughlin, 1998), was that implementation is a complex concept which can best be understood by viewing it either as a noun or as a verb (Brynard, 2005:13). When taken as a noun, implementation implies the state of having achieved the policy goals. On the other hand, it can be regarded as a verb, which implies a process in which everything happens in an effort to achieve the desired policy objective. Because of the complexity as expressed in the above exposition, I concur with the author's view of placing value on implementation both as a noun and as a verb. To illustrate his emphasis, Brynard proclaims that when implementation (noun) has not been achieved, it does not mean that implementation (verb) does not happen. When implementation is viewed as a verb, it is best understood from the illustration provided by Brynard (2005) who asserts:

> When policy objectives are not achieved, it may be because the specific steps prescribed in the policy to achieve the said goal were never followed; were followed but did not produce the predicted result; were transformed; or, most likely, a combination of the above. However, the 'process' of implementation did happen in that the prescribed steps were taken, ignored or transformed (p.14).

Thus, it is clear from the above assertion that failure to achieve policy goals may be due to various reasons, all of which are experienced from implementation as a complex process. The complexity of the implementation process is amply demonstrated by Brynard (2005:16) who contends that the study of implementation becomes an attempt to "unravel the complexity of following policy as it travels through the complex, dynamic maze of implementation". For Brynard (2005), implementation is a complex political process rather than an event, a perception that I adhere to. In the context of my study, in order to appreciate implementation of the policy as a process of change, it is vital to analyse the actions that happened at national, provincial, district and at school levels after the statement of the language-in-education for Zimbabwe. I therefore argue that it is crucial to understand the process of implementation at all levels of education so as to establish underlying reasons for implementation failure and come up with meaningful intervention strategies (Sergiovanni, 2005). According to Brynard (2005:5), whereas impact studies typically ask "What happened?" implementation studies ask "Why did it happen?" Hence, my study is an attempt to conduct implementation research which seeks to find out why primary school teachers do not implement the language-in-education policy as expected. Despite the good intention by the Government of Zimbabwe to encourage students to learn in their mother tongues, teachers do not use African languages as languages of learning and teaching at primary school level (Chimhundu, 1997, 2010).

2.3 The Top-Down and Bottom-Up approaches into implementation

Due to the complexity inherent in implementation processes, researchers have not been able to come up with a widely accepted theory of implementation. However, an analysis of policy implementation discourse tends to bring out two prominent perspectives. These two schools of thought evolved with regards to the most effective way to study and describe implementation. These are the top-down and the bottom-up approaches. Each of these perspectives has its own strengths and weaknesses. Therefore, the position taken in this study is that it is best to incorporate the merits displayed by each model in order to get more effective results.

The top-down approach is based on the assumption that once policies have been authoritatively proclaimed, then implementation would happen "automatically" (Hjern and Hull, 1982, cited in Brynard 2005). Sergiovanni (2005:299) further explains the perspective by proclaiming that the top-down approach to influencing change relies on methods whereby policy is dictated by authorities at the top through policy documents, external assessment and other prescriptive methods. Based on what has been revealed by literature on the implementation of the top-down perspective, this kind of thinking may have a bearing on current practices on policy implementation in Zimbabwe. For example, the language-in-education policy, which is the focus of this study, was proclaimed by the Government of Zimbabwe through the MoESAC. It was assumed that primary school teachers would automatically implement the policy which gave them the right to teach in the learners' mother tongues. However, research findings indicate that primary school teachers do not implement the proposed policy as expected by the policy-makers (Nkomo, 2008; Ndamba, 2010).

With reference to the top-down approach, Sergiovanni (2005) posits that such kind of changes where policy is merely handed down to implementers without their input, are superficial and do not last long since they are made simply to comply with policy and to avoid sanctions. To this effect, Jansen (2009:224) submits that when teachers implement the new curriculum handed down to them, they implement only those things that will keep them out of 'trouble'. Jansen goes further to argue that such changes are done only in form, not in substance, implying that teachers implement such reforms half heartedly, making it impossible for those changes to become permanent. My submission is that if primary school teachers in Zimbabwe did not have any input in the formulation of the language-in-education policy, then they may not effectively implement it. Nevertheless, despite the demerits of this top-down perspective as cited above, Sergiovanni (2005) contends that it is necessary to consider this approach because it has an advantage of bringing about quick changes in schools and their structures. Guided by this line of thinking, I regard my study as addressing the need to critically analyse the extent to which implementation of the language-in-education policy for Zimbabwe is affected by the top-down nature of policy implementation.

As opposed to the top-down perspective, the bottom-up approach consists of change forces which originate from within the school community itself. Supporters of this model believe that for policy to be successfully implemented, those responsible at grassroots level are the most important people. With reference to my study, the implication is that in the case of the implementation of the policy on the language of teaching and learning in Zimbabwe, then teachers would be regarded as the target group that is held responsible for implementing the change (Jansen, 2009:216).

Three types of community forces were identified in the bottom-up perspective, namely, professional, cultural and democratic (Sergiovanni, 2005:299). Sergiovanni goes further to indicate that professional forces are based on situations where teachers demonstrate that they have a professional obligation towards their work. On the other hand, cultural and democratic forces rely on shared goals and values about teaching and learning, implying that such schools operate as communities which have the same vision. Taken in the light of the above submission, it therefore follows that when teachers become fully committed to changes that affect them, such as implementing the language-in-education policy for Zimbabwe, they then operate as effective communities which bring about "deep" and long lasting changes (Sergiovanni, 2005:302). Viewed in this manner, Sergiovanni (2005) avers that the benefits that we derive from the bottom-up approach are that of securing long term changes. On the other hand, despite the above stated advantages, Sergiovanni submits that when things are not going well, it may not be easy for teachers to assess themselves in the bottom-up perspective. In the context of my study, the idea of suggesting long lasting strategies to improve rural primary school teachers' understanding and implementation of the language-in-education policy is therefore justified.

For the reason that both the top-down and bottom-up approaches have their particular advantages, there is now general agreement among most theorists on the existence of some convergence between these two perspectives (Darling-Hammond, 2005:366; James and Jones, 2008:10). The same view is held by Cohen and Spillane (1994:81) who submit that systemic reform would require a combination of bottom-up and top-

down change. Fullan (1994:198) also confirms that researchers have found that change occurs when top-down mandates and bottom-up initiatives "connect". In my opinion and with reference to my study, it is, therefore, important to consider forces that are likely to be most effective in a given situation, rather than selecting top-down or bottom-up approaches, one to the exclusion of the other (Fullan, 1994:201). Based on what has been said above, it is clear that there is no single way which can be regarded as the best method of bringing about change in schools. In the context of this study, it follows that successful implementation of a mother tongue policy in education results from considering both the top-down and bottom-up perspectives (Darling-Hammond, 2005).

Scholars of implementation studies, who believe in either top-down or bottom-up perspectives generally agree on five variables that serve as a frame of reference for successful implementation. Emanating from the above views regarding the need to consider various change forces, the next paragraph discusses the critical variables for policy implementation.

2.4 Critical variables for policy implementation

Brynard (2005:13-21) asserts that several variables need to be considered for there to be successful implementation of policy. There are five variables which shape the directions which implementation might take and also serve as a reference for successful implementation. According to Brynard, these variables are important causal factors for many scholars who adhere to either top-down or bottom-up perspectives, those who work on different issues, as well as those scholars in industrialised or developing countries. The conclusion that can be drawn here is that the five identified variables may easily fit within the context of my study since they are widely accepted as contributing towards effective implementation of policy.

The first variable for effective implementation is *content*. Brynard notes that the content of policy is vital with regard to what it spells out as the means that it will employ in order to achieve its objectives. Based on the above exposition, it shows that the role of the content of policy is to bring out policy objectives and specific ways of how to achieve

those agreed upon outcomes. In the context of the Zimbabwean language-in-education policy, (Makanda, 2009:56) contends that there is a glaring lack of a policy guide as evidenced by the lukewarm approach where education authorities have an option to use any of the three main languages, namely, Shona, Ndebele or English. This position is expressed in the 2006 policy, under Section 62 of the Education Act, Part X11 which reads, "Prior to Form 1, any one of the languages referred to in subsection (1) and (2) may be used as the medium of instruction depending on which language is more commonly spoken and better understood by the pupils". Makanda goes on to posit that this situation is the opposite of the Rhodesian (pre-independence Zimbabwe) Education Act, Chapter 82, Section 22 which stated that "Subject to the provision of this part, English language shall be the medium of instruction at all schools". Thus, by emphatically and authoritatively articulating its position on what language shall be used as a matter of policy, the colonial government was clear on the direction to be taken on how to achieve its goals, objectives and values with regard to the English language.

The second crucial variable is *context*. Rogan and Grayson (2003:1175) hold the view that the process of change is context-specific, hence implementation must take into account the context of a particular school with regard to its teachers, pupils, leadership and environment. The same view is echoed by Berman (1980) and O'Toole (1986) cited by Brynard (2005:17) who also proclaim that a context-free theory of implementation is not likely to produce powerful explanations or accurate predictions. Based on the above arguments, the conclusion that can be drawn here is that implementation of a policy change depends on the context of a country or a specific school. With reference to this study, it is therefore significant to find out the extent to which teachers regard the language-in-education policy for Zimbabwe as context-specific to enable them to implement it.

The third variable is that of *commitment*. Both the bottom-up and top-down perspectives consider commitment a crucial variable to effective implementation of policy. Those who strongly believe in the top-down perspective consider commitment as emanating from the strength of the content and its capacity, but both are viewed as being controlled

from the top. On the other hand, the bottom-up scholars regard commitment as being influenced much more by the institutional context with its community of individuals who are affected by policy. Brynard (2005) summarises the thinking on the significance of commitment by saying that firstly, commitment is important at all levels through which policy passes. Secondly, that commitment will be influenced by and will influence all the other variables. In the light of what has been said with regards to commitment and in the context of my study, it can be concluded that if those responsible for implementing the policy are unwilling or unable, then little will happen (Warwick, 1982 cited in Brynard, 2005:18). With reference to the Zimbabwean language-in-education policy, Chimhundu (1997:145) cites lack of political will, resulting in the continued vernacularization of African languages in the post-colonial era.

Capacity is the fourth variable and Brynard notes that on no other variable does the analytic literature on implementation seem as unanimous as on the need for effective implementation *capacity*. The same view is held by Fullan (1998:672) who also considers capacity of the school system and its communities as the key to reform. The explanation of implementation capacity is viewed by McLaughlin, (1998:72) as the availability of and access to resources such as human, financial, material, technological and logistical. I concur with McLaughlin's emphasis of the above stated forms of implementation capacity, as failure to secure those resources is tantamount to implementation failure, particularly with regard to the language of education. McLaughlin goes further to argue that there are also the intangible requirements which are critical for transforming rhetoric into action, for example, leadership, motivation, willingness and endurance. My assumption is that capacity in the form of intangible requirements may be lacking at the level of both the Government of Zimbabwe and teachers themselves as implementers. Thus, literature has demonstrated that it is critical for there to be implementation capacity at all levels in order to manage change. With reference to this study, it therefore implies that when teachers are particularly equipped with implementation capacity, it is then that they will be in a position to manage and sustain change, regarding the language-in-education policy for Zimbabwe.

The support of *clients and outside coalitions* is the final critical variable. Elmore (1975, cited in Brynard, 2005:20) explains that implementation is affected by the formation of local coalitions of individuals who are affected by the policy. In this study, primary school teachers were identified as critical in the implementation process of the mother tongue policy. It is my assumption that if they collaborate among themselves with the support of the school principal, they will be empowered with the capacity to improve practice at school level (Sergiovanni, 2005:298). In Fullan's (1991) view, it is crucial to identify both local and outside stakeholders in order to garner their support. The outside stakeholders that can be identified as relevant in the study of implementation failure with regard to the language-in-education policy are the district schools' inspectors and local school communities. The schools' inspectors, who are responsible for a cluster of schools in a given District within Zimbabwe's ten Education Provinces, are capable of influencing change since they are government representatives at district level. Local school communities are important stakeholders as they are capable of frustrating the schools' change efforts. If parents do not approve mother tongue usage in education, teachers may not be free to implement the proposed language-in-education policy for Zimbabwe.

Literature has demonstrated the significance of paying attention to all the critical variables that are cited above. With reference to my study, it can thus be concluded that failure to successfully implement a mother tongue policy, according to implementation scholars, may emanate from ignoring the above stated critical variables which are pertinent in achieving policy goals. Other key factors in the implementation process as proposed by Fullan (1991:67-80) are presented in the next section.

2.5 Interactive factors in implementing change

Fullan (1991) suggested nine factors which are crucial in the implementation of change, and these are organised into three categories relating to (1) the characteristics of the innovation or change project, (2) local characteristics, and (3) external factors. According to Fullan, these critical factors are interactive.

2.5.1 Factors related to characteristics of change

The first factor identified by Fullan is that of *need* (Jansen, 2009:208). Through several large-scale studies in the United States, literature on policy change demonstrated that for successful implementation to occur, it is important to relate *need* to decisions that are made regarding innovations. Fullan (1991) contends that many innovations are attempted without careful consideration of whether or not they address what is seen as priority needs by teachers and other stakeholders, hence, leading to implementation failure. For this reason, Rogan and Grayson (2003:1172) advanced this argument further when they recommend that no major curriculum reform should be attempted until the need for reform is clearly recognised by those involved in the reform process. With reference to Zimbabwe, it is my assumption that the policy on mother tongue usage in the primary school was based on the need by the Government (Jansen, 2009:207) to raise the status of African languages after the attainment of independence in 1980. It would be interesting to find out the extent to which the teachers, who are expected to implement the language-in-education policy, actually appreciate that need.

The second factor relates to *clarity* about goals and means. Fullan explains that problems that are related to the clarity of policy are common since they have been found in almost every study of significant change. Because of such problems, teachers and other stakeholders get confused by such unclear policy goals and unspecified means of implementation. Thus, it can be concluded that when implementers view the policy as lacking clarity, the result is a situation which can cause great anxiety and frustration (Fullan, 1991). In the context of this study, the language-in-education policy has no firm position on the language to be used since educators are given options by the use of 'may' with reference to the use of either Shona/Ndebele or English. The result is that "interpretation and implementation of these provisions in the school system is confused and half-hearted" (Chimhundu, 1997:134). In support of this view, Jansen (2009:225) affirms that when teachers are not clear about the goals of the new curriculum, they may simply support the new ideas in principle but continue with their old practices due to their lack of understanding. Makanda (2009:57) submits that the

language-in-education policy for Zimbabwe does not clearly state which language is the medium of instruction in the primary school. My assumption is that the lack of clarity may confuse those teachers who want to sincerely make an effort to implement the proposed policy on language-in-education, as they may not understand the goals of the proposed change.

The third related factor is *complexity*, which refers to the difficulty and the extent of change that is required of those responsible for implementation. When teachers see the tasks as too demanding, Jansen (2009:216) argues that they simply do not implement the proposed change. In the light of this exposition, the emphasis on paying attention to all the requisite skills identified above is therefore justified. With reference to my study, Zimbabwean primary school teachers may lack the required skills in terms of teaching strategies and may have particular attitudes which need to be changed in order to successfully achieve the proposed objectives with regard to the language-in-education policy.

The *quality and practicality* of the programme is the last factor directly related to the nature of change. Fullan believes that inadequate quality of a policy can result when decisions to adopt are made on grounds of political necessity. Such decisions are frequently made without the follow-up or preparation time necessary to develop adequate materials. According to Fullan, related to quality is practicality. For effective implementation to happen, teachers must view the changes in schools as practical. For this reason, Rogan and Grayson (2003:1171) proclaim that all too often, the energies of policy-makers and politicians are focused on the 'what' of desired educational change, neglecting the 'how'. This implies that the emphasis of policy-makers is on the adoption of policy rather than focusing on its implementation. The same situation may apply to Zimbabwe where teachers can have doubts on the quality of the proposed policy if no follow-up was made and if there were no new materials produced in line with the 2006 amendment to the language-in-education policy.

According to Mortimore, Sammons, Stoll, Lewis and Ecob (1988 cited in Fullan, 1991:72) practical changes are those that address "salient needs, which fit well with the

teacher's situation, that are focused, and that include concrete how-to-do-it possibilities". In view of the sentiments expressed above, it therefore follows that for a policy such as the one on language of education to be effectively implemented, it has to be regarded as being practical in terms of guiding teachers on how to implement the change while targeting their situations.

In summation, researchers have demonstrated that need, clarity, complexity, and quality/practicality are important characteristics of change according to Fullan's categorization and that these have a bearing on the effectiveness of policy implementation in the classroom (school situation) environment. By establishing the extent to which these characteristics have a bearing on the implementation of change with regard to the language-in-education policy for Zimbabwe, such findings may contribute to literature in the area of policy implementation.

2.5.2 External factors

This study investigated challenges faced by teachers regarding the implementation of a language policy which was legislated by the Government of Zimbabwe through the MoESAC, hence the need to assess the level of intervention and support from the central administration. With regards to the role of policy-makers on the success of a policy, Fullan (1991:79) asserts that "whether or not implementation occurs will depend on the congruence between the reforms and local needs, and how the changes are introduced and followed through". Thus, it is evident from literature that if the policy-maker is ignorant of the challenges faced by the local practitioner or vice versa, the reform is bound to fail. In view of the above assertion, is clear that the quality of relationships is vital between the local implementers and the government. Fullan posits that when the government and policy implementers share the same vision, the situation will allow support for any change efforts when there is agreement. It is therefore clear that when there is mutual understanding, there will be room for reconciling problems when conflict threatens policy implementation. Within the context of my study, the assessment of such a relationship that exists between the Government through the

MoESAC and primary school teachers as policy implementers becomes justified. It would be of significant value to find out how the policy was introduced and whether the Government of Zimbabwe made any follow-up activities with regard to the implementation of the language-in-education policy.

Darling-Hammond (2005:366) expresses the same sentiments by stating that government intervention is crucial, hence the assertion that "just as systems cannot change schools by mandate, widespread school change cannot occur by school invention alone, without supports and leadership from the policy system". This assertion by Darling-Hammond clearly demonstrates that those governments which are aware of the importance and difficulty of implementation do allocate resources for the establishment of implementation units, assess the quality of potential changes, support staff development, monitor implementation processes and other relevant factors (Fullan, 1991:80). It is my assumption that the same situation may prevail in Zimbabwe, where primary school teachers may not be getting the necessary support to ensure the success of the mother tongue policy. This position is echoed by Bailey (2000:113) who argues that rather than supporting teachers in their classrooms, bureaucratic change processes tend to direct teachers rather than engage them. With reference to my study, what Bailey (2000) proposes as the best practice would apply for the success of the language-in-education policy as a curriculum change, that policy-makers and administrators should work *with* teachers rather than *on* them.

In sum, it is believed in literature that government intervention is crucial for the successful implementation of a curriculum innovation. In the context of my study, and in line with the above submissions on the role of the government, such intervention includes support in the form of attending to teacher needs by way of providing staff development, allocating necessary resources and monitoring the success of the language-in-education policy.

2.5.3 Local factors

Local factors identified as contributing to successful change in a school situation are the school district, the board and community characteristics, the principal and the teacher. Commenting on the role of the school district, Fullan (1991) submits that the support of the district superintendent is crucial to educational change. In the case of Zimbabwe, the District Education Officer leads a team of an average of four schools' inspectors per district. Each schools inspector is in charge of an average of 40 primary schools. Fullan (1991) further confirms that the endorsement of a new programme by district administrators has very little influence on change in practice at school level if there is no implementation follow-up. In the context of this study, it is of particular value for the schools' inspectors as district administrators to demonstrate through action that implementation of the language-in-education policy is a serious issue, so that teachers regard the change as important.

In introducing change in schools, districts frequently ignore the community and/or the school board. As such, Fullan (1991) posits that although it is difficult to generalize about the role of communities and school boards with regard to implementation, research points out that the support of the community towards the school was positively correlated with innovativeness. Owing to the cited research findings, it is therefore evident that when the community is supportive of school efforts in bringing about change, then major conflicts which sometimes incapacitate schools in bringing about change would not be experienced. My assumption is that when Zimbabwean communities are not enlightened on the significance of the mother tongue in learning, they might not be supportive of the intended implementation of the language-in-education policy (Quorro, 2009).

Having considered the role of the district and the community in policy implementation, probably the other most powerful figure in the implementation process is the school head (principal), since he or she is better placed to influence change, as discussed below.

2.5.3.1 The role of the school head (principal)

The leadership role of the principal is crucial when it comes to providing a shared vision on how policy will be implemented. It is for this reason that Anderson (2002:335) asserts that the principal has to create opportunities for realistically planning change and subsequently monitoring the implementation process. Anderson suggests that the principal can achieve this by supporting teachers in a variety of ways that include communicating and collaborating with one another.

The principal is regarded by all major research on policy implementation as one who strongly influences the likelihood of change. This stance is maintained by Fullan (1991:76) who proclaims that the actions of the principal, not what he or she says, determine whether change will be taken seriously by teachers or not. Fullan goes on to claim that if the principal does not gain understanding of teachers' beliefs, teaching behaviour and curriculum materials as dimensions of change, then he or she will not be able to provide support for implementation. In the context of my study, it is important to note that teachers might have particular beliefs which may prevent them from using the mother tongue for teaching and learning. Implementation failure may also be due to concerns that teachers have with regard to lack of materials and how to teach using the learners' home language. It would be interesting to find out the extent to which school principals provide support in relation to the implementation of reforms relating to language-in-education policy at primary school level.

The view that the principal is a crucial figure in policy implementation at school level is also held by James and Jones (2008:4) who assert that the principal is someone in a position to shape the organisational conditions necessary for implementation success. The above stated authors emphasise that such conditions to be met by the principal include development of shared goals through shared decision making, creating opportunities for teachers to collaborate, to learn from one another, to become certain about their work and to be committed. I concur with the emphasis placed on enhancing the capacity of teachers through collaboration as a way of bringing about change. Thus, it is clear from literature that the role of the school head is central to promoting or inhibiting change, as illustrated below.

Research revealed that the way teachers make progress in implementing change can vary in different schools, regardless of whether they receive the same initial staff development through attending workshops or seminars as qualified teachers to enhance their teaching skills. This argument is advanced by Anderson (1997:336) who contends that this discovery that teachers do not implement policy in the same manner led to the investigation of the role that the principal plays in assisting teacher efforts to implement change. In a Principal-Teacher Interaction study (PTI), conducted by Hall and Hord (cited in Fullan, 1991:153-157) the research identified three different change facilitator styles of leadership in relation to the implementation of curriculum change in their schools. The identified styles described by Anderson (1997) and Fullan (1991) were the 'Responder', the 'Manager' and the 'Initiator'. Results of that research revealed that of the nine principals studied over a period of one year, two were classified as initiators, three as managers and four as responders. Furthermore, schools with initiator-style principals were rated as being most successful, compared to manager-led schools and responder-led schools, with the latter showing less success to change.

The results also indicate that the responder principals and the manager principals made fewer interventions than the initiator principals (40% of their interventions compared with 20% for the other two types). Initiator principals worked more with staff to clarify and support the use of the innovation through consultation and reinforcement. In view of the above observation, effective practice would therefore depend on the manner with which the principal interacts with teachers to ensure success in the implementation of curriculum change. Fullan (1991) suggests other intervention strategies from effective principals to include collaboration with a vice principal or deputy principal and a key teacher, also known as master teacher, lead teacher or senior teacher. Fullan (1991:155) goes further to observe that such principals write notes to staff, call for short meetings, hold conversations about progress and "more actions taken to consult with teachers, more direction by the principal, more action taken by teachers and more focus on students and learning". Similarly, the implication is that when the principal appears knowledgeable and concerned about the success of a reform, it is then that teachers also focus on achieving the intended objectives. With reference to this study, it is

important to note that primary school teachers in Zimbabwe may require a lot of support from the school head in order to effectively implement the mother tongue policy.

Thus, it is evident from the literature that for successful implementation of change in the school, the principal should support teachers, not single-handedly, but through constant interventions with the help of other change facilitators such as deputy school heads (vice principals) or key teachers who assist him or her in problem-solving (Anderson, 2002:335).

2.5.3.2 The role of the teacher

Teachers play a critical role as it is generally accepted that success or failure in implementing change depends on their attitudes, knowledge and skills as well as how they view support offered by relevant administrations (Bitan-Friedlander, Dreyfus and Milgrom, 2004:608). According to Bitan-Friedlander et al. (2004), school change can only be regarded as having been successfully implemented once teachers are able and willing to implement it in their classes and are confident in their ability to adapt the change to the needs and abilities of their learners. The same view is echoed by Bailey (2000:113) who asserts that "substantive curricular change only occurs when it begins with the teacher and is fundamentally concerned with the needs of children, in a school climate open to problem-solving rather than stifled by a hierarchically organised structure". It is clear from the above submissions that teacher knowledge, beliefs and freedom play a fundamental role in the implementation of reforms. In the context of my study, it is important to note that implementation failure may be due to unwillingness by teachers to implement the policy on language-in-education which may be viewed as not serving the needs of learners.

With reference to the role of the teacher, Collarbone (2009:17) submits that sustainable change depends on three factors, namely; establishing a compelling reason for changes, a clear vision of the future and a coherent plan for getting there. In the light of what has been said, it is evident that teachers' responsiveness and adaptation to change is dependant on their being convinced about the reason for bringing about the

change and how to implement the change. This study investigates why primary school teachers do not implement the language of education, and yet the government gives them the right to teach in the mother tongue. I agree with Collarbone (2009), who asserts that in order to successfully implement change, it is crucial to understand, value and act on what teachers are thinking, doing, feeling and saying at each stage of the change process in order to establish why they violate the requirements of the language-in-education policy.

According to James and Jones (2008:4), successful implementation takes place when teachers collaborate with one another. The same view is advanced by Fullan (1991) who posits that the power for change lies in collaboration as:

> It is assumed that improvement in teaching is a collective rather than individual enterprise and that analysis, evaluation, and experimentation in concert with colleagues are conditions under which teachers improve (p. 134).

Thus, it is clear from literature that the more teachers interact concerning either top-down or bottom-up initiated change, the more they can bring about school improvements such as the implementation of the mother tongue policy in education.

It can be concluded that through interaction and collaboration, teachers get opportunities to receive or to give help to one another, and to make informed decisions on whether to reject, accept or modify the change in the implementation of the curriculum, with particular reference to the language of education for Zimbabwe. The concept of how teachers respond to change is illustrated in the theory of implementation described below.

2.6 The Concerns Based Adoption Model

The focus of this study is on teachers as key players in the implementation of the language-in-education policy at primary school level in Zimbabwe. Although there is lack of agreement on a common theory of implementation by both the top-down and the bottom-up proponents (Cohen and Spillane, 1993:81), this study will explore the relevance of the Concerns Based Adoption Model (CBAM). The CBAM is a well

researched model which describes how people, specifically teachers, develop as they learn about an innovation and the stages of that process (Sweeny, 2008; Hollingshead, 2009). According to Anderson (2002:333) the CBAM was developed at the University of Texas Research and Development Centre for Teacher Education, and the development of this theory began in the early 1970s and continued until the mid-1980s.

Anderson (2002:333), affirms that several assumptions about classroom change in curriculum and instruction underpin the CBAM in the following ways: (1) change is a process, not an event; (2) change is accomplished by individuals; (3) change is a highly personal experience; (4) change involves developmental growth in feelings and skills; and (5) change can be facilitated by interventions directed towards the individuals, innovations, and contexts involved. The assumptions stated above seem to imply that teachers play a vital role in implementing change, such as the policy on the language of education for primary schools in Zimbabwe. Since change is a process and not an event, and a highly personal experience, the individual experiences of teachers are crucial. The CBAM also provides hope for my research, as one of its assumptions is that classroom change can be facilitated by assessing teacher concerns and using that information for planning and delivering interventions to assist individuals or groups of teachers in implementing the change in general, and the implementation of the mother tongue education policy in particular.

According to Fullan (1991:73) a key feature of the practicality of implementation is the 'presence of the next steps'. The question of the relevance of steps is encompassed by the CBAM, where the feelings and attitudes about a change are classified into seven steps or categories of concerns, namely: awareness, informational, personal, management, consequence, collaboration and refocusing. The term 'concern' is further clarified by Hall and Hord (2001, cited in Hollingshead, 2009:168) who define it as "composite representation of the feelings, preoccupation, thought and consideration given to a particular issue or task". The Stages of Concern, therefore, examines attitudes and feelings.

Hall and Hord (2001, cited in Hollingshead, 2009) explain that when undergoing change, individuals impacted by the change share common concerns which happen to have a powerful influence on the implementation of a change policy. According to Anderson (1997:334), the Stages of Concern (SoC) is a framework that describes the feelings and motivations that a teacher might have about a change in curriculum and/or instructional practices at different points in its implementation. To illustrate this point, Anderson (1997:334) describes the Stages of Concern as illustrated below.

At Stage 0, AWARENESS, the teacher has little knowledge about or little interest in the change. At Stage 1, INFORMATIONAL, the teacher is interested in learning more about the innovation and the implications of its implementation. Teacher concerns at Stage 2, PERSONAL, typically reflect strong anxieties about the teacher's ability to implement the change, the appropriateness of the change, and the personal costs of getting involved. Stage 3, MANAGEMENT, is reached when the teacher begins to experiment with implementation; at this point teacher concerns intensify around the logistics and new behaviours associated with putting the change into practice. At Stage 4, CONSEQUENCE, teacher concerns focus predominantly on the impact of the change on students in their classrooms and on the possibilities for modifying the innovation or their use of it to improve its effects. Stage 5, COLLABORATION, reflects the interest of the teacher in working with other teachers in the school to jointly improve the benefits of implementing change for students. At some point in the change process, teachers may reach stage 6, REFOCUSING. At this stage, the teacher is thinking about making major modifications in the use of the proposed change, or perhaps replacing it with something else.

In view of the CBAM described above, it is evident that the Stages of Concern examines individual characteristics pertaining to teacher concerns, feelings, attitudes and motivation about implementing a new instructional practice (Hollingshead, 2009:169). As such, with reference to my study, the Stages of Concern relates to how primary school teachers feel about implementing the language-in-education policy as a curriculum change. The implication is that teachers experience various stages of

concerns in their effort to achieve the expected goals. For this reason, Anderson (1997) maintains that the CBAM theory idealises the Stages of Concerns as a developmental progression in which teachers who are expected to implement a change have concerns of varying degrees across all seven stages at different points as they progress through the change process. In the case of my study, a teacher who is just learning about a change from teaching in English to teaching in the learners' home language, as required by the language-in-education policy, is likely to have higher self concerns. The early stage concerns subside and the middle stage concerns intensify when the teacher starts trying to implement the change in the classroom. As the teacher gets more skilled in using the change, the middle stage concerns may give way to upper stage concerns. This view is clarified by Anderson (1997:343), who summarises the stages of concern by indicating that the original CBAM framework progressed from self concerns (Awareness, Informational, Personal), to task concerns (Management), to impact concerns (Consequence, Collaboration, Renewal).

According to Sweeny (2008:2), the three lower stages are focused on oneself and are referred to as self concerns, a clue of which might be the use of 'I' and 'me' as in 'I am frustrated'. In the context of this study, during the early concerns phase, teachers may not be aware of the requirements of the language-in-education policy and seek information to gain more knowledge. They may experience anxiety with regard to their capability to meet the demands of implementing the language-in-education policy, its appropriateness in teaching and learning and the personal cost of getting involved (Anderson, 1997:334). Teachers may also be uncertain about the conflict which they may experience with the school management and parents with regard to attitudes towards teaching in the mother tongue. Not getting adequate information on the part of teachers may make them resist or ignore the change, leading to their failure to implement the policy. The middle stage (management) focuses on mastery of tasks to the point that they become routines and are easier to do. In the context of my study, at this stage teachers' concerns would be focused on the logistics and new behaviours of putting into practice the language-in-education policy as a curriculum innovation. The upper stages are focused on the results and impact of an activity. With reference to this

study, teachers' concerns would focus on the impact of the language-in-education policy on learners in their classrooms. A clue might be the use of pronouns which refer to clients who benefit from the activity (Sweeny, 2008). For example, "The students are really learning better since I started using the mother language as learning and teaching strategy". In the impact phase, teachers are concerned about how to improve implementation of change such as the language-in-education policy and to explore its benefits with the cooperation of other teachers. The subdivision of concerns into three major stages must be viewed as serving a positive purpose. This view is expressed by Sweeny (2008) who argues that the goal of all professional development programmes should be to help people to reach the collaboration level of practice, such as illustrated in the Stages of Concern.

It is evident from the CBAM literature that when people are overwhelmed or feeling unsuccessful, they are not ready to grow. This implies that educational change such as the language-in-education policy cannot be implemented until the concerns of teachers are addressed. The same view is expressed by Bitan-Friedlander et al. (2004:609) when they proclaim that the CBAM covers the full context of the implementation of an innovation, showing the extent of the development of the teachers' efficacy and involvement. The Stages of Concern point out the significance of acknowledging teacher concerns and addressing them at the appropriate time. Thus, understanding the concerns of teachers with regard to the language-in-education policy can facilitate the adoption of the curriculum change.

Anderson (2002:335) states that the CBAM tools for measuring teacher concerns about a change in curriculum or instruction include a Stages of Concern questionnaire, an Open Ended Concerns Statement procedure, and simple interview tactics. The CBAM, therefore, can be considered relevant in this study in that open-ended questionnaire and interview tactics were employed as tools to elicit teacher concerns regarding why they do not effectively implement the language-in-education policy.

The CBAM approach is very much in line with Sergiovanni's (2005:302) view of a professional community where teachers need to be "continually engaged in talk about

work, values, processes, ideas and concerns". Similarly, I reason that with reference to my study, it is vital to note that teachers may have attitudes or concerns that influence the way they implement the language-in-education policy for Zimbabwe. I therefore concur with Sergiovanni's (2005) stance that when teachers become members of the professional community, they reconceptualise the proposed changes in their own terms and for their specific school contexts. Viewed in this manner, teachers implementing the language-in-education policy would take part in constructing knowledge for themselves through a strong sense of collegiality, creating a culture of collaboration that supports deep change. In the light of the above exposition and in the context of this study, effective practice would depend on opportunities created for teachers to share their knowledge, beliefs and tacit theories about learning and teaching in the mother language.

It can be concluded that the CBAM enables teachers to express their concerns and construct their own meaning of what particular changes mean to them at a given time, while collaborating with one another to bring about deep changes. For this reason, Rogan and Grayson (2003:1199) assert that meaning cannot be given to implementers by those who initiate change at the onset of the process. Rather, teachers need to develop meaning over time when they deal with implementation changes that have been decided upon by others. The language-in-education policy for Zimbabwe is a policy that was initiated by Government through the MoESAC, and was merely handed down to teachers. Hence, the CBAM draws our attention to the need to assess and pay attention to teachers' concerns during implementation of the language-in-education policy in the classrooms. These teachers also need to be supported so that they become creative in order to modify the policy where necessary, tailoring it to the needs of their learners.

Through the use of the CBAM, implementation studies have found that teachers respond to curriculum change in a number of ways, even if they receive the same staff development such as in-service training programmes, as illustrated in the next section.

2.7 Teacher responses to implementation of change

Teachers have been found to respond to the implementation of change in a variety of ways in the school system. This view was confirmed by Bitan-Friedlander et al. (2004:207), when they conducted a study to assess the reaction of a group of Israeli primary school teachers to the introduction of an innovation into the science curriculum. The research was basically qualitative and based on individual interviews related to Hall and Hord's "Stages of Concern". The study revealed that five types of participating teachers could be identified and these helped to express the patterns on teachers' concerns about their personal involvement in the implementation of change.

The first type is the "Opponent" teacher who challenged the idea of undergoing in-service training. According to Bitan-Friedlander et al. (2004) such teachers feel that they "know already everything" on the subject and feel it is not necessary to obtain additional information. With reference to my study, this finding seems to explain why teachers resist and ignore the mother tongue policy for education as a curriculum change issue in Zimbabwe, possibly because they have their own ideas which they prefer to those implied by the proposed change.

The second type was termed the "Worried". It was found that these teachers are worried by feelings of personal inadequacies in the implementation of change and incorporating it in the daily routine teaching activity. Such teachers do not express disagreement with the proposed change, but give up before they reach the point where they can actually become involved in it. My assumption is that the situation observed by Bitan-Friedlander et al. (2004) may be experienced by primary school teachers in Zimbabwe as they can get worried due to personal difficulties in implementing reforms relating to teaching in the mother tongue as a curriculum change.

The "Docile performer" was the third type. These teachers are able to implement the innovation without any serious problems, but do not feel independent enough to develop their own initiatives. Such teachers do not reach the stages of active involvement which characterise the adoption of an innovation. With particular reference to this study, the above finding reinforces the need to assist primary school teachers in implementing the

language-in-education policy, since failure to be actively involved in the change as intended by policy-makers may be due to lack of confidence.

The fourth type was the "Cooperator". These teachers feel that the cooperation with a group reinforces their self-confidence. For them, cooperation means learning from peers. They, however, view cooperation as a one-way channel of receiving information rather than a two-way channel of sharing knowledge. Bitan-Friedlander et al. observe that cooperators are willingly involved in the implementation of the innovation but they feel that they need to learn more. Related to my study, it is important to establish the extent to which teacher beliefs about collaboration influence their responsiveness and adaptation to the implementation of the language policy in education as a curriculum change.

The "Improver" was viewed as the fifth type. These teachers are concerned more about their students' achievements and difficulties than about their own, hence they make independent decisions to modify and improve the educational innovation and to adapt it to the needs of their students. Cooperation, for them, means sharing problems and solutions with peers. The "Improver" was found to be someone who understands and accepts the innovation, and feels self-confident and autonomous enough to try to improve it. The main concerns of such teachers focus on the highest stages of the process of adopting the innovation. Since the study by Bitan-Fridlander et al. was based on teachers who had undergone initial in-service training before implementing the change, it can be concluded that access to professional development programmes provides the capacity for teachers to adapt to change such as the implementation of the language-in-education policy.

The findings that teachers do not implement change in the same manner were confirmed by Hollingshead (2009:178) who also conducted a study using the CBAM and came up with the following "types" of implementers which are specific to her study. Although Hollingshead came up with four types of implementers, they are to a great extent related to the five types that Bitan-Friedlander et al. (2004) came up with. According to Hollingshead, the first type is *the resistor.* This teacher is worried about

how to implement the innovation in addition to already busy daily activities and prefers to do things his or her own way. The teacher does not share the vision for this innovation and hence may decline to participate in it. *The cooperator* is the second type. This teacher accepts the innovation and reveals a need to learn more. There is an indication of a willingness to collaborate, although cooperation is more likely a desire to receive information than to share ideas. This implementer is also not likely to make suggestions to improve the innovation. The third type is *the ideal implementer* who is concerned about students and eager to collaborate with other teachers to accomplish objectives. *The overachiever* is the fourth and last type. This teacher was found to be concerned about the impact of the innovation on students and is willing to work with other teachers. Additionally, this teacher is possibly interested in playing a role in improving the programme.

With particular reference to my study, the conclusion that can be drawn from the findings by both Bitan-Friedlander et al. (2004) and Hollingshead (2009) on how teachers respond to change is that such knowledge is crucial in demonstrating that teachers may resist, ignore, adopt or adapt an educational innovation such as implementation of the mother tongue policy. To this end, Fullan (1991:127) declares that change is a highly personal experience, implying that in the context of my study, the implementation of the language-in-education policy for Zimbabwe mainly depends on the individual primary school teacher. In order to successfully adopt and implement new teaching strategies, Bitan-Friedlander et al. (2004) contend that one of the most crucial components for teachers in policy implementation is a feeling of self-efficacy, a concept that is discussed in the next section.

2.8 Teachers' self-efficacy

Policy implementation is viewed as a complex activity and the teacher is regarded as the most important agent in ensuring successful implementation (Ndawi and Maravanyika, 2011:70). According to Matoti, Janqueira and Odora (2011:140) teachers, therefore, need to develop capacity that enables them to make intelligent decisions in

order to handle ambiguous and challenging situations when teaching. This view is pursued by Eslami (2008, cited in Matoti et al., 2011:141) who argues that it is crucial to understand teachers' beliefs about their own effectiveness, known as teacher efficacy, as it helps to explain many instructional decisions that they make.

The concept of self-efficacy is best expressed by Bandura (1986, cited in Borich and Tombari, 1997:224) who defines it as "peoples' judgment of their capabilities to organise and execute courses of actions required to attain designated types of performance". According to Borich and Tombari (1997:224) Bandura believes that people "initiate, work hard during, and persist longer at tasks they judge they are good at". This kind of judgement is what is referred to as self-efficacy by Bandura. Based on the explanations of the term, self-efficacy, therefore, can be viewed as an evaluation that an individual makes about his or her personal competence to succeed at a particular task. To clarify the concept further, Bhatt (2007:70) states that in the layman's language, self-efficacy can be regarded as self-confidence towards teaching or learning.

In order for teachers to successfully adopt and implement new teaching strategies, Bitan-Friedlander et al. (2004:609) posit that they must develop a feeling of self-efficacy, which strengthens the feeling of self-confidence in their ability to perform the relevant tasks. The same view is advanced by Matoti et al. (2011:1143) who assert that self-efficacy, or belief in one's capability to do the job, is vital in ensuring teacher quality because educational research has established that there is a link between a teacher's perceived self-efficacy and his or her potential effectiveness in the classroom. Matoti et al. go on to assert that if a teacher believes that he or she is capable of managing his or her classroom and conducting meaningful lessons, he or she is most likely to proceed as perceived. It can, therefore, be concluded that self-efficacy beliefs may be pointers towards capability by an individual teacher to accomplish a specific future task. With reference to this study, the implied task would be the implementation of the language-in-education policy.

2.8.1 Self-efficacy theory

According to Adeyemo and Onongha (2010:354) self-efficacy beliefs constitute the cornerstone of the social cognitive theory proposed by Bandura. The same sentiments are expressed by Borich and Tombari (1997) who regard the major proponents of the self-efficacy theory as Bandura and Schunk. The self-efficacy theory explains motivated behaviour in terms of conscious cognitive processes which involve the capability to anticipate goals and rewards, and use "judgement, evaluation, and decision making rather than unconscious biological or mechanical processes" (Borich and Tombari, 1997:215). Borich and Tombari go further to state that the proponents of self-efficacy theory use the 'person-as-rational-thinker' metaphor. The same view is echoed by Matoti et al. (2011) who acknowledge that Bandura advanced a theoretical perspective where people are viewed as:

> Self-organising, proactive, self-reflecting and self-regulating rather than reactive organisms, shaped and shepherded by environmental forces or driven by concealed inner impulses (p. 1144).

Based on the explanation above, it can be seen that self-efficacy implies the ability by individuals to make interpretations about their actions. Adeyemo and Onongha (2010) posit that human impulse and action is governed by the interplay of personal, behavioural and environmental influences, which influence one another in a triadic style which Bandura termed 'reciprocal determinism'. This idea is clarified by Adeyemo and Onongha (2010) when they further explain that:

> How people interpret the result of their own action informs and alters their environment and the personal factors they possess, which in turn inform and alter future action (p. 354).

As evident in the above citation from literature, according to the social cognitive perspective, individuals are viewed as capable of reflecting upon their experiences rather than as merely reactive. It can, therefore, be argued that successfully performing a task is dependent on individuals' beliefs about their capabilities. This point is expressed by Guskey and Passaro (1994, in Bitan-Friedlander et al., 2004:607) who indicate that measures of teachers' self-efficacy concerning implementation have been found to be related to their perception of the "congruence, difficulty of use and

importance" of an innovation. With reference to my study, it can be concluded that primary school teachers may only effectively implement a mother tongue policy when they regard the policy as important and when they feel that they are capable of effecting the change under the prevailing circumstances at their respective schools.

Adeyemo and Onongha (2010:354) express the view that self-efficacy assists in two major ways. The first is that self-efficacy beliefs influence task choice. The second is that self-efficacy determines effort, persistence, resilience and achievement. The above view is clarified by Bhatt (2007:71), who explains people's behaviour in terms of self-efficacy by saying that the trend is that people take joy in and pursue activities which they believe they have the requisite skills. In Bhatt's view, individuals tend to abandon those tasks which they feel require more than they are capable of achieving. Thus, in the context of this study, those teachers who believe that they do not have the ability to implement the mother tongue policy are likely to ignore the change.

2.8.2 Development of self-efficacy

Dale Schunk (1991; 1995, cited in Borich and Tombari, 1997:225), a leading researcher on self-efficacy, identifies sources of information that people use to appraise their self-efficacy for a given achievement (Adeyemo and Onongha, 2010:354). According to Bandura (cited in Matoti et al., 2011:1152), self-efficacy beliefs stem from four sources namely, mastery experience; vicarious experience; verbal persuasion and physiological states.

The first antecedent of self-efficacy judgement is mastery experience, also known as past experience of success or failure. Pajares (2002, cited in Matoti et al., 2011:1152) claims that mastery experience is the way a person interprets the results of previous performance. Thus, those teachers who experienced success in previous performance will have higher self-efficacy than those who failed. This has been found to be the most influential source of self-efficacy as evidenced by Matoti et al. (2011) who state that:

> Individuals engage in tasks and activities, interpret the results of their actions, use the interpretations to develop beliefs about their capability to engage in

subsequent tasks or activities, and act in concert with the beliefs created (p.1152).

It can be seen from literature that experiencing success is crucial if individuals are to engage and succeed in future tasks. Therefore, the implication for this study is that if teachers have to successfully implement the language-in-education policy as a curriculum change issue in primary schools, they need to develop capacity for successful achievement through training in order to be empowered to handle implementation.

The second source of self-efficacy beliefs is that of social persuasion or encouragement. Individuals can create and develop self-efficacy beliefs by being encouraged by word of mouth from others. It can thus be concluded that, those teachers who may believe that they are not capable of a task such as the implementation of a mother tongue education policy, can often be persuaded that they are able to succeed by a convincing and inspiring significant other. According to Sergiovanni (2005:302), such encouragement can be achieved when teachers engage in collaboration and collegiality as a professional community.

The third source is vicarious experience of observing others perform tasks, also referred to as modelling effects. When people are uncertain about their own capabilities or when they have limited prior experience, they become more sensitive to it (Matoti et al., 2011:1153). Mwamwenda (2004:234) indicates that self-efficacy can be developed when a person observes successful performances and then resolving that he or she can engage in such tasks and also experience similar success. This belief tends to increase the individual's self-efficacy judgement accordingly. Borich and Tombari (1997:225) further explain that when people observe failure by peers or hear about the difficulty of a task, then their estimates of self-efficacy are lowered. It can be concluded that, in the context of my study, modelling by way of implementation of the mother tongue instruction policy by fellow teachers, therefore, may make the task appear easy or difficult thereby enhancing or reducing teacher self-efficacy.

The self-efficacy theory seems to suggest that, where they feel that they do not have capacity, teachers are likely to abandon the implementation of a curriculum change. Bandura's self-efficacy theory is relevant to my study in the sense that for successful implementation of the mother tongue policy to happen, teachers should not be passive recipients of policy which is handed down to them without constructing meaning and adapting to the needs of pupils (Darling-Hammond, 2005:375). It is, therefore, pertinent to assess what primary school teachers value, the information and beliefs that they have, as well as their motivation and commitment to implement the language-in-education policy as a curriculum change. For this reason, Dreyfus, Feinstein and Talmon (1998, cited in Bitan-Friedlander et al., 2004:607) assert that the innovating teachers must be "deeply involved, highly motivated and strongly willing to struggle with their personal difficulties and with external constraints". With reference to my study, it can be argued that teachers, therefore, need to play an active role for the success of the implementation of a mother tongue policy for education.

My study focuses on how individual teachers directly influence the change implementation process by making operational decisions. Related to self-efficacy as one of the major determinants of whether a policy will be implemented or not, is the notion of emotions (Hargreaves, 2005; James and Jones, 2008) as discussed in the next section.

2.9 Teacher emotions and curriculum implementation

Studies of the role of emotions on decision-making emphasise the impact of emotions and feelings on the quality of decisions (James and Jones, 2008:2). According to Hargreaves (2005), the emotional aspect is one of the most fundamental aspects of teaching and how teachers change. However, Hargreaves claims that this emotional dimension is often ignored or underplayed by those who initiate, manage and write about educational reforms. In light of the above exposition, consideration of teacher emotions in policy change issues such as the language-in-education policy becomes justified.

When Hargreaves (2005) conducted a study on the role of emotions, it was established that teachers found work to be technically and emotionally challenging especially when they were inexperienced or felt insufficiently skilled. For this reason, Hargreaves (2005:286) states that educational change strategies and reform efforts should embrace the emotional dimensions of teaching and learning, "For without attention to the emotions, educational reform efforts may ignore and even damage some of the most fundamental aspects of what teachers do". Thus, how teachers feel about a proposed policy change has been found to have a bearing on the implementation aspect. I reason that the situation described by Hargreaves may be prevailing among primary school teachers in Zimbabwe, whose emotions may not be embraced in the implementation of the language-in-education policy.

Another study by James and Jones (2008), on school administrators and teachers, confirmed that uncontained feelings, especially anxiety, led to high levels of resistance and to failed implementation. Resistance in the James and Jones study was driven by anxiety from a range of sources, which included the prospect of being judged by and judging others, inadequate information, lack of training and perhaps teachers' sense of being manipulated. James and Jones explain that on one hand, once uncontained feelings become established, the organisation gets blocked and implementing change becomes very difficult. On the other hand, if emotional containment is sound and established, the result is that the organisation gets freed, making it easier to implement change. I go along with James and Jones' (2008:13) view, that the situation of sound emotions needs to be maintained by "genuine, authentic and collaborative actions". As such, and for the purpose of this study, I wonder about the importance placed on the emotional support that primary school teachers may need as a strategy of ensuring successful implementation of the language-in-education policy. It is my assumption that the study by James and Jones helps to point out how feelings, especially anxiety, can contribute towards resistance to the implementation of a policy such as the language-in-education policy, and to ways in which development of resistance may be reduced.

In sum, studies have demonstrated that teachers are emotional beings and that in order to achieve success in implementing policy, which in this study is the language-in-education policy, those emotions should be taken into consideration as they play a crucial role (Collarbone, 2009:17).

My study is concerned with the implementation of the language of instruction in primary schools. It is, therefore, imperative for this conceptual framework to focus on what authorities view as the role of language in learning as discussed in the next section.

2.10 The role of language in cognitive development

One of the major contributors on the central role played by language in cognitive development was Vygotsky, who believed that language contains the cumulative social construction of any community of people, hence it is "a very powerful carrier of values, information and world-views" (Donald et al., 2010:55). In the same line of thinking, Schutz (2004) maintains that according to Vygotsky, a clear understanding of the interrelations between thought and language is necessary for the understanding of intellectual development. Schutz (2004:1) further submits that:

> There is a fundamental correspondence between thought and speech in terms of one providing resource to the other; language becoming essential in forming thought (p. 1).

For Vygotsky, language is, therefore, a key factor in the process of cognitive development (Bhatt, 2007:37). 'Language' includes spoken and written language, as well as mathematical language and other symbol systems.

Vygotsky believed that cognitive development occurs through the child's conversation and interactions with more capable members of the culture, that is, adults, teachers and older peers (Dembo, 1994:377). These significant others provide the child with information necessary for the child to grow intellectually. Dembo further notes that Vygotsky believed that higher-level thinking develops best in social contexts, hence the need to create learning situations in which teachers, parents and more capable others interact directly with learners who are at lower levels of thinking. It can be concluded that the child's discovery is assisted by family members, teachers and peers, and most

of the guidance is communicated through language which, in the context of this study, happens to be the learner's mother tongue.

As the child develops, language is converted to internal speech as it becomes an internal process and organises the child's thoughts (Dembo, 1994). According to Donald et al. (2010:57), Vygotsky showed that developing inner speech is a crucial step in early cognitive development. Children begin with talking aloud so as to organise their actions, perceptions and experiences. This talking aloud gradually becomes silent and changes to an inner conversation. The inner speech merges with thought and the child becomes capable of thinking through language. This shift is the very origin of thinking itself and of the further course of cognitive development, an indication of the significant role played by language in learning and teaching, particularly at primary school level.

With reference to Vygotsky, Donald et al. (2010:55) contend that the place of language in cognitive development raises issues such as the disadvantages of having to learn through the medium of a second language, which happens to be the focus of my study. Donald et al. go further to declare that there are two critical educational implications from Vygotsky's theory. The first implication is that language in all its forms (spoken, read, written) is a critical tool in teaching and learning since it is the principal way people interact and transmit knowledge. Therefore, "the learner is not relegated to an isolation booth to build his or her own conceptual tools through an exclusive internal dialogue" (Sprinthall, Sprinthall and Oje, 2006:122). This shows that the learners' cognitions are shared through language, hence reflective discussions with others provide opportunities for cognitive growth. These formal and information discussions provide the social interactions for improving cognitive problem solving. According to Donald et al. (2010) students should be encouraged to interact through language by speaking, reading and expressing themselves in writing. In order to develop their use of language as a tool for learning, students also need to engage in discussion, reflection, debate and interactive problem solving. According to Sprinthall et al. (2006), the bottom line is Vygotsky's emphasis on comprehension, since learning without comprehension is meaningless and only serves to create the myth that education has somehow taken place. With reference

to this study, it is my contention that effective implementation of the language-in-education policy for Zimbabwe is highly significant and relevant as the learners' first language would assist students to engage in problem-solving activities rather than learning through memorisation.

The second critical aspect raised by Donald et al. (2010) is that of the confidence of learners. Those students who are not confident in their ability to use language in an academic context will tend not to interact, leading to more loss of confidence. A negative cycle is thus created and students learning through a foreign language are particularly vulnerable to this negative cycle (Donald et al. 2010:91). This point is illustrated by Roy-Campbell's (1996) interview findings from a former Tanzanian student who recalled:

> ---the feeling of incompetence and loss of confidence as a result of a poor or hardly any grasp of English. I know of classmates who stayed dumb in the classroom rather than to embarrass themselves in a language they were not even sure they understood (p.16).

I reason that the situation observed by Roy-Campbell in Tanzania may be experienced by learners in Zimbabwe where English as a second language is used for teaching and learning. Valdes (1998, cited in Baker, 2006:217) found that questioning, critical thinking and collaboration became impossible for students who understood too little English despite having the cognitive capacity that was available through their first language. The same scenario may be prevailing in Zimbabwe, hence the need to assist primary school teachers to implement the language-in-education policy as intended by policy-makers so that learners may access the curriculum with ease. Baker (2006) avers that the outcome of such experience where students fail to cope with the language of the school can be frustration, non-participation or even dropping out, making them educationally, economically and politically disempowered.

Thus, literature on Vygotsky has revealed that language is crucial as a tool for teaching and learning. Consequently, with reference to my study, those who learn in an unfamiliar language are disadvantaged as they cannot use analytical language which is

used in the school system, as opposed to everyday language, perspectives which are explained by Bernstein below.

Bernstein (1990, cited in Taylor, 2009) is one other authority who proposed that students need to learn forms of language which are different from everyday interaction. Taylor (2009:15-16) submits that Bernstein distinguished between 'restricted code' and 'elaborated code' to indicate the difference between narrative and analytical orientations respectively. Bernstein (cited in Taylor, 2009) defines a code as:

> ---a regulatory principle, tacitly acquired, which selects and integrates relevant meanings, forms of realisations, as evoking contexts (p. 16).

Bernstein is of the view that social relations are responsible for regulating the meanings we create, meaning that the way we think and speak are shaped by our social position. Taylor gives an example of a dentist who speaks quite differently to his patients than he does to other dentists and to his wife. Applied to my study, the above discourse reinforces the need to assist teachers to understand and appreciate that school language tends to be analytical as opposed to everyday language. For this reason it is crucial to use a language of learning and teaching in which learners can freely express themselves when analysing taught concepts.

According to Taylor, the perspective adopted by any person is shaped by his or her social relations, and particularly by class relations. Among all classes, the dominant form of communication in everyday life takes a narrative structure, and the content largely relates to a specific, local material base (context dependent). On the other hand, there is the analytical perspective, which is concerned with commonalities, categories and distinctions between the objects of discussion, the content of which is less specifically related to the material base (context-independent). It is evident from the two perspectives that analysis is the dominant code of the school. Hence, the challenge for all schools is to provide access to the analytical perspective to all children (Taylor, 2009:15), which in the context of this study, is aided by the implementation of a mother tongue policy for the purpose of easier comprehension.

Cummins (1984a, cited in Baker, 2006:174) also came up with the distinction between perspectives held towards the nature of language use. These are the surface fluency and the more evolved language skills required by individuals to benefit from the education system. Cummins regarded simple communication skills, such as language used in the playground, as very different from language proficiency required to meet the cognitive and academic demands of the classroom. Cummins (1984a, 1984b, 2000b, cited in Baker, 2006) expressed the distinction in terms of basic interpersonal communicative skills (BICS) and cognitive/academic language proficiency (CALP).

BICS is said to occur when there are contextual supports such as gestures, the situation and negotiation of meaning between participants, action with eyes and hands and other forms of clues to support verbal language (Cummins cited in Paxton, 2009:348). Baker (2006) refers to this situation as face-to-face 'context embedded' since non-verbal support is used to secure understanding. On the other hand, CALP is said to occur in 'context reduced' academic situations where higher order thinking skills such as analysis, evaluation and synthesis are required in the curriculum (Paxton, 2009:348). According to Alidou (2009:125), such highly demanding and cognitive activities which rely on abstraction can be successfully achieved when academic proficiency in a second language is acquired through adequate teaching over 5 to 7 years in a well resourced environment. The implementation of the mother tongue policy for Zimbabwe up to Grade 7 would be a positive move for learners to acquire sufficient linguistic competences to enable them to tackle abstract concepts in English as a second language from Form one.

Alidou (2009:124) is of the view that the distinction between BICS and CALP helps explain the relative failure of children who learn in the second language. For example, in the United States when students have achieved surface fluency (BICS) in the second language, they are transferred to mainstream education where they fail because "their cognitive academic language proficiency is not developed enough to cope with the demands of the curriculum" (Baker, 2006:177). With reference to the African context,

Alidou (2009:125) argues that early exit from mother tongue use in learning, to English, is a disadvantage for learners who do not use the foreign language outside the school.

Webb (2002, cited in Orman, 2008) summarises the significance of language in cognitive development as follows:

> Cognitive skills, such as the ability to understand the central purpose of the text or to summarise its main line of argument, the ability to select information and to organise it into a new coherent whole, the ability to discover and formulate generalisations, the ability to understand abstract concepts and to manipulate them in arguments, the ability to recognise relations between events (e.g. cause and effect) and so on can only develop in and through a language in which learners are highly proficient. Generally, such a language is the learner's first (or primary) language (p. 96).

The above quotation has direct relevance to my study as learners in rural primary schools in Zimbabwe may lack the requisite proficiency in the second language to enable them to tackle analytical skills required in the learning discourse.

Having discussed the significance of language in cognitive development, it is of paramount importance for teachers and other stakeholders in Africa in general, and Zimbabwe in particular to appreciate that policy on the language of instruction is based on the concept of bilingual education, which is an attempt to address the challenge of children who learn in a second language. Hence, the next section considers the types of bilingual education and how they affect children in accessing the curriculum.

2.11 Bilingual education

Cummins (2005:116) notes that implementation of education for bilingual students became widespread in response to the judgement of the U.S. Supreme Court in the Lau v Nichols case in 1974. The court ruled that civil rights of those students whose first language was not English were violated when the school did not take any steps to assist them in acquiring the language of instruction. In the light of the above ruling, it is clear that the education sector needs to take action to help learners coming from home backgrounds other than English to enable them to access the curriculum when they

enter school. The same argument is advanced by Crawford (1992, cited in Cummins, 2005) who asserts that:

> There is no equality of treatment merely by providing students with the same facilities, textbooks, teachers and curriculum; for students who do not understand English are effectively fore closed from any meaningful education (p.166).

Thus, the mother tongue is regarded as playing a critical role in the learning of children whose first language is not English, particularly during the early years of schooling. With reference to this study, I argue that the sentiments raised above demonstrate that the implementation of the mother tongue policy for Zimbabwe, as a bilingual education model, is justified particularly in rural areas where English is rarely used for everyday communication. Bilingual education is viewed as having various aims, which help in its categorisation as indicated in the section which follows.

2.11.1 Aims of bilingual education

Categorising the types of bilingual education can be done through examining the aims of such education. Baker (2006:213) suggests that the most useful distinction is to consider the aims of transitional and maintenance bilingual education. The aim of transitional bilingual education is to shift the child from a minority language to the dominant, majority language. Baker posits that the social and cultural 'assimilation' into the majority language is the major aim. The language-in-education policy for Zimbabwe is based on the transitional bilingual education approach. The mother tongue is expected to be used as the language of learning and teaching up to the end of primary school, but teachers do not recognise the good intention and continue to teach in English. On the other hand, the maintenance bilingual education aims at fostering the child's mother tongue, at the same time strengthening the child's sense of cultural identity, aspects which can still be fostered in the African context where transitional bilingual education is practised (Alidou et al., 2006).

Ferguson et al. (1977 cited in Baker, 2006:214) widened the distinctions and provided ten examples of the varying aims of bilingual education as follows:

(1) To **assimilate** individuals or groups into the mainstream of society; to socialise people for social participation in the community.

(2) To **unify** a multilingual society; to bring unity to a multi-ethnic, multi-tribal, or multi-national linguistically diverse state.

(3) To enable people to **communicate** with the outside world.

(4) To provide language skills which are marketable, aiding **employment** and status.

(5) To preserve ethnic and religious **identity**.

(6) To **reconcile** and mediate between different linguistic and political communities.

(7) To spread the use of a colonial language, socialising an entire population to a **colonial existence**.

(8) To strengthen elite groups and preserve their **privileged position** in society.

(9) To give equal **status** to law in languages of unequal status in daily life.

(10)   To deepen an **understanding** of language and culture.

The above list shows that bilingual education is not just about education, but that there are historical, sociocultural, political and economic issues which will always be found in the debate on the provision of bilingual education (Baker, 2006:214; Mwamwenda, 2004:151). On account of the different factors that have been cited, the policies and practices of different countries cannot be the same. The above view is emphasised by Lo Bianco (2002, cited in Alexander, 2004) who avers that:

> Language policy is not some de-contextualised set of protocols that can be transported from context to context, setting to setting, and applied by disinterested technicians (p. 114).

For that reason, it is not possible for a country to be neutral towards language (Alexander, 2004:113; Linton, 2004:280). The choices made by a state with regard to the role of a given language, therefore, dictate the value to be attached to that language. As a result, there are varying and conflicting philosophies about the aims of bilingual education, as demonstrated in the following typologies.

2.11.2 A typology of bilingual education

Baker (2006:215) posits that typologies are important for conceptual clarity but they have some limitations, one of the major ones being that not all real-life examples will fit easily in the classification. Various types of bilingual education programmes classified as strong and weak forms are illustrated in tables 2.2 and 2.3 below.

Table 2.1: Weak Forms of Bilingual Education

WEAK FORMS OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION FOR BILINGUALS				
Type of Program	**Typical Type of Child**	**Language of the Classroom**	**Societal Educational Aim**	**Aim in Language Outcome**
TRANSITIONAL	Language Minority	Moves from minority to majority language	Assimilation/Subtractive	Relative Monolinguism
MAINSTREAM with Foreign Language Teaching	Language Majority	Majority Language with L2/FL lessons	Limited Enrichment	Limited Bilingualism
SEPARATIST	Language Minority	Minority Language (out of Choice	Detachment/Autonomy	Limited Bilingualism

Adopted from Baker (2006:215)

Table 2.2: Strong Forms of Bilingual Education

STRONG FORMS OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION FOR BILINGUALISM AND BILITERACY				
Type of Program	Typical Type of Child	Language of the Classroom	Societal Educational Aim	Aim in Language Outcome
IMMERSION	Language Majority	Bilingual with initial emphasis on L2	Pluralism and Enrichment. Additive	Bilingualism and Biliteracy
MAINTENANCE/ HERITAGE LANGUAGE	Language Minority	Bilingual with emphasis on L1	Maintenance, Pluralism and Enrichment. Additive	Bilingualism and Biliteracy
TWO WAY/DUAL LANGUAGE	Mixed Language Minority and Majority	Minority and Majority	Maintenance, Pluralism and Enrichment. Additive	Bilingualism and Biliteracy
MAINSTREAM BILINGUALISM	Language Majority	Two Majority Languages Pluralism	Maintenance, & Biliteracy and Enrichment. Additive	Bilingualism

Notes: L1=First Language; L2=Second Language. **Adopted from Baker (2006:216)**

Research (Alidou et al., 2006; Baker, 2006) generally supports 'strong' forms of bilingual education where a student's home language is cultivated by the school. However, in Africa the practice tends to favour the use of less effective 'weak' forms of bilingual education where the student's first language is replaced for educational purposes by a second language. This situation prevails in Zimbabwe where the mother tongue policy is

expected to be practised in the primary school, only to be replaced by English as the language of instruction from Form One onwards.

Although there are many bilingual education programmes that are practised in different parts of the world, only those that are relevant to the African context will be considered in the next section. These are submersion, transitional, additive, dual language, heritage language, and immersion bilingual education programmes (Alidou et al. 2006; Baker, 2006).

2.11.3 Submersion education

The submersion model is a 'weak Bilingual Model' which is also known as subtractive model. Submersion literally means that the child is submerged in the second language. For this reason, Sadker and Sadker (2003:57) submit that such a scenario leads the students to 'speak or sink'. The implication is that if learners do not comprehend the curriculum presented in an unfamiliar language, then this subtractive model will be doomed to fail (Mwamwenda, 2004:152). Under the submersion programme, the practice is that the students will be taught all day in the second language and both the teacher and students will be expected to use only the second language and not the learners' home language. Baker (2006:218) claims that these programmes are used where indigenous languages are seen as 'outside' the common good, which implies that in such a programme the mother tongue is considered as being of no value to the learner.

Since European colonisation in African countries, the practice has been characterised by submersion models in French and Portuguese speaking countries, while in some English speaking countries, missionaries introduced early-exit transitional models where African languages were used for the first three to four years (Alidou et al., 2006:62). Before independence in Zimbabwe, the submersion model was in practice and learners were taught in English from Grade One. From the above exposition, it can be seen that European languages have dominated African education over a long time. I argue that the decision to use the mother tongue up to the end of the primary school in Zimbabwe

creates the need to assess teacher attitudes and concerns (Rogan and Grayson, 2003; Sweeney, 2008; Anderson, 2002). My assumption is that some teachers may stick to their own beliefs about curriculum change (Bitan-Friedlander et al., 2004) and hence require support to reconceptualise and reorient themselves to the requirements of the language-in-education policy as a curriculum change issue.

Learning through an undeveloped language within the context of submersion education can be stressful. This view is advanced by Skutnabb-Kangas (1981; 2000, cited in Baker, 2006:219) who submits that what contributes to the 'stresses' is that a child has to receive information from different curriculum areas and learn a language at the same time. It follows that listening to a new language demands high concentration, resulting in the student taking less time to think about the curriculum content. McKay (1988, cited in Baker, 2006) illustrates the difficulty of learning in an unfamiliar language by quoting from a student in a submersion classroom:

> School was a nightmare. I dreaded going to school and facing my classmates and teacher. Every activity the class engaged in meant another exhibition of my incompetence. Each activity was another incident of my peers to laugh and ridicule me with and for my teacher to stare hopelessly disappointed at me. My self-image was a serious inferiority complex. I became frustrated at not being able to do anything right. I felt like giving up the entire mess (p. 219).

It is evident from the above quotation that learning through the submersion model is extremely difficult, and as a result, students are greatly disadvantaged. In the context of this study, I argue that the situation cited above could be experienced by learners in Zimbabwe, particularly in rural areas, simply because teachers have not embraced the curriculum change where the mother tongue is expected to be used as the language of teaching and learning in primary schools.

2.11.4 Transitional bilingual education

Heugh (1995, cited in Prinsloo, 2011:5) advocates a 'transitional bilingual model' "in which, though the aim is to produce competence in a foreign language, the indigenous languages are used for initial education and are to some extent maintained". Thus, it is

evident that in this model, students learn in their home language briefly, until they are thought to be proficient to use the second language as the medium of instruction.

According to Linton (2004:283), transitional bilingual education programmes aim at using the native language as a bridge to ease the child's transition to English. Linton further submits that because there is no room for the maintenance of the first language, there is no cultural pluralism. The end goal is the use of a target language at the end of school, and the target is the second language (Alidou et al., 2006:61).

The justification for using transitional bilingual education is that children need to function in the majority language in society, hence the argument about the equality of opportunity and maximising student performance (Ghazali, 2010:17). Taken in this light, I argue that the Zimbabwe language-in-education policy, which is based on the late-exit transitional bilingual education model, has a good intention in the sense that learners need to function in the wider society which requires the use of English. This view is supported by Linton and Jimenez (2009:984) who submit that there is a 'common-sense' understanding that bilingualism is helpful for securing jobs. Hence, the mother tongue policy at primary school level in Zimbabwe allows students to learn in their first language and then proceed to secondary education where they use English as a second language in order to fulfil the labour-market requirements. As Baker (2006) proclaims, transitional bilingual education is split into two main types, namely, early-exit and late-exit models as discussed below.

2.11.4.1 Early-exit and Late-exit Transitional Bilingual Education

The early-exit model allows learners to begin school in the first language and the transition (switch) to the second language takes place within 1-3 years. Baker (2006:215) refers to early-exit transitional models as 'weak bilingual models', just like subtractive models. If the transition is delayed to Grade 6, it is called late-exit (from the first language) transition model. The Zimbabwean language-in-education policy is based on the late-exit model as the recommended language of teaching and learning is the mother tongue. In the United States, the late-exit models are those where the first

language is retained for at least 40-45 % of teaching time to the end of Grade 6 (Alidou et al., 2006:61). Alidou et al. further submit that in African countries, where the second language is hardly known or heard in the countryside, an early-exit model applies to a situation where the child is switched from the first language to the second language at the end of three years.

While the major goal of Transitional Bilingual Education is monolingualism in the second language, teachers need to be bilingual in order to switch from one language to the other. However, Baker (2006:222) argues that bilingual teachers have been found to promote early exit to English as a second language by influencing students to learn the language of power and prestige, and to forget the language of 'servitude, stigma and shame'. With reference to this study, it is my assumption that teachers may equally contribute towards hindering effective implementation of the mother tongue policy by promoting an early switch to English and making learners believe that their languages are valueless.

Second language acquisition research shows that it takes at least 6 years to learn enough second language in order to learn effectively through it. Ramirez (1991 cited in Donald, 2010:184) conducted a study across a very wide range of schools in the USA and over an extended period. According to Donald (2010), Ramirez's study compared the effects of 3 models of language of instruction for Spanish first language students: (a) a 'straight-for-English' model (that is English as the only language of instruction from school entry); (b) an 'early-exit model (that is English, with some Spanish for the first two to three years); (c) a 'late exit' model (that is Spanish maintained for six years, alongside graded increase of English) over that time. The conclusions drawn were that the effects of scholastic performance across the curriculum, including performance in the second language, clearly indicated that the 'late-exit' model was most effective. In the context of this study, the findings cited above clearly indicate that implementation of the policy on the language of education for Zimbabwe is justified because it is based on a model which has been found to be effective.

Alidou et al. (2006) argue that 6 years of second language learning may not be enough to facilitate successful transition to second language medium of instruction for the reason that in Africa, most countries are poorly resourced. The 2006 amendment to the language-in-education policy for Zimbabwe was an attempt to fulfill the late-exit model of Bilingual Education. In this current policy, pupils are to learn in their home language up to Grade 7. However, the ideal situation is to aim for additive Bilingual Education as illustrated in the next section.

2.11.5 Additive Bilingual Education
Luckett (1992 cited in Prinsloo, 2011:5,) defines additive bilingual education as "a form of bilingualism in which the person's first language is maintained while adding competence in another language". This point is emphasised by Alidou et al. (2006:61) who proclaim that the major goal of Additive Bilingual Education is to produce a bilingual with a high level of proficiency in the first language and high level proficiency in the second language. Alidou et al. go further to explain that this goal is achieved through either using the first language as a medium throughout (with the second language taught well as a subject) or using the first language plus the second language as two (dual) mediums to the end of school. The mother tongue is never removed as a language of instruction. According to Mwamwenda (2004:152), there are cognitive and affective benefits for those children whose first language is respected in school. From the above exposition, it can be seen that additive Bilingual Education is a strong form of bilingualism and Baker (2006:228) advocates for its use as it has bilingualism, biliteracy and biculturalism as its intended outcomes.

The use of additive Bilingual Education is advanced by Alidou et al. (2006:61) who suggest that the models applicable in most African countries are (1) Mother tongue medium throughout with the second language taught as a subject by a specialist teacher, and (2) Dual medium where the mother tongue is used, preferably up to Grade 6, followed by gradual use of the second language for up to but not more than 50% of the subjects by the end of school. The conclusion that can be drawn here is that in

literature, more additive forms of bilingualism are advocated for, as they are regarded as the ideal.

2.11.6 Dual Language Bilingual Education

Dual language (or two-way) bilingual education aims to produce relatively balanced bilinguals by using two languages as media of instruction. Terms used to describe such schools include: two way bilingual education, developmental bilingual education, dual language education, bilingual immersion. Howard and Christian (2002, cited in Baker, 2006:230) indicate the major goals of dual language programmes as follows:

1) High levels of proficiency in students' first language and a second language.
2) Reading and writing at grade levels in both languages.
3) Academic achievement at, or above, grade level (for example mathematics, science, social studies).
4) Positive inter cultural (multicultural) attitudes and behaviours.
5) Communities and societies to benefit from having citizens who are bilingual and biliterate, who are positive towards people of different cultural backgrounds, and who can meet national needs for language competence and a more peaceful co-existence with peoples of other nations.

It can be seen from the exposition above that besides aiming at producing bilingual children, dual language bilingual schools or classrooms also enhance intergroup communicative competence and cultural awareness (Baker, 2006:231). It is evident that the dual language education programmes focus on several aspects concerning competence in the learners' language as well as development of positive attitudes towards their cultures. This is in contrast to transitional bilingual approaches which mainly aim at highlighting the use of the second language and assimilation of learners into a foreign culture (Alidou et al., 2006). Thus, I argue that this observation seems to justify the need to make teachers aware of the necessity to make learners balanced bilinguals by respecting their home languages and cultures (Chimhundu, 1997:149; Fernando, Valijarvi and Goldstein, 2010:49; Mwamwenda, 2004:152). Therefore, if applied to the African context, adopting the aspects of this model would enable students to become literate in their native language as well as in the second language, which is regarded as the language of 'commodity' and 'enterprise' (Ghazali, 2010:17).

2.11.7 Heritage Language Bilingual Education

According to Baker (2006:329), the Heritage Language Education programme is another strong form of bilingual education where children use their home language in the school as a medium of instruction alongside development in the second language. The major aim is for the individual to gain full bilingualism. This model of bilingual education is also known as maintenance bilingual education or developmental maintenance of bilingual education. The Heritage Language education is comparatively more interested in preserving the ethnic language and culture, and mainly consists of non-English speaking children. It is clear that this model has the capacity of raising the status of African languages and cultures which are currently not valued because of the nature of the existing language policies for education (Chimhundu, 2010). Thus, the Heritage Language Bilingual Education model appears quite relevant to the African context in general and Zimbabwe in particular, as it allows the children's languages and cultures to be maintained and, therefore, not to be looked down upon. When children's languages and cultures are upheld in the education system, their self-image is also enhanced (Baker, 2006:219).

2.11.8 Immersion Bilingual Education

Immersion bilingual education, which is associated with an experiment with a kindergarten class of 26 children, was aimed at producing bilingual children in French and English without loss of achievement. The experiment was conducted in (Montreal) Canada in the suburb of St Lambert in 1965. Cummins (2005) identifies two types of immersion programmes as explained below.

Immersion education differs due to the age at which a child starts the experience. Cummins (2005:165) indicates that there are three stages at which a child can commence education, namely, Kindergarten or Grade 1 (early immersion); Grades 4 or 5 (middle immersion); and Grades 7 or 8 (late immersion). Cummins further notes

that all the 3 variants are characterised by an initial intense exposure to French (50 – 100%) followed by instruction through both French and English.

Another aspect which marks the difference in immersion programmes is the amount of time spent in immersion. Baker (2006:245) indicates that there is total and partial immersion. Total immersion begins with 100% immersion in the second language, gradually reducing to approximately 50% per week by the time the child finishes junior school. In partial immersion, the child gets close to 50% immersion in the second language throughout the infant and junior school. Baker (2006) further submits that in Canada, Early Total Immersion has been the most popular entry-level programme, followed by late and then middle immersion.

Baker (2006:246) affirms that the success of St Lambert's experiment could be attributed to a number of factors, three of which will be highlighted as they are relevant to this study. The first reason is that immersion in Canada aims at bilingualism in two prestigious, majority languages, namely, French and English, making it an additive bilingual situation. In the African context, immersion programmes may not be successful because the learners' first language is looked down upon, whereas European languages are regarded as languages of power (Alidou et al., 2006). This view is supported by Prah (2009:101) who charges that to advance a policy of bilingualism of an African language and a colonial language is likely to give automatic advantage to the colonial language which is viewed as superior. Secondly, in the European context, immersion bilingual education has been optional, as it is not compulsory for parents to send their children to these schools. In the context of this study, this scenario is again different in the sense that parents whose children speak African languages cannot choose to avoid a bilingual education setting since at some stage in their education learners have to learn through English. Thirdly, children in early immersion can use their first language for classroom communication up to one and half years, and they are not forced to speak the second (school) language in the playground or dining hall. Baker notes that the child's home language is not looked

down upon but rather appreciated. With reference to Zimbabwe, where the mother tongue policy is not implemented as expected, teachers are implementing the immersion model in a negative manner as the learners' first language may not be used for learning and teaching purposes from an early stage.

It is evident from the above exposition that if immersion programmes are not used in a subtractive manner, they can bring positive results. This view is confirmed by Alidou et al. (2006) who posit that there is good international and African research evidence which proves that, provided the bilingual education process is additive rather than subtractive, learning a second language can have very positive effects. With reference to my study, research findings cited by Alidou et al. (2006) justify the importance of sensitizing teachers on the need to apply an additive rather than a subtractive model of bilingual education when they implement the language-in-education policy for Zimbabwe. The essence of the additive approach is that the second language is not intended to replace the first language, but that a second language is added to the first language until the end of Grade 6 (Prinsloo, 2009, cited in Donald et al., 2010:184). Donald et al. further assert that with this basic change, all the negative effects that are associated with the subtractive bilingual approach are avoided.

In as much as different bilingual education programmes have been presented and analysed, some authorities believe that research on the effectiveness of bilingual education is not clear. To this effect, Sadker and Sadker (2003:62) submit that three important findings have been reported. The first is that researchers found that when language-minority students spend more time learning in their home language, they are more likely to achieve at comparable or even higher levels in English. Another finding reported that the earlier the students start learning a new language, the more effective that language becomes in an academic setting. Yet another study indicated that there is no single approach which holds monopoly on success, implying that the schools should carefully select programmes that are appropriate for their local school contexts. With reference to my study, some teachers may believe in 'the earlier the better'

approach, not knowing that the findings cited above were conducted mainly in Canada, a setting which is different from an African context (Alidou et al. 2006; Prah, 2009). Alidou (2009:109) posits that Africans can rely on studies conducted in African countries such as Niger, Burkina Faso and Tanzania, where it was reported that African languages can be used effectively as languages of instruction if there is adequate technical support for the implementation of the mother tongue policy.

2.12 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the conceptual framework pertaining to the implementation of policy in general and language-in-education policy in particular as a curriculum change issue. Implementation has been portrayed as a complex phenomenon which requires commitment by both government at the top and teachers at the grassroots level. It was argued in the chapter that unless some critical external and local factors have been identified and addressed, successful implementation of policy may not be possible.

It has been revealed in literature that policy implementation in education is highly dependent on individual teacher's responses to curriculum innovation. It has also been argued that teachers' self-efficacy and emotions play a very crucial role in determining whether a language policy will be successfully implemented or not.

Language was viewed as playing a critical role in cognitive development and as a result, learning in a second language is regarded as a disadvantage. It was suggested in the chapter that if a more additive bilingual education programme is employed, it could go a long way in assisting students to respect their languages and cultures. The barriers to language-in-education policy implementation and intervention strategies meant to address these challenges are reviewed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3: LANGUAGE-IN-EDUCATION POLICY AND TEACHER EDUCATION

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter focused on the conceptual framework in which local and external variables of policy implementation were identified and discussed. Various bilingual education programmes were analysed since the language-in-education policy for Zimbabwe is based on a bilingual education model.

To show its commitment to raising the status of the mother tongue, the Zimbabwe Government, through the MoESAC, enunciated a language-in-education policy in 1987 (revised in 2006), which stipulates that the mother language can be used for learning and teaching in primary schools up to Grade Seven. However, there are inconsistencies between policy and practice in the way primary school teachers implement the proposed language-in-education policy. In other words, contrary to the stated policy, it is unfortunate that primary school teachers continue to use English at the expense of mother tongue use in education up to the end of the primary school.

In some countries, factors that hinder effective implementation of the mother tongue policy in learning for bilingual children were studied. Some researchers and writers came up with clarifications and possible explanations of those factors as outlined in this chapter. Most of the researches cited in this chapter are based on work done in other African countries, particularly South Africa, since there is limited research data on the topic in Zimbabwe. Currently, indications are that the comprehensive studies that have been conducted in Zimbabwe tended to assess the possibilities of using indigenous African languages as official media of instruction up to tertiary level (Magwa, 2008), and the use of indigenous languages in major domains of life (Makanda, 2009). My study differs from these others in that it focuses on exploring what rural primary school teachers go through in their day-to-day practice in terms of their knowledge, beliefs and attitudes, which in turn may influence the way they interpret and implement the language-in-education policy for Zimbabwe. The major area of concern in my study is, therefore, to find out which factors may be attributed to failure by primary school teachers to effectively implement the language-in-education policy. Such findings may

result in the possibility of my study making a contribution to the existing knowledge base on why the 2006 policy on the language of education is not meaningfully implemented in rural primary schools in Zimbabwe. Therefore, in this chapter, a critical examination of related literature is made on specific factors that may act as barriers to the use of the mother tongue as the language of teaching and learning in African countries in general, and Zimbabwe in particular.

The chapter also reviews literature pertaining to some intervention strategies which could be employed so that the mother tongue and English are not positioned as if they are totally opposed to each other. Rather, I tend to agree with Robinson (1996; 251) who argues that ways have to be found to integrate the use of these languages so that they become mutually supportive instead of being viewed as mutually exclusive. Viewed in that manner, positive intervention may empower teachers so that they end up in a position to implement an additive bilingual education programme at primary school level, as intended by the Zimbabwean language-in-education policy. In the light of the above submission and in the context of this study, it is my contention that effective implementation of the language-in-education policy is highly significant and relevant, hence the need to identify and analyse mother tongue policy implementation barriers, beginning with those factors that are related to policy-makers as illustrated in the next section.

3.2 Implementation barriers at state level

The state is responsible for making prescriptions about which language or languages will be used for communication. According to Linton (2004:289), these language choices influence the linguistic value placed on various groups in the population of a country. In other words, the state is the most crucial language ranking agency which determines languages, specified in language policies, out of usually far more languages spoken in the territory (Blommaert, 2006:9). With particular reference to this study, the language-in-education policy for Zimbabwe states that languages spoken by the majority in a particular area may be used as the languages for education alongside English up to

Grade Seven, after which English becomes the sole language of learning and teaching. In Blommaert's (2006:9-10) view, such a move by policy-makers is a way of up scaling the English language, allowing it to carry validity and value in different contexts.

From the above exposition, it is evident that the attitudes of policy-makers play a significant role in determining success or failure in the implementation of a language-in-education policy (Ghazali, 2010:17) such as that of Zimbabwe. As a result, Banda (2000:64) proclaims that those in the corridors of power should have a clear stance in relation to the mother tongue policy instead of sending mixed signals to ordinary people as such practice may contribute to negative attitudes towards a bilingual policy, on the language of education. In line with the above submission and in the context of this study, it is of particular value for policy-makers to demonstrate that the implementation of the language-in-education policy is a serious issue. However, contrary to the expectations of the role of policy-makers, Bamgbose (1991:111) found that language policy implementation in African countries is characterised by five problems, namely, "avoidance, declaration without implementation, vagueness, arbitrariness and fluctuation". With reference to this study, it is my submission that these problems, which are associated with policy-makers and are viewed as factors that may hinder effective implementation of language policies in Africa in general, may apply to the Zimbabwean context where the language-in-education policy is not effectively implemented in primary schools. For that reason, it is therefore necessary to look at each of those problems and to elaborate on each one of them in the section below.

3.2.1 The problem of avoidance

The first problem cited by Bamgbose is that of "avoidance". The concept is best expressed by Mtenje (2008:24) who defines avoidance as failure by government to issue a formal language policy statement. Mtenje (2008) further claims that several African governments appear to employ the avoidance technique whereby language practices are not guided by formally declared language policies. The above exposition may be considered true for Zimbabwe, which does not have a formal language policy

but a language-in-education policy enshrined in an Education Act (Chimhundu, 2010:14-15). The problem of avoidance is viewed by Bamgbose as an attractive technique for a government to become free from unpleasant political consequences of any pronouncement which some sections of the community may object. To illustrate this point, the language policies surveyed by Mtenje (2008:29) indicate that with the exception of South Africa and Namibia, the majority of SADC countries have no formal provisions for African languages, and have no formal or explicit language policies. My submission is that Mtenje's observation confirms that Zimbabwe does not have a national language policy with clearly stated goals and requirements. Accordingly, Chimhundu (1997:129) argues that Shona and Ndebele as the national languages of Zimbabwe, as well as minority languages in the country, are suffering from a lack of policy and planning, which tends to leave them without a status and without any defined or officially recognised roles. Having raised the preceding observations, my argument is that the lack of seriousness or political will to implement the provisions of the 1987 Education Act (amended in 2006) on languages to be taught and used in schools, may create a situation which contributes to negative attitudes towards African languages in Zimbabwean primary schools (Chimhundu, 2010; Magwa, 2008).

In the case where an African government does not have a clear language policy statement as explained above, Bamgbose (1991) warns that such a situation may not mean absence of a language policy for education. What usually happens is that the absence of policy is an indication of the continuation of an inherited policy, such as the use of an ex-colonial language as the official language. This view is further illustrated by Bamgbose (1991:112), in a statement made in respect of Sierra Leone, where it was indicated that although there was no officially documented statement or national language policy, the practice formed itself into an operative yet elusive language policy. In other words, everyone appeared to be doing their own thing, probably in relation to or as a continuation of the colonial policy. Likewise, efforts to formulate and implement the national language policy for Zimbabwe have never been completed, hence, although Zimbabwe's national language policy has not been written down, it is "understood, inferred and observed" that English is Zimbabwe's official language (Hadebe, 1998 cited

in Nkomo, 2008:354). According to Chimhundu (1997:129), such absence of a policy framework and of planning in Zimbabwe, is the result of an implicit policy to 'let sleeping dogs lie'. This assertion by Chimhundu is a clear indication that failure to finalise matters relating to a national language policy may be attributed to non-implementation of some of the provisions of the country's post-independence language-in-education policy (Nkomo, 2008:355). Since the language-in-education policy for Zimbabwe is not backed by a national language policy which clearly stipulates the role of African indigenous languages, it is my submission that such a situation may be regarded as a possible barrier towards effective implementation of the mother tongue policy in the primary schools.

3.2.2 Declaration without implementation

The second problem cited by Bamgbose is called "declaration without implementation". According to Mtenje (2008:24), declaration without implementation is inability to implement an officially declared policy by a government. To clarify this point, Mtenje (2008:29) contends that the case of South Africa and Namibia, where formal language policies exist but are not fully implemented in areas like education, reflects the problem of declaration without implementation. Mtenje further reports that in the two countries identified above, the legal instrument and policy provisions are available to support the intellectualisation of indigenous African languages and their use in higher levels of education, but this potential is not being realised. Similarly, in the case of Zimbabwe the provisions of the language-in-education policy of the 1987 Education Act (amended in May 2006) are that either Shona or Ndebele may be used as medium of instruction in primary education. However, in practice, Shona and Ndebele are not being used as media of instruction in any one school in Zimbabwe (Magwa, 2008:24; Moyo, 2001:87; Nkomo, 2008:355). In the context of my study, this situation whereby the declared mother tongue policy in education is not being implemented, matches Bamgbose's observation of declaration without implementation. In this sense, the intention of my study is thus justified as it seeks to explore factors that act as barriers to effective implementation of the declared language-in-education policy for Zimbabwe.

Furthermore, Bamgbose (1991:116) states that declaration without implementation can take one of three forms. The first form is whereby policy-makers are aware of the limiting circumstances. For example, in the Zimbabwean context, primary school examinations are set in English, yet teachers are expected to use the mother tongue as the language of instruction up to Grade Seven. The second situation cited by Bamgbose is whereby a policy may be declared, and 'escape clauses' are built into the policy so that policy-makers are not held responsible for non-implementation. In my view, the Zimbabwean language-in-education policy gives room for non-implementation because of the presence of an 'escape clause' which is clear in the 2006 amendment, where it reads that "Prior to Form One, any one of the languages referred to in subsection (1) and (2) may be used as the medium of instruction, depending upon which language is more commonly spoken and better understood by the pupils". The languages referred to are Shona/Ndebele and English. As such, the use of "may" indicates a clear escape measure since the use of these languages is not enforced to the same degree as the authoritative language used in the case of English (Makanda, 2009:57; Nkomo, 2008:356). Therefore, such an 'escape clause' in the Zimbabwean language-in-education policy permits non-implementation to go unquestioned. The third form is that a policy may be declared but there are no specified mechanisms for implementation, resulting in a policy that merely remains on paper. This situation is true for Zimbabwe, where there is no functional language commission to monitor and evaluate implementation success or failure, with respect to the language-in-education policy. It is clear from the above exposition that for Zimbabwe, declaration without implementation is evident in all the three forms suggested by Bamgbose. It can therefore be concluded that Zimbabwean policy-makers are thus freed from being held responsible for non-implementation of the language-in-education policy.

Based on the explanation above and with particular reference to this study, it would be interesting to find out how primary school teachers interpret and implement the language-in-education policy, in view of the context of options provided in the policy as evidenced by lack of a firm stance on the usage of Shona and Ndebele. In my opinion, the policy gives teachers what might seem to be a burden of using their own discretion

on which language to use at a particular level in the primary school. The policy is also silent on what measures would be taken against those who do not use indigenous languages as media of instruction (Valdiviezo, 2009:64), thus permitting non-compliance with mother tongue education to go unchecked.

3.2.3 Vagueness of policy formulation

Vagueness of policy formulation is the third problem proposed by Bamgbose as contributing towards non-implementation of a mother tongue policy. Bamgbose (1991) suggests that if a policy is deliberately formulated in general terms, it may be interpreted in a general manner. Apart from being vague, implementation of such a policy is not likely to be a burden to anyone since it may not happen. In the Zimbabwean context, Nkomo (2008:356) submits that the statement which reads that the two languages 'may be used' with reference to Shona or Ndebele and English, is one aspect which makes the language-in-education policy vague. Another aspect of vagueness is concerned with the use of minority languages in education, where the policy states that 'the Minister may authorise the teaching of such languages in primary schools in addition to Shona and Ndebele'. The implication here is that, where the Minister does not approve the teaching of minority languages, then there would not be mother tongue literacy, and this has been observed to be happening in actual practice (Nkomo, 2008). As a result of the perceived vagueness in the formulation of the language-in-education policy, Nkomo claims that the practices in independent Zimbabwe are not significantly different from those of the colonial era. According to Magwa (2008:21), the vagueness of the language-in-education policy is evident in that there is no official document that clearly delineates government's position on the status of African languages in education. Related to my study, I argue that when teachers view the language-in-education policy as vague, they may even interpret it to mean code-switching from English to the mother tongue during lessons, since they rely more on their own discretion, in the absence of uniform arrangements or requirements with regards to the use of indigenous languages as media of instruction in the primary schools (Dube and Cleghorn, 1999:10; Muthivhi, 2008:24-25).

3.2.4 Arbitrariness of policy

Arbitrariness of policy formulation is the fourth problem that characterises language policy formulation in Africa. This problem occurs when a policy decision is taken without previous enquiry concerning its feasibility or reference to experts who are in a position to give advice on the matter. In this regard, Bamgbose (1991:114) goes further to proclaim that simply decreeing that one of a country's major languages should become the nation's official or national language, without the necessary preparatory or implementation processes, is likely to end in failure. This view is pursued by Kamwendo (1997:309) who reports that the mother tongue policy for Malawi, like other African countries, is characterised by the top-down model, where politicians and top government officials generally control language planning without consulting experts. In the case of Zimbabwe, Magwa (2008:21) confirms that the language policy is usually taken for granted and is often presented at political rallies by government officials, who prescribe the languages to be used for learning and teaching at different levels of the education system. Citing *The Chronicle* of 2002, Magwa (2008) states that on 20 June 2002, the then Permanent Secretary of Education, Sports and Culture announced a new language policy at a political rally in the Midlands Province saying:

> Teachers can now use Shona and Ndebele as a medium [sic] of instruction in addition to the traditional English language during lessons...There is now more emphasis on the teaching of local languages. English remains the lingua franca [official language] but will share the same platform with Shona and Ndebele. The two local languages can now be used to teach other subjects (p. 21).

To this effect, Magwa argues that the policy on language in Zimbabwe's education system is therefore obscure. In view of the above submission, my study sought to find out if there were any preparatory or implementation processes put in place for primary school teachers to follow, in the implementation of the (2006) language-in-education policy. If teachers say that there were no preparatory measures for them to follow, this may be regarded as a contributory factor towards failure to implement the mother tongue policy for education in Zimbabwe.

From the above exposition, which emphasises the need to prepare stakeholders in the implementation of a language-in-education policy, Kamwendo (1997) adds that if a proposed language policy is to succeed, it is important to solicit opinions or views of various stakeholders so that policy goals, strategies and outcomes are thoroughly critiqued. According to Kamwendo, the channels through which policy-makers can obtain feedback regarding the proposed language policy include public debates, TV or Radio panel discussions, letters to editors of newspapers and completion of opinionnaires. By involving a wide cross section of the society, effective implementation of policy such as the language-in-education policy would be made possible. These bottom-up practices are recommended by Benson (2005:7) as a good foundation for strong programmes since they allow all stakeholders to contribute to raising the status of the mother tongue in the community and in the classrooms.

The above stated views justify the significance of getting views from the public on the proposed policy. Based on those views, it can therefore be concluded that, if policy-makers did not provide room for convincing stakeholders such as district schools' inspectors, college lecturers, teachers, parents and even learners on the benefits of learning in the mother tongue at primary school level, I reason that this may be regarded as one of the factors that contribute towards failure to implement the language-in-education policy for Zimbabwe. Stakeholders, particularly parents, may resist the language-in-education policy, and even influence teacher practices, because of ignorance about the value of using the mother tongue in teaching and learning (Banda, 2000; Qorro, 2009).

3.2.5 Fluctuation in language policy

The fifth problem cited by Bamgbose is fluctuation in language policy, which is due to factors such as changes in government or party policies, or new ideas or practices recommended by commissions of enquiry or adopted on the advice of foreign organisations. In Bamgbose's view, fluctuation is more evident in the language-in-education policies than in any other policies. Each change comes with problems of reorientation for teachers and procurement of new materials, which may range from simple literary texts to more sophisticated materials. Thus, it has been established in

literature that fluctuation in the language-in-education policy is associated with problems which may contribute towards failure to effectively implement the proposed policy. Zimbabwe is an example of a country that was characterised by policy changes with particular reference to the language-in-education policy as discussed below.

In pre-independence Zimbabwe, prior to 1962, Africans were taught in their mother language during the first two years of primary education, while English was taught as a subject during the first year of the primary school and gradually assumed a more prominent role in the second year (Magwa, 2008:5). By the third year, English became the medium of instruction throughout the curriculum. Citing Parker (1960), Magwa reports that during this pre-independence era, a liberal Director of the Department of Native Education, Harold Jowitt, in 1927 actually emphasised the use of the vernacular as the language of instruction in "kraal" schools. Jowitt, however, appreciated the need for English and advocated that it be used progressively up the school ladder.

The policy of mother tongue use during the early years of schooling was discontinued when the Judges Commission (*Report of the Southern Rhodesia Education Commission*, 1962) recommended that children should learn in English from the first grade (Hungwe, 2007:139-140). In the above stated Report (1962:46, on *The Use of the Vernacular,* Sub-Section 208) the advantages of early vernacular instruction in schools were acknowledged, but teachers and authorities on education in Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) were reported as being prepared "to sacrifice some of them in favour of fostering a more rapid acquaintanceship with English idiom at an impressionable age." In the context of this study, my submission is that if teachers and education officials still favour English as the language of instruction from Grade One as observed in 1962, then it may not be easy for them to implement the Zimbabwean language-in-education policy of (2006), which recommends mother tongue usage in the whole of the primary school.

The Judges Report (1962) also made reference to an experiment conducted by a voluntary agency in the Matebeleland Province of Zimbabwe, where English was used as a medium of instruction from Sub-Standard A (Grade One) and was reported as

successful. To this end, the Judges Report (1962:147, Sub-Section 213), however, warns that if the teachers do not have the kind of fluency in English which enables them to tell stories easily in correct English, and to also interpret children's thoughts in correct English, "then an over-ambitious programme of English teaching could only produce a tongue-tied child". It is clear that the Judges Commissioners (1962) were sceptical on the use of English as the language of instruction during the early years of schooling in rural primary schools as expressed below:

> One group of African witnesses favours the use of English medium at the lowest primary level on the grounds that integration of teaching would thereby be easier to accomplish. We can only comment that integration in rural African schools in other circumstances would have a very poor chance of success (p. 47, Sub-Section 215).

The above quotation has direct relevance to my study, as my assumption is that some teachers may continue to employ the English only policy (Nkomo, 2008:354), in the hope of making easier the integration of teaching, yet this move may lead to lack of achievement of goals in education in rural primary schools. As stated in the above submission, the Judges Report seemed to favour the use of home languages for learners in rural areas. The reason given was that in most rural areas in Zimbabwe, English is not heard outside the classroom (Dube and Cleghorn, 1999).

The significance of mother tongue usage in early grades is demonstrated by findings from Siyakwazi and Siyakwazi (1995:13) who report that when they evaluated the 1962 Hope Fountain experiment years later in 1988, a key teacher responsible for the English-only experiment indicated in an interview that the use of English-medium in the lower classes was questionable. This finding is crucial and has implications for my study, as it seems to explain that the use of the second language may have problems, particularly for learners in rural primary schools.

The English only medium policy for Zimbabwe was thus introduced after the 1962 Judges Commission. Nkomo (2008:352) confirms this policy change by quoting 'The Statutes Law of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (1966)', and 'The Statutes Law of Rhodesia

(1973)' which both state that 'English should be used for instruction in all schools' and that 'instruction in an indigenous language could be authorised to expedite the acquisition of English' for only six months in the case of the former document and one year in the case of the latter. As a result of this change in the language policy, Siyakwazi and Siyakwazi (1995) report that new syllabuses were developed as well as new teachers' guides and new textbooks for children. Siyakwazi and Siyakwazi further submit that there was orientation of teachers, college lecturers, school heads and education officers throughout the country, on the proposed changes on the language of instruction, through in-service courses. It can thus be concluded that the colonial government was determined to sensitize policy implementers on the direction that they were to take with regard to the English-only policy by providing the necessary support.

The fluctuation of the language-in-education policy is further demonstrated by the fact that after independence in 1980, Zimbabwe experienced another policy change, which recognised the significance of the mother tongue in learning. This language-in-education policy was enshrined in the 1987 Education Act, and it recommended the use of the mother tongue during the first three years of the primary school. The policy was again amended in 2006, and the revised policy extended mother tongue usage from three years to seven years of the primary school. Thus, from the above exposition, it is evident that Zimbabwe has been characterised by fluctuation of policy on the language of education. In the context of my study, it may be pertinent to find out the extent to which teachers received or continue to receive support with regard to the 2006 language-in-education policy, which is the focus of my study. If teachers did not get support or if they continue to lack support through orientation and reorientation, I argue that such a situation can be regarded as a factor which may contribute to non-implementation of the current mother tongue policy in Zimbabwean primary schools.

From the above exposition, it is clear that failure to implement the language-in-education policy goals may be due to various state related factors as evidenced by the five problems presented by Bamgbose. It can therefore be concluded that if a government lacks commitment and simply pays lip-service on the use of African

languages in teaching and learning, the success of a language-in-education policy such as that of Zimbabwe cannot be guaranteed (Nkomo, 2008:351; Simango, 2009:209). A good example of the significant role of government in ensuring the implementation of the official mother tongue policy for education in Africa is that of Tanzania where Mushi (1996, cited in Banda, 2000:64) explains that after Nyerere proclaimed Ujamaa (self-reliance) through KiSwahili, it was interesting to observe that the political, civic and government leadership were exemplary in providing the motivation by adopting KiSwahili as the language for the offices and that of public life. The Tanzanian situation cited above is the opposite of the current position in Zimbabwe, where Magwa (2008:21) posits that it is very difficult to find a document that clearly spells out the role and function of indigenous languages in education.

Summarising the role of government in language policy implementation, Mtenje (2008:30) contends that among the factors that contribute towards failure to implement a language policy is the absence of a strong political will among African leaders to genuinely promote and develop African languages to appreciable levels, in tandem with research findings in the modern world. The above view is further expressed by Alexander (2004:121) who asserts that for African languages to dominate our society in the same manner as European languages, the decisive elements are a strong political will and commitment. Kamwangamalu (2009:136) concludes by stating categorically that "The lack of political will on the part of African leaders has impeded language policy implementation". With reference to Zimbabwe, such lack of political will is viewed as a contributory factor towards failure by the education sector to seriously implement the language-in-education policy (Chimhundu, 1997, 2010; Magwa, 2008; Nkomo, 2008; Makanda, 2009). In line with the above submission, the attitudes of policy-makers can thus have a remarkable impact on the formation of attitudes by those below (Adegbija, 1994:113), particularly teachers, in the context of this study. I go along with Banda's (2000) argument that if policy-makers and those in places of influence appear to send 'mixed signals' to ordinary people, then implementation of the language-in-education policy may have problems. By establishing how teachers' beliefs and attitudes are influenced by state related factors that act as barriers to the implementation of the

language-in-education policy, my study would possibly make a contribution towards that knowledge gap.

Having looked at the significant role to be played by policy-makers in demonstrating their commitment for effective implementation of the mother tongue policy in education, it is of paramount importance to explore how negative attitudes towards the mother tongue are created, since this study is focused on finding out how the knowledge, attitudes and beliefs of teachers may impact on the way they interpret, respond to, and implement the language-in-education policy.

3.3 Language attitudes

Language attitudes, which support the dominant role of English, contribute towards marginalisation of African languages in education (Dalvit et al., 2009:34). These attitudes are experienced within the education system and in society as a whole. In relation to the significance of attitudes, Baker (1992, cited in Adegbija, 1994:49) came up with three components of attitude: the cognitive, affective and readiness for action. According to Baker (1992), the cognitive component relates to thoughts and beliefs, while the affective component is about feelings toward the language. The readiness for action (conative) component of attitude is considered to be a plan of action under specific circumstances.

Thus, I tend to go along with Adegbija's (1994:112) view that knowledge about attitudes is crucial to the formulation of a language-in-education policy as well as to its implementation success. In the context of this study, I argue that it is important to explore the beliefs and attitudes of primary school teachers in Zimbabwe, as they are responsible for implementing the policy that calls for a shift from the use of English to the use of the mother tongue in learning and teaching up to Grade Seven.

3.3.1 Language myths as sources of language attitudes

Language attitudes are viewed as emanating from language myths, a category of barriers which seem to contribute towards exclusion of African languages from education (Benson, 2005:7-8; Dalvit et al., 2009:34-37; UNESCO Bangkok, 2008:2-3). These myths are more false than true and yet they tend to guide the thinking of policy-makers with regard to how official languages ought to be learnt by speakers of African languages (Alidou et al., 2006). Having raised the preceding statements, it is vital to reflect upon each one of these myths, with a view to revealing how they seem to stand in our way and yet it can be proved that they are unjustified. The identified myths emerge from research and debate on language-in-education issues in ex-colonial countries as illustrated below.

3.3.1.1 One-nation-one language myth

The first myth is a colonial concept that a nation requires a single unifying language, a myth that has influenced policy-makers in many parts of the world (Hornberger, 2002:31-32). The same view is held by Benson (2005:7) who posits that the colonial concept of *one-nation-one language* can be regarded as a myth because the imposition of a so called "neutral" foreign language has not necessarily resulted in unity as evidenced by instability in monolingual countries such as Somalia, Burundi and Rwanda. Ouane (2003, cited in Benson, 2005:7) further argues that "In fact, government failure to accept ethnolinguistic diversity has been a major destabilising force in countries like Bangladesh, Pakistan, Myanmar and Sri Lanca". It is my contention that some governments, particularly in Africa, may think their countries would break up due to ethnic politics, and hence believe in the use of a foreign second language as a unifying factor (Moodley, 2000:103; Nkomo, 2008:354). With reference to Nigeria as well as other African countries, this integration role played by ex-colonial languages is partly responsible for their high esteem and value (Mustapha, 2011:223). In view of the above exposition and in the context of my study, if primary school teachers in Zimbabwe believe in the myth that English should be used as the medium of instruction because it is the language of nationalism, my submission is that such a belief

may lead to negative attitudes towards the use of the mother tongue in education, a factor which may contribute as a barrier to effective implementation of the mother tongue policy.

3.3.1.2 The myth that African languages cannot be used in education

The second myth is that local languages cannot express modern concepts. As a result of this attitudinal misconception, the belief by Africans is that only the ex-colonial languages should be used as the media of instruction (Dalvit et al., 2009). To further demonstrate this point, Salami (2008) and Mustapha (2011) report that in Nigeria, there continues to be debate on the use of the mother tongue in education as a result of apathy to the policy, especially coming from the educated elite and parents who think indigenous language education would put their children at some disadvantage as they believe that African languages cannot be used to impart knowledge on subjects such as mathematics and science. This myth is dispelled by Benson (2005:7) who argues that all human languages are equally able to express their speakers' thoughts and new terms and structures can be developed as needed. According to Alexander (2003, cited in Benson, 2005:7), "The difference lies in which languages have historically been chosen for 'intellectualisation', or development through writing and publishing". Thus, literature has demonstrated that the colonial concept that African languages cannot be used as languages of science and technology is a myth since it is possible to develop these languages to the same level as ex-colonial languages (Prah, 2009). My submission is that in the context of my study, a conflict between the policy requirements and societal expectations could ruin the aspirations of those teachers who may be willing to implement the language-in-education policy. For example, parents can withdraw their children from schools which opt for mother tongue use in learning in the primary schools.

To further illustrate that most stakeholders in education believe in the myth that African languages cannot be used in education, Dalvit et al. (2009:36) report on findings from research conducted on the attitudes of Africans towards the languages to be used in education, which revealed that the attitudes were more positive towards the use of English than indigenous African languages. To that effect, Dalvit et al. (2009) argue that

European countries such as Switzerland, Belgium and Finland are successful examples of societal multilingualism and yet none of them use English as a language of teaching and learning. With particular reference to this study, it is crucial to find out whether rural primary school teachers in Zimbabwe possess the knowledge that it is possible for students to be taught in their first language, and then learn English as a subject in the primary school curriculum.

Wolff (cited in Alidou et al., 2006:11) posits that the uninformed attitude towards the language-in-education by key stakeholders in Africa becomes one of the major obstacles to the implementation of a mother tongue policy. This view is demonstrated by Benson (2005:9) who contends that when given an *either-or* proposition, African parents would opt for the use of a second language for their children. Citing Fasold (1997), Salami (2008) indicates that in Kenya, Tanzania, the Central African Republic, and Nigeria, speakers of some vernacular languages are very much opposed to the use of their own languages in their children's education. With reference to the critical problem cited above, studies have shown that when students and their parents are allowed to make informed choices from appropriate options, they would not necessarily support an English only policy (Heugh, 2002, cited in Benson, 2005; UNESCO Bangkok, 2008; Koch, Landon, Jackson and Foli, 2009; Fernando, Valijarvi and Goldstein, 2010). Thus, I share the optimism expressed by the above cited authorities who emphasise that those stakeholders who favour English as the only language of teaching and learning may do so due to ignorance. Within the context of my study, this view provides hope in that it seems to suggest that intervention strategies can be employed to educate stakeholders, particularly primary school teachers in Zimbabwe, who are responsible for implementing the language-in-education policy, on the significant role played by the mother tongue in learning. When giving such knowledge to teachers, UNESCO Bangkok (2008:3) posit that there might be need to dispel the myth that African languages cannot be used in education by highlighting that when children use the first language as the medium of instruction, it does not prevent them from learning English as an official school language. The significance of such knowledge in the context of my study is that stakeholders can thus be made to understand that as

children build fluency and confidence in learning through the first language, they can also learn to speak the second language and then eventually learn to read and write it, while building on a strong foundation in the mother tongue (UNESCO Bangkok, 2008). The need to educate stakeholders is supported by Banda (2000:63) who affirms that with reference to South Africa, failure to implement bilingual education programmes is due to attitudes to English which appear to be a stumbling block, hence, the attitudes and expectations of pupils, parents and teachers must be taken into consideration rather than being taken for granted. Related to my study, it is vital to establish the extent to which teacher beliefs on the myth that African languages cannot be used in education may influence their implementation of the language-in-education policy.

3.3.1.3 The myth that using English improves English proficiency

The third myth which is crucial to my study is that using English as a language of instruction improves English proficiency. To this end, Adegbija (1994:104) submits that it is generally assumed that when the mother language is used in the initial stages of education, the result is regression in acquiring the intended European language. On the contrary, research has demonstrated that this view may not be justified. Rather, the initial use of the home language provides a child with a solid cognitive base which helps in facilitating the acquisition of additional languages (Alidou et al., 2006:10). This finding has implications for my study, in that some teachers may believe in this myth, yet research has found that using the second language during all or most of the classroom time, known as the 'maximum exposure myth', does not necessarily assist learners to acquire the second language (UNESCO Bangkok, 2008).

My assumption is that like other stakeholders in African education, primary school teachers may lack the requisite knowledge that once a good foundation has been laid in the first language, then most skills would transfer to the second language (Cummins, 2001:19; UNESCO Bangkok, 2008:3). Furthermore, the above mentioned authors go on to advise that those learners who get the opportunity to develop high level competence in the mother tongue will also be able to gain high level competence in additional

languages, both in oral and written contexts. Within the African context, Koch et al. (2009:107) report that a small scale longitudinal Additive Bi-Lingual Education (ABLE) Project started in 2003 at a rural primary school in the Eastern Cape, South Africa, was developed in response to the 1997 South African additive multilingual language-in-education policy. When parents, teachers and the school governing body were introduced to international research findings on the benefits of the late-exit transitional bilingual education model, they unanimously agreed to the use of the school as the site for the experiment. According to Koch et al., the ABLE project, where learners were mainly speakers of isiXhosa, showed positive results of strong literacy in isiXhosa, paving way for transfer from the first language to the developing second language and the subsequent cognitive benefits of balanced bilingualism. The conclusion that can be drawn from the findings cited above is that, such knowledge is crucial to dispel the myth that using English as the language of instruction improves English proficiency, and to demonstrate that using English as the sole language of instruction is not necessary. Failure to appreciate the role of the first language in learning by primary school teachers, in my opinion and in the context of this study, may contribute as a barrier to effective implementation of the language-in-education policy.

The above argument is also advanced by Brock-Utne (2004, cited in Yohannes, 2009:197) who asserts that it is a misconception to assume that learning in English is helpful in learning to speak, read and write English better. The same view is further pursued by Benson (2005), who also affirms that there is no evidence that the second language has to be used as the medium of instruction in order to be learnt well because in countries like Sweden, learners achieve high levels of competence in the second language by teaching it as a subject and preserving the first language as the language of instruction. In view of the above stated evidence, black parents in ex-colonial countries in Africa, therefore, wrongly argue that if their children are taught in the second language, that is the only way through which they can master English effectively (Orman, 2008:96). To this effect, Cummins' theory, in Baker (2006), highlights that the use of the mother tongue in learning does not prevent the development of academic proficiency in a second language. In the light of the cited research findings and with

particular reference to my study, it is therefore justified to find out whether teachers believe in such a myth that when they use the mother tongue as the language of instruction, then learners would fail to get proficiency in English. I therefore argue that, believing in such a myth would be a clear indication of a factor that possibly contributes to non-implementation of the language-in-education policy by primary school teachers in Zimbabwe.

From the foregoing, my assumption is that rural primary school teachers in Zimbabwe may not possess the knowledge to the effect that the use of English as a second language as the only language of teaching and learning does not necessarily improve learners' proficiency in it (Dalvit et al., 2009). Hence, I reason that there is need to assess whether these teachers believe that when the second language is learnt as a subject in the school curriculum instead of being used as a medium of instruction, the mother tongue would facilitate the learning of that particular second language (UNESCO Bangkok, 2008:2; Koch et al. 2009:94).

To demonstrate that teachers and other education stakeholders need to appreciate the significance of learning in the first language, Sengoro (2004 cited in Brock-Utne, 2007:512) affirms emphatically that insisting on the use of foreign languages as languages of instruction in African schools "is not only unethical but also tantamount to committing intellectual and cultural genocide to the African youth at large". According to Peresuh and Masuku (2002), it is unfortunate that the pedagogical implication of gaining access to the second language through the first language is a concept that may not make sense to many people. To illustrate this point, Brock-Utne (1993, cited in Peresuh and Masuku, 2002:32) contends that trying to convince a parent that "bilingual education is the best route to full English proficiency is like trying to convince somebody that the best way to go west is to go east first". In view of the above exposition and in the context of this study, when primary school teachers in Zimbabwe have no knowledge of the role played by the mother tongue in facilitating learning of the second language (Cummins, 2001:18), they may not effectively implement the language-in-education policy which calls for the use of indigenous African languages.

The above view is supported by findings from studies conducted in South Africa since 1979, which indicate that although most African children were taught only in English from Grade 4 onwards, less than 25% of South African blacks have a reasonable competence in English (Webb, 1996 cited in Dalvit et al., 2009:40). According to Dalvit et al., the reason why there is no clear indication of an increase in English proficiency among those who speak African languages is that firstly most black children have very little contact with English, particularly in rural areas and that teachers themselves are also not competent in the English language (Koch et al., 2009). For these and other reasons, Dalvit et al. believe that it is not practical to use English as the only medium of instruction, especially in rural and township schools. My assumption is that the same problems reported in South Africa may be experienced by Zimbabwean learners in rural areas where there is little contact with English and the teachers may not be proficient in the second language. The majority of Zimbabweans live in rural areas, that's why this study is justified as it sets to explore reasons why rural primary school teachers continue to use English as the language of instruction, contrary to the requirements of the provisions of the 2006 language-in-education policy.

3.3.1.4 The maximum exposure myth

The fourth myth is that in order to learn a second language one must start as early as possible, implying an early transition to English. In this regard UNESCO Bangkok (2008:2) avers that starting early might help learners to get a nice accent, otherwise those who benefit are the learners whose first language is well developed. The UNESCO authorities go further to argue that building a strong foundation in the first language helps learning of the second language much more than early or long exposure to the second language. By simply exposing learners to the use of the second language in learning does not necessarily assist learners to acquire the second language. With reference to South Africa, Dalvit et al. observe that those who advocate for an early exit from an African language to English seem to assume that if a child who speaks an African language learns in English then he or she will be as successful as English speaking children. As a result of belief in such myths, Wolff (2002) posits that parents

then send their children to schools which exclusively use English as the medium of instruction. Wolff (2002:136) further argues that the parents described above are guided by one of the most persistent myths, that of 'longer means better' which leads to a complementary myth of 'earlier means better'. In the case of Nigeria, the reason why parents in that country favour English is that they believe in the myth that the earlier a child begins learning in English the higher the chances of better mastery of the language, and that this would eventually lead to good performance at higher levels of education (Mustapha, 2011:220; Salami, 2008:96).

A similar study by Chishimba Nkoshi (1999:172) also showed that Zambian parents preferred English as the language of instruction for their children from Grade One up to university level. The implication of these studies may be that language policies that demand early usage of English as the medium of instruction, therefore, appear to be informed by these myths.

With particular reference to my study, a conclusion can be drawn from the above findings that it is of particular value for primary school teachers to have requisite knowledge of the fact that transition from the mother tongue to the second language medium does not allow for satisfactory development of the students' cognitive and linguistic abilities (Ademowo, 2010:56). Instead, (Cummins, 2001:18) posits that educators and parents who are suspicious of mother tongue education programmes appear not to be aware that "Mother tongue promotion in the school helps develop not only the mother tongue but also children's ability in the majority school language". In view of the above exposition and in the context of this study, when primary school teachers in Zimbabwe have no knowledge of the role played by the mother tongue in facilitating learning of the second language, they may not effectively implement the language-in-education policy which calls for the use of indigenous African languages. It would therefore be interesting to find out whether primary school teachers believe in early usage of English for assumed better life chances, and the extent to which their teaching practices are influenced by parental myths with regards to the implementation of mother tongue education in primary schools in Zimbabwe.

As demonstrated above, African parents believe that learning in English helps their children to climb the employment ladder. To that effect, Dalvit et al. (2009:37-38) charge that the association between the use of English as the language of instruction and better life chances raises three types of objections. The first objection is that better quality of education rather than the use of English in learning could be the determinant of better academic results and better employment opportunities for English first language speakers. The second objection put forward is that it is necessary to investigate the difference between African students who attend schools where English is the first language as opposed to second language. If it is proved that African students who attend schools for speakers of English as a first language come from well-to-do home backgrounds, that would explain their better academic achievement and employment opportunities. Such findings would tally with those by Boughey (2007, cited in Dalvit et al., 2009:37) which established that students from affluent backgrounds are more likely to be academically successful and hence gain high status in the society.

The objections raised above have relevance to the Zimbabwean context, where the majority of learners come from poorly resourced schools in the rural areas and have a scant understanding of English. Roy-Campbell (2001:271), citing earlier research conducted in Zimbabwe in 1998, revealed that although students were taught through the medium of English, they were not adequately proficient in English and did not perform well in their content subjects. Owing to the above findings, and with reference to my study which involves rural schools, it would be important to find out whether teachers believe that using English as the language of instruction helps to produce good academic results and hence create better life chances. If teachers believe in that myth, I argue that such a belief may contribute to negative attitudes towards implementing a mother tongue policy in primary schools in Zimbabwe.

Another argument presented by Dalvit et al. (2009) is that early transition from the mother tongue to English does not necessarily mean better academic performance. Late transitional bilingual education is more likely to lead to academic success (Alidou et al., 2006:68). The above view is confirmed by Heugh (2003b, cited in Orman, 2008)

who reports that the implementation of mother tongue education for black children in South Africa coincided with a sharp rise in educational standards:

> In reality a twenty-year period of providing eight years of mother-tongue education for speakers of African languages and the fairly competent teaching of English, as a subject, resulted in a dramatic improvement in black education. Matriculation (school-leaving examination) pass rates increased from 43.5% in 1955 to 83.7% in 1976 (p. 89).

Contrary to the observation made above, there was a drastic drop in the pass rates at matriculation level when the use of African languages as languages of instruction in South Africa was reduced from eight years to four years. This was evidenced when only 49% of African language speaking school students obtained a pass rate at the matriculation level in 1994 (Orman, 2008:96; Dalvit et al., 2009:38). These findings seem to demonstrate that prolonged instruction in the mother tongue offers cognitive advantages for African children. The reason given by UNESCO Bangkok (2008:5) is that thirty years of research and practice in bilingual education has established that spending more time in developing the first language results in a stronger foundation on which the second language learning is based. In the context of my study, such findings are vital as effective implementation of the mother tongue policy in the primary school up to Grade Seven would enable learners to master concepts better (Linton and Jimenez, 2009:969).

In a related research, Desai (2012) demonstrated that early exit from mother tongue use in education leads to failure to access the curriculum by speakers of African languages. The study was conducted among Xhosa-speaking school children from Grade Four and Grade Seven in the Cape Town area. Participants were given six picture cards and asked to arrange them in such an order that they told a story. The students were then asked to write two versions of the story, one in Xhosa and another in English. The Xhosa version was meaningfully written, while nobody could make any sense from the English one.

The research by Desai (2012) clearly illustrated failure to construct meaningful sentences in English by students whose first language is an African language, contrary

to the myth that early transition from mother tongue to English means better academic performance. A similar study was conducted in Tanzania by Vuzo and Mkwizu, while using higher grade levels, where some of the students' English texts could hardly be comprehended thereby largely coinciding with those findings from South Africa (Brock-Utne 2007:520). Brock-Utne further explains that these studies were conducted under the Language of Instruction in Tanzania and South Africa (LOITASA) research project, which had one of its aims as that of studying the effects of learning through an unfamiliar language, which is also not well mastered by the teachers. Upon analysing the research findings, it was established that students who learn in a second language are highly disadvantaged by the language-in-education practices which favour English as the language of instruction (Brock-Utne, 2007:526). In the context of this study, it is my assumption that the challenges faced by learners in the South African and Tanzanian studies could be experienced by students who learn in English in rural primary schools in Zimbabwe, simply because teachers do not effectively implement the language-in-education policy which allows mother tongue usage in learning and teaching.

The benefits of learning in the mother tongue are aptly summarised by Prah (2002, cited in Makoni, Makoni and Rosenberg, 2010:2), who submits that "the value of mother tongue instruction is literally incontestable". Whereas research has demonstrated that learning in the first language allows learners to access the curriculum with ease, those who use a foreign language are presented with multiple tasks, which disadvantage them in making school progress. Such tasks include trying to understand the high level vocabulary, the abstract concepts being taught and understanding the unfamiliar language through which they are presented (Ademowo, 2010; Moyo, 2001; UNESCO Bangkok, 2008). In a study conducted in South Africa by Holmarsdottir (2003) it was found that when a foreign language is used:

> ---there is a narrow focus on specific vocabulary words and concepts, which in turn are practised through the use of repetition and memorization, which does not allow the creative language use by students. Students are restricted to language use consisting of filling in blanks or multiple-choice. Student responses in the foreign language, if they respond at all, are limited to short one-word answers

(generally the specific concept that is the focus of the lesson) with no elaboration or explanation given by either students or teachers. It was often observed that students only responded when questions were repeated in their mother tongue as opposed to the Foreign Language (p.21).

Thus, as demonstrated above, when education is conducted in an unfamiliar language, learners become passive recipients instead of becoming creative and active.

Although research on the advantages and disadvantages of using indigenous African languages in education is said to have reported contrary findings, in the contexts such as the U.S., Adegbija (1994:103) argues that a clear distinction should be made between different contexts. Children of immigrants in the U.S. are supported by an environment of English as a native language, as opposed to African children, particularly in rural areas, where English is not spoken by the majority. For that reason, Adegbija advocates for the use of indigenous African languages up to the end of primary school, a position which was rightly taken by the Zimbabwean Government in its language-in-education policy. Accordingly, from the above submissions, it is unquestionable that learners would feel more psychologically secure and emotionally involved when their home languages are used than when a strange language is employed (Salami, 2008:94). Under the circumstances, where no efforts are made to use indigenous languages in education till the end of primary education, teachers and learners may tend to naturally develop negative attitudes towards indigenous languages and cultures (Adegbija, 1994:104). With particular reference to this study, I argue that continued use of English as the language of learning and teaching may negatively affect the attitudes of Zimbabwean primary school teachers towards implementation of the mother tongue policy.

In sum, studies have demonstrated that there are several myths which contribute towards negative attitudes by various stakeholders in the education of learners whose mother tongues are African languages. Research findings seem to indicate that these myths can be proved to be unjustified. My study seeks to find out how Zimbabwean primary school teachers' attitudes towards the language-in-education policy are influenced by beliefs in these myths. Such findings may result in the possibility of my

study making a contribution to the existing knowledge base on the role of language myths in the implementation of the language-in-education policy. Linked to the myths discussed above is the instrumental value of English, a concept that is presented in the next section.

3.4 The instrumental value of English

Barriers to implementation of a mother tongue policy in Africa are viewed by Kamwangamalu (2004:137) in terms of socio-economic power and the international status of English. This notion is supported by Coetzee-van Rooy (2009:15) who posits that English is gaining a more significant role as an international language. As a result, Kamwangamalu notes that black pupils happen to be aware of the social, economic and political power of English and that their own languages have no economic benefits either locally or internationally. For this reason, Orman (2008:101) is of the view that the great attachment to English, experienced by Africans from countries with a colonial history, comes from a purely instrumental motivation. Based on the above observation, it can be seen that the positive attitudes towards English are driven by the instrumental value of this language (Lo Bianco, 1995 cited in Ridge, 2004:205). Similarly, it is vital to note that teachers in Zimbabwe may have such beliefs and attitudes which may influence the way they interpret and implement the language-in-education policy.

To demonstrate the attitudes of South African students towards English, Blommaert et al. (2005, cited in Prinsloo, 2011) reports that almost without exception, the students in their study expressed a great desire to learn English. Consequently, Prinsloo (2011:5) proclaims that "English is indeed the elephant in the room", implying that English is viewed as playing a huge role as it is the most preferred language of learning across schools and universities in South Africa. Blommaert (2006:11) further expresses the perceived instrumental role of English by presenting research findings which indicate that "the township pupils - overwhelmingly black or 'coloured' and poor – pin their hopes for upward social mobility on English---." My assumption is that the South African experiences expressed in the above research findings, may be the same as those in

Zimbabwean rural primary schools where learners come from poor home backgrounds and believe that learning in English would create better life chances.

Given the significant role in which English is perceived, Moodley (2000:114) professes that ordinary black Africans have cherished the instrumental value of English. Citing opinions viewed as representing those of the majority of South Africans, Moodley (2000) made the following findings:

> The reason people like me choose English is very simple. There is an entire world of knowledge, skills, jobs, power and influence which is totally closed to us if we can only speak an indigenous language---If you do not have the language skills to access the huge store of information available in English, then you are in a prison. The door out of that prison is knowledge of English (p. 111).

The sentiments expressed in the above quotation have direct relevance to my study, as primary school teachers may experience such sentiments in their day-to-day interaction with stakeholders in education. I argue that when teachers are aware of pupils' expectations on the instrumental role of English, they may find it difficult to implement a mother tongue policy in the primary schools.

Although black students indicate that they overwhelmingly want to learn in English, Blommaert (2006:11) explains that the type of English, "the one they have and the one they can get", does not provide them with the opportunity to achieve their intended goals. In other words, in Blommaert's view, it is unfortunate that the English that the learners 'can get' from their teachers is not based on the elite varieties of English, since their teachers are not competent in English (Koch et al., 2009). The reason for this discrepancy, according to Blommaert (2007, cited in Prinsloo, 2011:6), is that 'English' exists in African post colonial contexts on "different scales." In view of that, Blommaert (2007, cited in Prinsloo, 2011:6) concludes that "the 'world' language, therefore, exists in at least two-scaled-forms: one, a genuinely 'globalised' English that connects the elite worldwide, and another, a very local variety that offers very little trans-local mobility". In other words, whereas the elite and their children can have access to the prestigious varieties of spoken and written English, the majority of the learners can only access 'sub-standard' varieties.

The situation described above has relevance to my study, where learners can get only a local variety of English as indicated in the research done in Zimbabwe by Makoni, Dube and Mashiri (2006:407) who found that some primary school teachers were not competent enough to teach in English. If parents and learners in rural areas in Zimbabwe believe that quality education comes from learning in English, my submission is that in a bid to please these stakeholders, Zimbabwean primary school teachers may resist the mother tongue policy, only to offer sub-standard varieties of English. For Blommaert (2006:10), language choices which favour English should be viewed as being motivated by "international *mobility*, the desire to 'get out of here' and into a better, more prosperous environment". This observation is supported by Nkomo (2008:356) who contends that in the case of Zimbabwe, indigenous languages are considered to be less capable of dealing with issues of economic development, international trade, science and technology. In view of the above submissions on language choices and in the context of my study, I argue that primary school teachers may be aware of and may believe in the instrumental value of English, a factor which may hinder them from effectively implementing a mother tongue policy in the primary school.

Having discussed the instrumental value of English and how teachers may experience challenges in implementing the language-in-education policy for Zimbabwe, it is of paramount importance to consider how the colonial history of a country may contribute as a possible barrier to effective implementation of a mother tongue policy in education.

3.5 Colonial history as a source of language attitudes

The attitudes of viewing the conqueror's language as the language of power and prestige are evident in the history of societies other than those found in Africa. This view is expressed by Adegbija (1994:31) who states that a vivid example is the French conquest of England in 1066 AD, after which the English people began to regard French as the language of power. As a result, many French words came into the English

language as the people spoke the imposed language and wished to be like their masters. Thus, according to literature, societies tend to favour the language of their masters in order to identify with them in all respects. Applied to my study, such a scenario would lead to negative attitudes towards the mother tongue, particularly if it is not used in education (Alidou et al., 2006).

In the African context, the colonial history of African countries contributes towards favourable attitudes towards ex-colonial languages compared to the mother languages (Robinson, 1996:116). Phillipson (1992, cited in Nkomo, 2008:352) likens colonialism to linguistic imperialism and regards colonial languages as the cornerstone of colonialism. For that reason, Adegbija (1994:29) submits that each country has a unique social history which is different from that even of the nearest neighbour. However, there are some common strands in the social history of African countries that can provide insight into how language attitudes have evolved over the years. To that effect, St Clair (1982 in Adegbija, 1994) declares:

> To understand fully how language attitudes develop, it may be necessary to reach back into the past and investigate the social and political forces operating within the history of a nation [---]. One area of socio-linguistic research not fully covered in the literature, however, is the role that such historical forces play in the creation of language attitudes (p. 29).

The implication of the above observation is that teachers may have language attitudes which are rooted in the colonial experiences. The focus of my study is thus justified as research on teacher attitudes towards the mother tongue as the language of instruction at primary school level is scant in Zimbabwe. My study explores how teachers interpret and implement the language-in-education policy, thereby possibly creating the opportunity to find out the extent to which historical forces may have influenced the knowledge, beliefs and attitudes of these primary school teachers.

Adegbija (1994:30) is of the opinion that positive attitudes towards colonial languages were created when these languages were introduced into African countries. As a result, many Africans began to look up to these European languages as languages of power,

of high position, of prestige and of status. Those who had knowledge of the European language were appointed as clerks, interpreters, cooks, teachers, etc., a situation which was instrumental in their gaining material rewards. Hence, Africans began to believe that there was something wrong with their native languages and ended up being ashamed of them. This view is illustrated by one respondent in Moyo's (2001) study who lamented:

> I was made to feel that way when I was severely punished and humiliated for using my mother tongue at school. One teacher in particular made us sit in a corner wearing a cardboard box that said '*I am a donkey'* on the front of it. I tell you, this was a rural mission school in Zimbabwe. I can still hear the echoes of laughter of classmates in my ears today, decades after the experience. Sometimes the culprits would be canned in front of everybody (p.131).

Conclusions can be drawn from the above findings that the colonial experiences may still be anchored in people's minds, a factor which may contribute to non-implementation of the mother tongue policy for Zimbabwe by primary school teachers. In a related study, Roy-Campbell (2001:278) reports that in Zimbabwe, teachers and students narrated efforts by teachers to ask students to pay a fine for speaking an indigenous language in the school yard. Accordingly, Peresuh and Masuku (2002:32) regard the attitudes of teachers towards language use as crucial for the language-in-education policy to succeed. In the context of this study, it is vital to find out how teacher beliefs about the role of English in learning and teaching influences their implementation of the mother tongue policy for Zimbabwe. It is my submission that if teachers in Zimbabwe still view the ex-colonial language as the language of power and look down upon the African indigenous languages, they may not effectively implement the language-in-education policy in primary schools.

In view of the above findings, Adegbija (1994:31) stresses that the colonial and post-colonial language policies are responsible for providing a solid basis of attitudes towards both European and African languages. The reason given by Adegbija (1994:33) is that during the colonial era, African languages were not used for education beyond the lower grades of the primary school in many African countries, and "this speaks

volumes for language attitudes". Instead of taking bold steps to correct the injustices of colonial policies with regard to the use of indigenous African languages in the educational domain, the post-colonial policy makers in Africa merely rubber-stamped the existing policies (Nkomo, 2008:353). Chimhundu (2010:1) concurs with the above observation that African languages continue to be of low status well into the post-colonial era because of "elitist rule, snobbery and fear of the unknown". Taken in this light, it is evident that colonial and post-colonial educational policies continue to guide and shape the attitudes of Africans towards European languages and the mother tongue. With particular reference to my study, primary school teachers who believe that only the ex-colonial language is capable of being used in the expression of modern science and technology, may not feel obliged to implement the language-in-education policy for Zimbabwe, which recommends mother tongue usage in learning up to the end of the primary school.

In the same context, Prinsloo (2011:2) demonstrates that speakers of African languages face a dilemma in the sense that an ex-colonial language is viewed as a 'supra language' of status, hence to insist on equality between and among African and ex-colonial languages does not change the fact that there are linguistic hierarchies which operate in African countries. With reference to South Africa, Prinsloo (2011:2) argues that the strategy for equalising the eleven designated 'languages' is based on the assumption that language operates as a "neutral social medium", and on the notion that directed social planning can 'level the playing field'. Rather, the question of language policy cannot be determined purely on pedagogical grounds because it is influenced by factors such as historical, political, economic and cultural issues (Mwamwenda, 2004:151). Such effects of colonialism are evident in the way the images of indigenous African languages are threatened by the high status and dominance of English, a situation which needs to be addressed in order for local languages to be effectively used in education (Makoni, 1998b, cited in Pennycook, 2002:22; Mustapha, 2011:223).

In the Zimbabwean context, the position taken by the Zimbabwe Government can be applauded in that the language-in-education policy allows students to learn in their mother tongue up to the end of the primary school, and at the same time, it recognizes the crucial role played by English as the language of international communication. However, this position may not be appreciated by stakeholders in education, who want their children to focus on the school language from the beginning, as education is equated with thorough knowledge and proficient use of English (Peresuh and Masuku, 2002:32). In Moyo's (2001) study, such attitudes were evident in both educated and uneducated blacks alike. According to Moyo (2001:174), deep down in their hearts, the people of Zimbabwe wanted to learn and know their native languages, but current conditions in Zimbabwe did not foster any need for African cultures and languages, whose importance had been underrated for too long due to colonialism. In view of these findings, Moyo concluded that because of the diminished role of the mother languages for Zimbabwe, some native speakers tend to have negative attitudes towards their own mother tongues, thus aspiring to greater fluency in English language. Thus, in the context of this study, if teachers regard English as a prestigious language, like respondents in Moyo's study, they may believe that their choices are sound and legitimate as they are influenced by the long history of the use of English for upward social mobility (Ridge, 2004:205), a concept which is discussed in detail below.

3.6 The marketing problem

Another source of language attitudes is what Kamwangamalu (2004:132; 2009:138) refers to as the marketing problem, whereby it is felt that for African languages to be accepted as languages of teaching and learning, they need to be given the 'buying power'. This implies that indigenous African languages need to become languages which empower individuals to access resources and employment, political participation and upward social mobility (Webb 1995, cited in Kamwangamalu, 2004). Because indigenous African languages lack that power, Orman (2008:95) contends that in South Africa, the position of African languages within the education sector remains very weak, while English is becoming more and more dominant. The position of African languages

remains very low in South Africa despite the country's new constitution which empowers the government to use all the eleven official languages as media of instruction at all levels of education 'where reasonably applicable'. This point is demonstrated by findings from a study conducted by Chick and McKay, cited in Hornberger (2002:41), where principals and teachers in six newly integrated schools in Durban in KwaZulu-Natal Province rejected the use of Zulu in classes, citing students' need to improve their English, and that students required English for the purpose of economic advancement.

In another study conducted by Mashiya (2011) in KwaZulu-Natal, mentor teachers and school principals did not want student teachers to practise bilingual education skills by teaching in isiZulu at the Foundation Phase (Grade R-2) as a way of practising skills learnt at university.The main reason given was that the schools would produce incompetent learners who would fail to secure good jobs According to Orman (2008:96), although the constitution is committed to mother tongue usage in learning, this position does not reflect the language attitudes of many South Africans "whose thirst for English-medium education, even in the earliest stages of primary education, remains unquenched". Orman (2008) goes on to affirm:

> Such is the resistance to mother tongue education, black parents and students overwhelmingly continue to favour English-medium education from an early age, inspite of the evidence which shows that this option generally results in poor cognitive proficiency in English, high levels of drop-out and education failure (p. 96).

For Orman, the reason why African communities prefer English to indigenous languages is that like consumers, they are interested in comparing the material benefits of an education in an African indigenous language with the ex-colonial language. Kamwangamalu (2009:139) declares that "A language policy that does not have economic benefits is doomed to fail". Applied to my study, the attitudes that primary school teachers invest in English may also be commensurate to the functions that the language is perceived to be performing in Zimbabwe.

The marketing value of English, as opposed to African languages which are associated with non-achievement, led Grin (1995, cited in Kamwangamalu, 2004) to ask the following questions:

> For instance, would an education through the medium of an indigenous African language ensure the language consumer socio-economic self advancement? Would that education enhance the language consumer's standard of living? Would it give the language consumer a competitive edge in the employment market? Or, put differently, what benefits would individuals actually reap, particularly on the labour market, because of their skills in the mother tongue? And how would these benefits compare to the benefits deriving from the skills in a language such as English or Afrikaans (p. 40)?

With reference to my study, I argue that the above questions are likely to be asked by language consumers in the Zimbabwean context, where the language-in-education policy encourages the use of the mother tongue. As such, questions like these demonstrate the light weight which African languages may find themselves on the linguistic scale (Blommaert, 2006). Kamwangamalu (2004) asserts that the most central question is not so much whether or not the mother tongue should be used as the medium of instruction, but rather on the pay-off of mother tongue education. The same position is held by Walusimbi (cited in Adegbija, 1994:46) who contends that "English, to many, means life". The above view was expressed after a review of the mother tongue in teaching in Uganda where teachers as well as parents were found to believe that English was the only means which would enable children to pass their end of primary school examination and enter post-primary institutions, in order to secure good jobs. For Kamwangamalu (2009:140), due to the instrumental value and status of ex-colonial languages, they are widely held in high esteem in Africa both by those who are fluent in them and those who are not.

As demonstrated in the discussion above, the reason for favouring English is because African languages do not offer access to socio-economic benefits such as access to jobs, power, and wealth (Banda, 2000:64; Simango, 2009:209). Hornberger (2002:40) warns that the challenge for popular demand for the use of English as the language of power is very real in most parts of the world hence it should not be easily dismissed.

The above assertion is demonstrated by Mustapha (2011:220), who posits that in the context of Nigeria, any attempt by school administrators to use indigenous languages in education incurs the wrath of the guardians/parents who may in reaction withdraw their children from such schools and send them where English is used as the medium of instruction. My study intended to find out if primary school teachers believe in the strong market value of English, a factor which may lead towards failure to implement a policy which asks them to teach in the mother tongue, which they may view as a language which has no market value.

According to Kamwangamalu (2004:140), a language consumer soon realises three factors which are associated with positive attitudes towards English. The first factor is that education in English ensures social mobility and a better socio-economic life. The second observation is that those who can afford to send their children to English-medium schools do so, and among them are policy makers themselves. The third factor is the reality that "only education in English opens doors to the outside world" where individuals get employment in high paying jobs which cannot be accessed by those who learn in an indigenous African language. Thus, it can be concluded that the three considerations may be viewed as evidence of factors which contribute to positive attitudes towards English as a language with a linguistic market value. In the context of my study, I reason that the same observations may be made by primary school teachers in Zimbabwe, thereby negatively influencing their practices in respect of implementing the language-in-education policy.

Since experiences of most African countries are quite similar, Spencer (1971 in Adegbija, 1994:46) declares that Africans believe that "an adequate knowledge of English is an indispensable requirement for anyone to rise above or to live in any wider context than the village". Therefore, the fact that indigenous languages are not used in education beyond the primary school level in most African countries results in the building of generally negative attitudes towards the learners' home languages (Adegbija, 1994:99). Likewise, positive attitudes towards English by Zimbabweans are

attributed to the fact that there were many assumed advantages that the English language had brought to the native Zimbabwean in that English was viewed as the language for the civilised, educated, a status symbol and vital for upward social mobility (Moyo, 2001:7). Hungwe (2007:146) concludes that in Zimbabwe, English language skills are regarded as one of the crucial factors in global mobility, hence the demand for English appears to be "an essentially rational choice outcome". It is my contention that the above submissions may still be largely true today about the functions of English in Zimbabwe, where the language-in-education policy allows mother tongue usage in learning only at primary school level. Thus, this situation may be a contributory factor in the evolution of positive attitudes towards English which becomes the language of instruction at all post-primary institutions in Zimbabwe (Nkomo, 2008:357). With particular reference to this study, my assumption is that rural primary school teachers may still view the mother tongue as being of no value to learners since they eventually learn in English in the secondary school. As a result, teachers may fail to implement the provisions of the language-in-education policy for Zimbabwe which expects learners to access the curriculum in their home language up to the end of the primary school.

The strength of ex-colonial foreign languages as symbols of power is further demonstrated by Alidou et al. (2006:32) who contend that in Africa, European languages are now equated with economic, political, technological and scientific development. The fact that there are benefits to be derived from the usage of English, in Kamwangamalu's (2004, 2009) view, has hardly been taken into consideration in language policy decisions on the use of African languages in education. This view is illustrated in Setati's (2005) research findings, where a Grade 4 Mathematics teacher emphatically stated that:

> If we changed our [mathematics] textbooks into Setswana and set our exams in Setswana, then my school will be empty because our parents now believe in English (p. 25).

The above finding has grave implications in that it reinforces that mother tongue education is a complex issue which cannot just be taken for granted.

The above stated arguments have relevance for my study as they demonstrate that the implementation of the language-in-education policy at primary school level cannot be successful after being forced on the majority against its will (Banda, 2000:62-63). For that reason, Foley (2008:9-10) declares that "If learners and their parents do not desire mother tongue instruction, then all the effort in the world will not make the policy viable". With reference to Zimbabwe, the pre-colonial language policies persist because of demands by African parents for teachers to use English (Peresuh and Masuku, 2002:32; Makoni et al., 2006:407). It would be interesting to find out from teachers and school heads, the extent to which parental forces negatively influence the implementation of the language-in-education policy in rural primary schools in Zimbabwe.

Research findings in Zimbabwe indicate that the attitudes of stakeholders are more positive towards English than African indigenous languages. This position is demonstrated by Moyo's (2001) study, which explored the full impact of the English language on the native languages of Zimbabwe from 1980-1999. Zvobgo (1994) in Moyo (2001:27) explains that English is favoured by Zimbabweans because it helped the natives to get jobs even in the gardens and kitchens of the white men. In another study by Ndamba (2008), it was found that parents clearly indicated that they preferred an early switch to English as the only language to be used in the first three grades of the primary school, the assumption being that the earlier students learnt in English, the better for them to have better future employment opportunities. This negative view towards Shona as an indigenous Zimbabwean language, expressed in Ndamba's (2008) study, is evident in the following response:

> The response in ChiShona: *Kana akapasa Shona haina zvainomubetsera pakuwana basa. Mwana haagoni kuwana College, ndizvo zvinotaura Hurumende.Ndingada kuti mwana arohwe achiroverwa kudzidza chirungu.*English translation [If he/she passes Shona, it will not help him/her get a job. The child cannot get into College, according to the Government. I prefer that my child be beaten in order to learn English] (p. 183).

In view of the above findings, English may be positively evaluated by black parents in Zimbabwe because it is often seen as necessary in providing their children with opportunities for further education and a profitable future in the world of employment (Benson, 2005:8). Thus, parents, teachers and the general public may passively resist the mother tongue policy in primary education in Zimbabwe, in favour of English as the only language of instruction, for the survival of their children in the British-type education system (Moyo, 2001:33). Citing Phillipson (1996), Moyo (2001:8) claims that the English language in former British colonies is seen as the single most persistent and powerful symbol of oppression that has stood the test of time.

The foregoing shows that there might be need to convince stakeholders on the role of the mother tongue in learning in Zimbabwe. Hence, Foley (2008) posits that for the mother tongue policy to be successfully implemented, stakeholders such as government education officials, school governing bodies, principals, teachers, parents and learners, need to be convinced of the broad benefits of the mother tongue education in a much larger socio-economic context. In an effort to educate black learners on the importance of mother tongue education, Banda (2000:64) warns against merely telling them that "learn through your mother tongue because it is the language of your ancestors and it is the language of your culture". According to Banda, such an argument would not be attractive enough where English is perceived as offering status and socio-economic mobility. Besides educating stakeholders on the role of the mother tongue in education, Alexander (2004:121) affirms that for people to have positive attitudes, there is need to assign an economic value to the mother tongue, in the linguistic market place, in the short to medium term.

With reference to empowering African languages through raising their statuses to allow them to get a credible market value, Kamwangamalu (2004) declares the need to meet three conditions as intervention strategies. The first condition is the need to accord the mother tongue with prestige, power and material gains which speakers of African languages associate with English and Afrikaans. The second condition which assists in

raising the status of the mother tongue is to extend its use to the higher domains such as education, the economy, and the government and administration which are still monopolised by ex-colonial languages. The third condition proposed by Kamwangamalu is that a school-acquired certificate as evidence of the knowledge of the mother tongue should become one of the criteria to be considered in both the private and the public domains. Foley (2008:9) adds that in order for parents and their children to appreciate the use of indigenous African languages in education, it may be necessary to demonstrate that mother tongue education "leads to palpable benefits in such spheres as economic empowerment, social mobility and influence, and pathways to further academic opportunities".

The notion of the economic value of a language is also entertained by Dominguez (1998:10) who declares that at a personal level, the fact that access or promotion to certain jobs requires a language qualification has very visible economic benefits. This position is expressed by Banda (2000:64) who emphatically affirms that:

> As long as the actions of policy makers and those in the corridors of power suggest that a particular language (in this case English) offers opportunity for education, job opportunities and accessibility to communication, economic, political and industrial success, then language policies enacted to promote other languages will be futile (p.64).

The above stated situation is clearly demonstrated in Zimbabwe where learners cannot enroll in tertiary institutions unless they have a pass in English language at 'O' level (Hungwe, 2007:144; Makoni et al., 2006:406). Based on the above explanation and in the context of my study, this factor may lead teachers to consider an African language, which is supposed to be used as the language of education in the primary schools in Zimbabwe, as being inferior and an inadequate tool in matters of formal education and success in life (Alidou et al., 2006:33).

To conclude this section, it is clear that the benefits of a language can be measured in economic terms, raising the question of the marketing problem of African languages. By finding out whether Zimbabwean rural primary school teachers interpret and implement

the language-in-education policy in terms of economic benefits offered by the English language, my study would possibly make a contribution in literature towards that knowledge gap.

3.7 The 'elite closure' mentality

According to Orman (2008:97), barriers to the use of African languages in education, can also be attributed to elite language attitudes which continue to facilitate dominance of English in education while expressing negative attitudes towards the indigenous African languages spoken by the majority of the population. Robinson (1996:245) defines the 'elite' as a group of individuals "characterised by a (relatively) high economic status, high educational level and a high competence in an official language". The same view is expressed by Myers-Scotton (1993 cited in Rassool, Edwards and Bloch, 2006) who explains that non-elite and elite can be easily distinguished because the latter frequently use European languages both for the purpose of business and in their private life. The elite closure is, therefore, a strategy by the elite to exclude non-elite communities from political influence and socio-economic success (Ridge, 2004:207; Salami, 2008:96). With reference to Tunisia, Mansour (1993 cited in Orman, 2008:104) expressed wonder as to why the Tunisian elite (and other Third World elites) look down upon their own mother tongue and have been so brain-washed into believing that the situation can no longer be corrected.

In the context of the above view expressed by Mansour, Orman (2008) argues that it demonstrates the legacy of the colonial mindset which continues to be reproduced by neo-colonial subjects who contribute towards downgrading African languages to a low status. In the same vein, Prah (2009:89) declares that education under colonialism created the community of elites whose culture was oriented towards western society and values, and did not want to be associated with pre-western African culture. Any attempt to shift attitudes of parents who possess the elite mentality, can be regarded as a major obstacle (Rassool et al., 2006:541). According to Adegbija (1994), such speakers of indigenous languages do not wish to see their languages being used in

education because they totally do not have confidence in the ability of African languages to function in this domain. Adegbija (1994) goes on to proclaim that:

> As a result, educational habits, thoughts, concepts and perceptions continue to be modeled after those in the West. This continues to endow western languages in Africa, with an exaggerated prestige and superiority in education, which contributes remarkably to the high status they enjoy (p. 100).

This tradition of belief in western linguistic hegemony continues to be reproduced in the post-colonial era by African elites who have largely reproduced themselves through their descendants (Neville Alexander, 1999a cited in Wolff, 2002:144). Along the same lines of thinking, Alexander (2002 cited in Hornberger and Vaish, 2009:306) submits that English represents cultural capital for the black elite and consequently English is being reviewed as being responsible for the passage "into the ruling class or, at the very least, to positions of power". Teachers are regarded as belonging to the elite category (Adegbija, 1994:30-31). This view is illustrated in a research conducted in Malawi by Kaphesi (1999:158), on the possible use of Chichewa and Chiyao languages in teaching mathematics. The findings were that most teachers were pessimistic about the use of local languages in teaching mathematics in primary schools. Owing to findings such as those by Kaphesi, my assumption is that in the context of my study, the same attitudes may be held by primary school teachers, who may believe in the superiority of English in education, and as a result may find it difficult to teach using the mother tongue.

In the light of the above exposition, Alexander (2004:121) posits that what Ngugi waThiongo has called "the colonised mind" is the major and the most difficult barrier which prevents the development of African languages. This mindset is revealed by the fact that most black people simply do not believe that their languages have the capacity to be used for higher-order functions such as the language of education. The rising middle-class elite strongly value the English language because proficiency in English allows them to be elevated to the much admired rank of the global elites.

Research in the South African Higher Education system bears evidence of the existence of a strong elite category of individuals who believe in the superiority of the English language. Nkuna (2010:253) conducted a study which confirmed that English is still leading in the teaching of an indigenous language in South Africa. Twelve out of seventeen South African universities were found to be using English to teach African languages. Nkuna (2010) believes that using English to teach an indigenous language is a weakness and a threat to that particular language. The study also established that academics in indigenous languages prefer to study English, followed by isiZulu. The same observation is made by Alidou et al. (2006:16) who contend that teaching in mother tongues is still viewed by many Africans as a second class occupation when compared to teaching in foreign languages. In Nigeria, Salami (2008) reports that the attitudes of teachers and education inspectors were found to be negative, thereby hindering the implementation of the mother tongue policy. This view is supported by Johnson (2010:75), whose study showed that educators are active agents in the interpretation of policy that involves bilingual education learners. In view of such findings, my study acknowledges the teachers' central role in enacting a mother tongue policy in a bilingual situation, hence the need to explore the implementation practices of these local practitioners. The beliefs and attitudes of school heads and schools' inspectors also needed to be explored as they are the education authorities responsible for supervising teachers, assessing their teaching and monitoring policy implementation at primary school level.

In Alidou et al.'s (2006:4) view, such widespread negative attitudes towards the mother tongue are shared by teachers, parents and students and force teachers to focus more on the teaching of the second language instead of the mother tongues. In that respect, Nkuna (2010) proposes that it is possible to develop indigenous languages just like Afrikaans which started and developed during the colonial period and apartheid era and is not being taught in Dutch or English, but in Afrikaans. According to Prah (2009:103), Afrikaans is the most successfully developed language on the African continent in the last 100 years from the level of 'a kitchen' language to the language of science and

technology, equal to any in the world. The views expressed above indicate that it is possible to develop the mother tongues to languages of learning and teaching in the primary schools. From Khapesi's (1999) study on the possible use of Chichewa and Chiyao in teaching mathematics in Malawi, the findings were that mathematics can be taught in the local languages, but there was need to develop positive perceptions on the part of stakeholders, on the use of local languages.

In this section, it has been demonstrated that the history of the education system in a given country shapes the curriculum in a significant way. With reference to the Zimbabwean experience, Ndawi and Maravanyika (2011) illustrate this point:

> For example, the fact that the language in the curriculum is transacted and experienced by the learner in Zimbabwe is English can be traced back to colonial origins of the formal school curriculum in the country. The colonial masters required that the official language of education was English. After independence, the cost of reversing this historical phenomenon entrenched over a hundred years was too colossal to contemplate (p. 11).

Ndawi and Maravanyika have thus illustrated that in Zimbabwe, attempts to indigenise the curriculum have not been successful, and hence the practice has remained the same as that of the colonial period (Nkomo, 2008:351). Ndawi and Maravanyika (2011:14) further observe that such failure may be attributed to various pressures, among them being the fact that those who manage the curriculum have faith in the system which they themselves went through. Thus, in view of the above submission, I argue that the language-in-education policy for Zimbabwe, which recommends mother tongue use for teaching and learning in the primary school, can be met with resistance by those teachers, school heads and other senior education administrators who went through the colonial education system which used English as the language of education in the primary school. For the mother tongue policy to be successful, Hornberger (2002:28) affirms that it is important for teachers to recognise and value the learners' languages and cultures. According to Adegbija (1994:112), any attempt to change language attitudes in education needs to address the bottom-line factors that determine those attitudes. I concur with Adegbija's emphasis on the significant role played by

factors which determine attitudes. Hence, my study is therefore justified as it explored underlying factors that hinder primary school teachers from effectively implementing the mother tongue policy for Zimbabwe. One way that may be considered as a vital intervention strategy in addressing challenges of implementing a bilingual education policy is teacher training as discussed in the next section.

3.8 Teacher education and bilingual education

Teacher education institutions play a significant role in alerting teachers on the merits of balanced bilingualism and how to implement a bilingual education policy at primary school level. Both initial and in-service programmes can play a vital role in preparing teachers to handle challenges of implementing the LIEP as illustrated in the following sections.

3.8.1 Initial Teacher Education

Alidou et al. (2006:16) regard teacher training as one of the major problems that account for failure to implement the mother tongue education policy in Africa. The same challenge is experienced in most European and North American contexts, where pre-service education of teachers pays little attention to the implications of linguistic diversity (Cummins, 2005:169). Citing an assessment conducted by Ngu (2004), Alidou et al. (2006) observe that current dominant teacher-training programmes were developed during the colonial period. After political independence, student teachers are still being prepared to teach in ex-colonial languages, that is, English, French, Spanish and Portuguese, which are unfamiliar to children. In view of the above position, 'Inside Story' (2000), which is part of *Improving Education Quality Project* (IEQ) Research study in Malawi, recommends that both pre-service and in-service programmes should prepare teachers on the use of African indigenous languages as media of instruction in the primary schools. To achieve this, Roy-Campbell (2001) suggests that teacher education programmes need to introduce their students to innovative ways of assisting learners to value their mother tongue as well as developing proficiency in English as a second language. Motala (2001, cited in Rassool et al., 2006:541) also views lack of

"teacher preparedness" as one major challenge when it comes to dealing with learners in primary schools in South Africa. With reference to this study, the sentiments expressed above may apply in Zimbabwe where pre-service students are not trained on mother tongue usage in learning and teaching at primary school level. Having looked at pre-service education and its role in promoting bilingual education, the next section considers in-service education and how it can be used to equip qualified teachers on the effective use of the mother tongue in learning and teaching in a bilingual set up.

3.8.2 In-Service Education as an intervention strategy

Fullan (1998:671) notes that in-service education, as a form of professional development, has always been identified as an important component of any change strategy. Bitan-Friedlander et al. (2004:608), also suggest that the main method for the introduction of educational change is usually in-service training as a component of professional development. Therefore, with reference to my study, when the teacher's level of knowledge, beliefs and attitudes is not taken into account (Jansen, 2009:223), implementation of the curriculum change issue such as the mother tongue use in education in Zimbabwean primary schools, may not be successfully achieved. It is my submission that through staff development, the Government might do well by trying to change some of the entrenched attitudes which might be a hindrance to effective implementation of the bilingual education policy.

3.8.2.1 Benefits of In-service Education

In-service training is of key importance to the maintenance of standards in the schools, and as a result, teachers should not be expected to implement new methods of teaching or tackle new curricular without in-service training (Venkataiah, 2001:188). The same view is held by Darling-Hammond (2005) who posits that policy-makers who want teachers to succeed at new kinds of teaching should create extensive learning opportunities for teachers, so that the complex practices have a chance to be:

> Studied, debated, tried out, analysed, retried, and refined until they are well-understood and incorporated into the repertoire of those who teach and make decisions in schools (p. 375).

The above views have an implication for my study, where teachers might benefit from in-service education on how to implement a mother tongue policy in primary schools as a curriculum change issue. To this effect, McLaughlin (1998:72) proposes that local expertise, as well as available resources to support planned change efforts, are crucial factors sustaining an innovative effort. Since recent reforms call for radical change in classrooms, such reforms require many educational opportunities for teachers to learn on the job as well as in colleges, universities and other agencies (Sergiovanni, 2005:296). This implies that when teachers receive in-service education, they may get motivated to embrace policy objectives and hence generate the effort and energy necessary to implement the desired policy which, in this study, is the language-in-education policy for primary schools in Zimbabwe.

For the success of any change in school, in-service education is therefore crucial. In that respect, Benson (2005:9) avers that human resource development by way of in-service education must be addressed regardless of the nature of the school change. Specifically for bilingual education such as the case for Zimbabwe, Benson suggests that it should not be undertaken without seriously considering in-service in the short term and pre-service training in the long run. Applied to my study, this can be done through providing a range of additional courses (modules) so that the in-service teachers can gain academic proficiency in the newly developed Zimbabwean local languages, in the various primary school subjects. Foley (2008) proposes that such courses would need to be taught part-time, that is, during the vacations, after hours or as block release programmes. I reason that if Zimbabwean primary school teachers do not receive in-service training which equips them with methodological skills in the usage of African languages as media of instruction, this may contribute as a factor that hinders effective implementation of the language-in-education policy.

3.8.2.2 In-service Education for bilingual education teachers
With specific reference to bilingual education, Baker (2006:315) proposes that staff professional development programmes can be designed to sensitize bilingual education

teachers on issues such as students' language and cultural backgrounds, knowledge of second language acquisition, and developing effective curriculum approaches in teaching students who learn in the second language. Baker goes on to add that all teachers can be trained to view themselves as teachers of language irrespective of their subject area. For the successful implementation of mother tongue policies in education, Foley (2008:10) posits that steps must be taken to ensure the upgrading of in-service teachers. Such professional teacher development can be done in terms of developing academic proficiency in the mother language, enhancing content knowledge, and focusing on improved teaching methodologies (Muthivhi, 2008:34-35).

Furthermore, Schwartz (2001, cited in Baker, 2006:315) suggests that both the initial and in-service training of bilingual education teachers can involve awareness programmes involving an individual person or a community, as well as approaches to bilingual education, among other important bilingual education issues. An example of high quality academic and practical training which prepares bilingual education specialists is offered at post-graduate diploma or M.A. levels, for indigenous language speakers of the Andean region in Bolivia (Albo and Anaya, 2003 cited in Benson, 2005:9). A similar in-service programme for Namibian teachers in the Basic Education Strengthening project was done completely in Namibian languages, and was found to facilitate both communication and development of pedagogical vocabulary in the first language (Stroud, 2002 in Benson, 2005:9). Another intervention strategy for teachers was undertaken by PRAESA (Project for the Study of Alternative Education in South Africa), a Non Governmental Organisation that specialises in academic research and is based at the University of Cape Town (Rassool et al., 2006). Rassool et al. go on to indicate that PRAESA is a limited programme of in-service teacher education, which focuses on the key area of language-in-education and is concerned about the training needs of teachers using additive bilingualism approaches involving isiXhosa in the Cape Town region. The PRAESA, which is involved in knowledge exchange with the University of Reading in the UK, has already produced an in-service training video which provides an example of good practice in a multilingual class, and it is the only

institution where professionals who want to specialise in bilingual education can pursue a Masters programme (Alidou, 2009:127). Alidou further advises that in African countries, it is crucial to train curriculum developers, school principals and supervisors in charge of teacher education programmes.

The approaches cited above are all relevant in the context of my study as evidenced by Nkomo's (2008:361) observation that one of the reasons for implementation failure in Zimbabwe is that the language-in-education policy seems to focus on schools, while ignoring colleges and universities which train teachers. For that reason, Nkomo (2008:359) further posits that the Language Plan of Action for Africa identifies national universities as government institutions that can be held responsible for promoting African indigenous languages through research and other related activities. If pre-service and in-service programmes equip students with skills on how to handle bilingual education, my contention is that it may be a way of creating positive attitudes which may in turn lead to effective implementation of mother tongue education.

It is clear from the strategies cited above, that in-service education can play a very important role in that particular teacher competencies, required by bilingual education teachers in Zimbabwean primary schools, can be addressed (Peresuh and Masuku, 2002:34). Bitan-Friedlander et al. (2004:609) hold the view that the in-service training programme must be long enough to provide the teachers with the time necessary for them to internalise the change, that is, accept the innovation and be ready to implement it. James and Jones (2008:12) also advocate for appropriate training and documentation for the achievement of objectives of an implementation programme, such as the language-in-education policy for Zimbabwe.

In sum, in-service training is viewed as creating opportunities for teachers to acquire new and relevant skills, without which the language-in-education policy would not be effectively implemented. Linked to teacher education is the development of educational materials (Bamgbose, 1991:119), a concept that is discussed in the next section.

3.9 Development of educational materials

The development of educational materials is a necessary move, as critics of mother tongue education mainly cite the reason that these languages are not yet developed (Simango, 2009:209). Alidou et al. (2006:16) are of the view that severe lack of appropriate educational materials tends to negatively impact on the teaching of African children. In the light of the above submission, lack of developed educational materials may affect the image and the attitudes that people have towards a given African language. To boost the image of the low-status language, Fernando et al. (2010:49) suggest that the intervention strategies can include development of specialised terminologies for that language in the fields such as technology or commerce. Thus, if attitudes towards indigenous African languages are to be positively influenced and shaped, the indigenous languages concerned need to be assigned greater communicative roles and functions which promote their prestige (Adegbija, 1994:114). Citing the case of Tanzania, Adegbija submits that Kiswahili is ranked higher than other indigenous languages because it possesses more resources. To support the possibility of developing mother tongue materials, Benson (2005:13) makes reference to The Rivers Readers Project which was done in Nigeria and which proved that materials of reasonable quality could be developed even where resources were scarce.

In the Zimbabwean context and with reference to this study, I argue that if primary school teachers in Zimbabwe see indigenous languages as not developed well enough to enable them to teach through them, they may have negative attitudes and ignore implementation of the mother tongue policy. Therefore, before any further attempts can be made by way of enforcing the language-in-education policy provisions, it is necessary to allocate resources and to work hard on the production of materials for use by teachers and learners (Muthivhi, 2008:34; Nkomo, 2008:358). Nkomo (2008:260) goes further to claim that the exclusive use of Shona and Ndebele as languages of instruction is not yet ready because of poor quality linguistic and literary terms glossaries, a situation which leaves lecturers and students without the requisite

terminology. Citing Nyati-Ramahobo (2004), Nkomo (2008) concludes that implementation problems of language-in-education in Zimbabwe may arise because the law prescribes one language but at the same time provides room for other languages without showing any commitment to their development.

Due to lack of developed materials, Alidou et al. (2006) posit that particularly in bi/multilingual schools, teachers are forced to translate materials which are meant for instruction through a foreign language. In the context of my study, if teachers do not have teaching and learning materials in the mother language and are not willing to translate the existing documents written in English, this factor may contribute towards failure to implement the language-in-education policy. The issue of inadequate and inappropriate teaching and learning materials is evident in the form of teachers' guides, textbooks, reference books and syllabi. For Alidou et al. (2006) teachers who are not trained in bilingual education, and those who do not get support from their principals, heavily depend on available teachers' guides in an ex-colonial language to develop their lesson plans, a situation which may prevail in Zimbabwean primary schools.

As an intervention strategy, Simango (2009) suggests that the starting point would be to translate the existing textbooks and teaching and learning materials into relevant African languages. Such a move, which aims at developing indigenous languages into academic media of communication, is an important endeavour which cannot be undertaken by a few scholars working in isolation as "this technicist and artificial view of language development is plainly insufficient" (Foley, 2008:3). Rather, the entire intellectual speech community of each language needs to be actively involved in the development of the language as academic discourse. Some activities which can be adopted in boosting the language which is looked down upon include radio and TV broadcasts, newspapers and other publications to be printed in the low-status language, as well as development of specialised terminologies (Fernando et al. 2010:49). In the same vein of thinking, Foley (2008:3) believes that to further strengthen the position of indigenous languages, scholars should strenuously attempt to use the languages to:

Write scholarly articles, give formal lectures, present conference papers, produce textbooks and scientific manuals and numerous other activities which require a rigorous academic register.

Although such an exercise would be met with challenges of lack of lexical equivalents between languages, some terms can be borrowed from other African languages and European languages, while others are coined along the way (Adegbija, 1994:105).

To demonstrate that there is no language which is inherently inferior to an extent that it fails to accommodate new functions and experiences that it may need, Adegbija cites Kiswahili and Afrikaans, as these two stated languages have already achieved some considerable advance because new terminology have been developed to cope with the many experiences in the areas of western science and technology. Contrary to the above observations, the prevailing situation with regard to African languages in South Africa is that there is little or no educational material in those indigenous languages, hence to strictly enforce mother tongue education would not make much sense (Banda, 2000:62). Currently in South Africa, the only subjects which appear in indigenous languages are the African languages as subjects themselves while the rest are in English and Afrikaans. From that perspective, Wolff (2002, cited in Simango, 2009) argues that it is only through using the African languages as languages for teaching and learning that would make them develop. My point of view is that the same situation may be experienced in Zimbabwe, where the language-in-education policy prescribes English but provides room for other languages without any commitment to their development for the purpose of using them as media of instruction in primary schools. Therefore, before teachers are expected to begin teaching the curriculum in the learners' mother languages with some degree of consistency, it may be necessary to develop African languages as academic and scientific languages to a certain level (Foley, 2008:5).

The above stated situation has relevance to the Zimbabwean context, where educational materials in the primary schools are written in English in all other subjects

except for Shona and Ndebele as subjects. The implication is that teachers may not have any base for consistency in terms of the academic language for their teaching and subsequent examining of subjects. I argue that where there are no materials in the mother tongue for primary school teachers to use in their day-to-day teaching, they may find it difficult to conduct centralised school tests and examinations with a certain degree of precision. For this reason, Foley (2008:5) contends that all textbooks, readers, support material, teaching aids, guides and literature must be made readily accessible in the indigenous African languages and kept continuously up to date, particularly in mathematics, science and technology where new terms need to be developed and learnt by both teachers and learners. Foley (2008:6) further suggests that a lot of work has to be done if indigenous languages are to be used as languages of instruction in the primary school. Thus, in the context of this study, if teachers are of the view that educational materials are not developed well enough in the Zimbabwean indigenous languages for use in the primary schools, this factor may contribute as a barrier towards effective implementation of the language-in-education policy (Fernando et al., 2010:49). As a result, these Zimbabwean indigenous languages may continue to be shunned as media of instruction by primary school teachers, and hence, remain in a diminished status.

With reference to development of materials for teacher education, Foley (2008:8) posits that the entire Teacher Education curriculum in South Africa needs to be translated into each of the African languages, which would include all official school subjects, particularly Mathematics and Science. The above proposed experiences have relevance to the Zimbabwean context, where there are teachers' colleges which offer diplomas and universities that award Bachelor of Education degrees under the pre-service and in-service primary education programmes. Thus, owing to the above exposition, there is need for teacher education institutions to translate the curriculum from English into the required African languages so that student teachers may rely on texts written in the standard form upon completion of their programmes. Where African languages are developed into genuine academic languages, Foley (2008) argues that

such a situation would lead to avoidance of the employment of code-switching by teachers, a strategy which may be problematic as it is highly personal, context-specific and of dubious value as a teaching strategy if the teacher intends to improve students' competence in English at primary school level (Mercer, 2000; Dube and Cleghorn, 1999; Foley, 2008; Muthivhi, 2008; Salami, 2008).

In sum, it has been demonstrated in this section that it is not enough to prescribe the use of an indigenous African language without developing the educational materials. This can be done through making translations from ex-colonial languages into the local African languages. Such a move was viewed as crucial in raising the status of the Zimbabwean indigenous languages, thereby helping to create positive attitudes towards the mother tongue for successful implementation of a bilingual programme.

3.10 Summary

In this chapter, the views and research findings from books and related articles on issues pertaining to specific barriers to the implementation of a mother tongue education policy were explored, as well as their implications to my study. To begin with, barriers related to the behaviour of policy-makers were identified and discussed in terms of how they influence teacher practices in implementing the language-in-education policy, such as that of Zimbabwe. It was argued in the chapter that the success of a mother tongue policy depends on the commitment and political will by African governments to promote and develop African languages. It was also demonstrated in literature that by providing motivation and assisting in the creation of positive attitudes towards mother tongue education, policy-makers can help to raise the status of the marginalised African languages.

Related research studies have revealed that major stakeholders in education such as teachers, parents and students, believe in several myths which contribute to negative attitudes towards African languages, a move which may impact negatively on the practice of teachers in implementing the language-in-education policy. However, contrary to these myths, it was argued in this chapter that research findings seem to

indicate that these myths can be proved to be unjustified. Belief in the said myths appears to be linked to the colonial language policies which used European languages as media of instruction. As a result, even in the post-colonial period, stakeholders still expect English to be used in education because it is viewed as the language of power which enables individuals to rise socially, politically and economically. Furthermore, it was argued that those who rise are a few individuals who belong to the 'elite' category, while the rest of the masses, particularly those in rural areas, remain disempowered. Owing to the success of the few who have mastered English, both educated and uneducated African parents tend to question the instrumental value of mother tongue education, which they view as unable to render someone employable.

It was found in literature that among challenges facing post-colonial governments is their inability to develop African languages as a way of boosting the image of these low status languages. It was argued that both pre-service and in-service education are the major intervention strategies which may help teachers to appreciate the role of the mother tongue in education, and to empower them to effectively implement a bilingual education programme such as that of Zimbabwe.

In the next chapter, I outline and justify the methodological paradigms, the research design, data gathering and data analysis techniques that I employed in order to achieve the objectives and to answer the major research question of my study, namely the factors that act as barriers to effective implementation of the language-in-education policy by rural primary school teachers in Zimbabwe.

CHAPTER 4: EMPIRICAL INVESTIGATION: METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

4.1 Introduction

The previous two chapters focused on the conceptualisation of the language-in-education policy framework and literature review on language-in-education policy and teacher education respectively, and both were aimed at validating this study. This chapter presents the methodological considerations made with respect to the conduct of the research. The topics that are dealt with in this chapter are the postcolonial theory research paradigm, the qualitative case study research design, research methods, population, sampling procedures, data presentation and analysis. The chapter also considers issues pertaining to the rigour and trustworthiness of the study as well as ethical considerations. I begin by discussing the general theoretical considerations that guide this study.

4.2 The Postcolonial theory research paradigm

Research paradigms are distinguished from each other because of contrasting ontological, epistemological and methodological assumptions. According to Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011):

> ontological assumptions (assumptions about the nature of reality and the nature of things), give rise to epistemological assumptions (ways of researching and enquiring into the nature of reality and the nature of things); these, in turn, give rise to methodological considerations; and these, in turn, give rise to issues of instrumentation and data collection (p.3).

It is evident from the above quotation that the three dimensions of a paradigm influence one another in such a manner that the nature of reality that one intends to study

influences the relationship between the researcher and the researched and in turn, the methods of data collection to be used.

Cohen et al. (2011) go on to outline three research paradigms which differ in their orientation, and hence, understand phenomena through different lenses. The first approach is positivism, which is regarded by Cohen et al. (2011:31) as that which strives for "objectivity, measurability, predictability, controllability, patterning, the construction of laws and rules of behaviour and the ascription of causality". For this reason, researchers in the positivist paradigm have received criticism for their singular view of reality, which they measure through 'objective' and 'value-free' scientific and quantitative methods. According to Cohen et al. (2011:14) positivists have been attacked for:

> Science's mechanistic and reductionist view of nature which, by definition, defines life in measurable terms rather than inner experiences, and excludes notions of choice, freedom, individuality and moral responsibility (p. 14).

It is clear that the positivist tradition operates in a rigid manner, where eventualities which are not pre-planned are not considered. On the other hand, there are post-positivist paradigms which are based on a holistic worldview where researchers believe that there is no single reality (Punch, 2005:139). Hence, the second research tradition outlined by Cohen et al. (2011) is a post-positivist approach, namely, the interpretive paradigm, in which researchers believe in meanings in interpreting the world in terms of its actors. With regard to the third research tradition, which is also a post-positivist perspective, Cohen et al. (2011:31) comment that "an emerging approach to educational research is the paradigm of critical educational research". This critical enquiry paradigm offers a different perspective to positivism and interpretivism. Gray (2009) describes the critical form of research as:

> A meta-process of investigation, which questions currently held values and assumptions and challenges conventional structures [---]. Those adhering to the critical enquiry perspective accuse interpretivists of adopting an uncritical stance towards the culture they are exploring, whereas the task of the researchers is to call the structures and values of society into question (p. 25).

The critical research paradigm, therefore, sees positivism and interpretivism as presenting incomplete accounts of social behaviour in that they neither question nor take into account the political and ideological contexts of much educational research. By way of further explanation, Gray (2009:25) outlines the assumptions that lie beneath critical enquiry as that:

- Ideas are mediated by power relations in society.
- Certain groups in society are privileged over others and exert an oppressive force on subordinate groups.
- What are presented as 'facts' cannot be disentangled from ideology and self-interest of dominant groups.
- Mainstream research practices are implicated, even if unconsciously, in the reproduction of the systems of class, race and gender oppression.

In other words, it is clear from the above explanation on the theoretical assumptions of the critical enquiry approach that its nature of reality differs from the positivist and interpretive paradigms, hence their epistemology and methodology differ as well. Different paradigms, therefore, call for different approaches to research. The postcolonial theory, a paradigm adopted for this research, falls under the umbrella of the critical research tradition (Cohen et al. 2011:45; Marshall and Rossman, 2006:1; Punch, 2005:139). According to Ratele (2006:539), "the term 'postcolonial' can be used descriptively to refer to the period after former colonies achieved independence, but also to refer to a transdisciplinary, critical, theoretical stance". Ratele's (2006) definition befits my intention in this study, whereby besides considering the postcolonial period as the context of my study, my stance is that of being critical of the current situation where the issue of the language of education is seldom raised as a subject of study in Zimbabwe. In this study, participants were expected to articulate their experiences and views as decolonised subjects, with regard to their perspectives on the implementation of the language-in-education policy in rural primary schools. For that reason, I chose to operate within the postcolonial paradigm which falls under the post-positivist tradition. This means that the ontological, epistemological and methodological orientations of the postcolonial theory influenced the processes in this research.

The postcolonial theory research paradigm was therefore relevant, in view of the postcolonial context in which research participants continue to experience the influence and effects of linguistic colonialism (Ashcroft, Griffits and Tiffin, 1998:186-188; Parsons and Harding, 2011:2). The purpose of this study was to explore and gain insight into the perspectives of rural primary school teachers on factors that hinder the effective implementation of a bilingual education policy which encourages use of the mother tongue in teaching and learning up to the end of the primary school in Zimbabwe.

The publication of 'Orientalism' by Edward Said in 1978 was a crucial moment in the emergence of postcolonial theory (Viruru, 2005:8; Rivas, 2005:62). Cohen et al. (2011:45) put forward the view that Said's (1978) work was influential "on orientalism and the casting down of non-western groups as the other". According to Parsons and Harding (2011:4), the leading postcolonial theorists include Edward Said, Homi K. Bhabha and Gayatri Chacravorty Spivak. Parsons and Harding (2011:4) go on to advise educators to pay attention and critically reflect "on the ongoing, often unintended acts of inequity, stereotypes, oppression and exclusion that we still carry out in classrooms on the 'postcolonial subject'."

The postcolonial theory paradigm is therefore a relatively new perspective, particularly in the education context. Shohat (2000 cited in Mfum-Mensah, 2005:74) regards 'postcoloniality' as a new designation for critical practice of enquiry which analyses issues that emerge from "colonial relationships and their aftermath, covering a long historical span (including the present)". Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin (1998:186) state that the term 'postcolonialism' is now used to mean the political, linguistic and cultural experiences of those societies which were formally colonised. The linguistic experience was the focus of my study, hence Mfum-Mensah (2005:73) argues that the issue of the language policy continues to attract attention in the postcolonial education reforms in many formally colonised nations and yet little attention has been paid to the discussion about how colonial education contributed to the shaping of the ideology of the colonised. In view of the above observation, the postcolonial theory paradigm was considered appropriate for this study which assumes that rural primary school learners

are disadvantaged by teachers' failure to teach in the mother tongue in line with the requirements of the language-in-education policy of 2006, which is premised on additive bilingual education in a postcolonial context.

Loomba (cited 1998 in Rivas, 2005:9) affirms that the postcolonial theoretical approach recognises that traditional Western theoretical orientations had limited understanding of contemporary global phenomenon that contains several forms of histories whose consequences are directly related to colonisation. The same line of thinking is held by Chilisa (2012) who argues that the ontological assumptions of the postcolonial theory are that there are multiple realities that are socially constructed and shaped by the set of multiple connections inherent in human beings with their environment. In other words, postcolonial analysis was meant to enable me to contextualize the experiences of Zimbabwean rural primary school teachers in implementing an additive bilingual education policy as postcolonial subjects.

The postcolonial theory originated in three continents, namely, Africa, Asia and Latin America (Rivas, 2005:62). Whereas its scholarship has mainly been in literature and history, it has had some impact in education (Young, 2001 cited in Viruru, 2005:7). Cohen et al. (2011:45) submit that the postcolonial theory, which falls under the umbrella of the critical theory, aims at addressing experiences of postcolonial societies and cultural legacies of colonialism. With specific reference to the postcolonial theory, Cohen et al. (2011) go on to state that:

> It examines the after-effects, or continuation, of ideologies and discourses of imperialism, domination and repression, value systems (e.g. the domination of western values and the delegitimization of non-western values), their effects on the daily lived experiences of participants...(p. 45).

To that effect, Parsons and Harding (2011:5) observe that in schools, not enough attention is paid to the voices of those whose lives were, and continue to be affected by colonialism. By applying the postcolonial theoretical perspective as a research paradigm in this study, it will be a small but significant step in an attempt to integrate this theory into the experiences of Zimbabweans in particular, and Africans in general. At the same time, such an approach to educational research would expand the application of the

postcolonial theory paradigm as a relatively new perspective in educational research in Zimbabwe. In this study, it was intended that teachers should learn to appreciate the role of the mother language in teaching and learning in a postcolonial bilingual education context, for the benefit of rural primary school learners. I intended to elicit rural primary school teachers' own experiences in their own words, relating to their practices, beliefs and attitudes towards implementation of the bilingual education policy at primary school level, from a postcolonial standpoint.

According to Rizvi, Lingard and Lavia (2006:255), "the main impulse of postcolonial theory is deconstructive and liberatory..." The characteristics of the postcolonial theory cited above could assist primary school teachers to reflect on their beliefs and attitudes with regard to mother tongue usage in the education of rural primary school children. Such concientization was made possible when the research participants interacted with the researcher and among themselves during focus group discussions.

Although there are diverse forms of postcolonial theorising in different academic situations, they all agree that the main purpose is to focus on the impact and effects of colonialism (Rivas, 2005:63; Phillips, 2011: 237). Postcolonial theories promote methodologies that privilege the colonised and hence, the marginalised, with a view to liberating and transforming (Chilisa, 2012:69). Ngugi waThiong'o (1986a cited in Chilisa, 2012:58) echoes the sentiments that the formally colonised suffered from cultural and linguistic domination and experienced a cultural bomb which completely destroyed their "belief in their names, in their languages [---] in their capacities and ultimately in themselves". Rivas (2005:63) asserts that the forms of domination include that of the mind of the colonised. In the context of this study, the postcolonial theory paradigm, therefore, can be viewed as aiming at liberating and empowering those who have been so linguistically colonised that they no longer believe in their own languages. In this study, contributions to social change in teachers' responses to mother tongue usage in primary schools came in the form of recommendations on possible intervention strategies that were proposed by the researched themselves through their own voices.

Bray (1993, cited in Mfum-Mensah, 2005) asserts that the current practices in education in many formally colonised nations were influenced by colonialism, and as such, the implications of colonialism may be as complex and far-reaching in education as they are for other sectors. Bray (1993, cited in Mfum-Mensah, 2005) further argues that:

> Discussions on postcolonial language policies in many formally colonised nations in Africa cannot trivialize the educational policies and educational objectives that prevailed in the particular nation in the colonial era (p. 73).

Since my study is an analysis of bilingual education practices in Africa in general and Zimbabwe in particular, this justifies my choice of the postcolonial theory in exploring factors that act as barriers to effective implementation of the language-in education policy in primary schools in Zimbabwe as a post colony.

The postcolonial theory seeks to promote methodologies "that privilege the disenfranchised, dispossessed, and marginalised colonised 'Other' in the Third and Fourth worlds" (Chilisa, 2012:69). The same author further observes that like the critical race theory, the intention of the postcolonial theory is to liberate and transform through the research process itself by conducting in-depth study of a specific case (group, organisation or individual) where there is evidence of (neo) colonial power relations. Through the postcolonial lens, the biases and stereotypes can be "analysed, challenged and ultimately eliminated" (Parsons and Harding, 2011:5) with regard to implementation of the language of education in Zimbabwe. My choice of the qualitative postcolonial methodology was influenced by the need to pursue the thick rich description required in eliciting rural primary school teachers' perceptions of life experiences, self-efficacy beliefs and attitudes towards implementation of the current language-in-education policy.

According to Macedo (1999 cited in Viruru, 2005:10), the legacies of colonialism should be examined within the field of education, otherwise "our minds, if not our hearts will remain colonised". Macedo believes that by adopting the postcolonial theory to study the ways in which children and professionals in education in various contexts have been subjected to oppressive conditions, ways can be explored in which the postcolonial

theory can serve as a tool to combat such oppression. By analysing the gap between policy and practice with specific reference to implementation of the language-in-education policy in rural primary schools in Zimbabwe as a postcolonial context, various patterns and paradoxes, which might otherwise be overlooked, can be exposed (Bray and Koo, 2004). Quayson (2000, cited in Bray and Koo, 2004:235) describes part of the process through which the postcolonial theory achieves its objectives as 'the defamiliarisation' of the *everyday*". In other words, the postcolonial theory aims at questioning situations which are usually taken-for-granted. In that respect, Pennycook (cited in Bray and Koo, 2004:233) reveals that broad literature on postcolonialism "calls for a major rethinking of pre-given categories and histories, [and] a major calling-into-question of assumed givens and structures". Having gone through an education programme myself as a student and as a teacher, where English was enforced in primary education during the colonial period, the position has not changed with regard to teacher practice even after independence when Zimbabwe introduced a language-in-education policy which encouraged mother tongue usage at primary school level. As such, I expected the postcolonial theory paradigm to assist me to unravel the teachers' conceptualization of the language of education and their implementation practices at rural primary schools. Through the postcolonial lens, the intervention strategies suitable for the Zimbabwean context were proposed by the researched, with regard to factors that hinder effective implementation of the bilingual education policy in postcolonial Zimbabwe.

In Rizvi et al.'s (2006:255) view, the main impulse of the postcolonial theory is deconstructive and liberatory in nature, meaning that it aims at emancipating and empowering the dominated. To that effect, Rizvi et al. (2006:257) argue that "it is only through education that it is possible to reveal and resist colonialism's continuing hold on our imagination". The use of qualitative methods in data collection enabled rural primary school teachers to interpret their conceptualization of the language-in-education policy and question their implementation practice. Through the analysis of the problem of factors that act as barriers to effective implementation of the language of education at primary school level, the postcolonial theory perspective assisted me to understand

challenges that face rural primary school teachers in implementing the language-in-education policy from their own perspectives.

By adopting the use of focus group discussion in data collection for this study, teachers were accorded the opportunity to speak out and to discuss their experiences and concerns in their own words, pertaining to factors that act as barriers to effective implementation of the bilingual education policy in rural primary schools. Details of the focus group are provided under item 4.6.2. Valuable information on teachers' social and political experiences and how such experiences may contribute as barriers to effective implementation of the bilingual education policy, as well as ideas on possible solutions were pointed out during individual interviews and focus group discussions as well as through semi-structured open ended questionnaires. Postcolonialism does not treat the colonised as "cultural dupes" who cannot interpret, accommodate and resist dominant discourses (Rizvi et al., 2006). The same sentiments are held by Robert Phillipson (2007 cited in Ndlovu, 2010:189) who points out that speakers of socio-politically powerless languages are not "helpless victims, but are in a more complex relationship with the forces propelling a language forward". In other words, the successful imposition of a hegemonic language is dependent upon the willingness and cooperation of the dominated speakers, hence Rizvi et al. (2006:256) submit that the colonised should not be viewed as "innocent bystanders in their encounters with the hegemonic processes of colonization".

Bearing the above views in mind, I developed guidelines for the focus group and an open-ended questionnaire to elicit the views of teachers, and an interview guide for school heads (principals) and inspectors for primary schools on the bilingual education policy and its relationship to teaching and learning experiences in rural primary school classrooms. These instruments were developed through the postcolonial lens in the light of what Martin-Jones (1995, cited in Arthur and Martin, 2006:178) has observed, that classrooms should not be regarded as independent cultural domains but that there is need to take into account the "social and political conditions beyond the classroom". It was intended that views were to be expressed by the researched, on the significance

and dominance of English as a colonial language into which colonial subjects are inducted and which may give them a clear sense of power being located in the coloniser (Ashcroft et al., 1998:190).

The postcolonial paradigm emphasises that all research must be guided by a relational accountability that promotes respect, reciprocity, responsibility to the 'other' and rights of the researched (Chilisa, 2012). Chilisa further posits that the relations with research participants in the postcolonial indigenous research paradigm should be based on a relational ontology, where relations with the researched operate on an 'I/We' basis. In other words, the relationship between the researcher and the research participants is likely to reduce the exploitative power relations by the researcher, since they would both be operating on a relatively equal footing. Such a situation is the opposite of the 'Us/Them' relationship where the researched are regarded as the 'other' (Cohen et al., 2011:45). Postcolonial indigenous research methodologies, therefore, explore ways of making research a partnership between the researcher and the researched (Chilisa, 2012:54). In this particular research, some of the participants were known to me since the primary schools that were selected for the study were in my rural home district where I attended primary school. I worked with some of those participants when I was a primary school teacher in that district, and came in contact with others at tertiary level since, for many years I was a teacher educator at teachers' colleges, a role I still discharge currently at Great Zimbabwe University. This situation assisted me to empathise with the researched since "in studying a group to which one belongs one can use one's knowledge of that group to gain deeper insights into their experiences and opinions" (Rose, 2001:10).

Despite the merits of the postcolonial theory and its relevance to my study, the postcolonial research paradigm which was employed in this study has some limitations, some of which are highlighted in the section below.

4.3 Limitations of the postcolonial theory

One of the limitations of the postcolonial theory is that it emphasises the role of language in the production of knowledge (Lather, 2006:38). According to Chilisa (2012:58), those researchers who opt to use the postcolonial theory paradigm are challenged "to explore the use of the historically oppressed groups' languages in the construction of new theories, concepts, techniques, methodologies and analysis procedures across disciplines". Such emphasis on the use of language eliminates persons who do not possess the requisite speech competence, children, and those of different cultures, from participating in postcolonial studies. Fortunately for my study, primary school teachers, school heads and schools inspectors were all capable of using the English language to express their views. The other limitation is that of power relations as observed by Van Ransburg (2001) who notes that:

> Critical research can be approached in naive ways and can ironically pursue unequal power relations as researchers facilitating others' empowerment against a mutual enemy retain much power for themselves (p. 18).

In order to avoid dominating the research process, I took heed of Lees' (1993 cited in Cohen et al., 2011:205) advice that interviewers undertaking critical enquiry "need to be aware of the potentially distorting effects of power". In other words, I talked less in order to get the actual interpretations of the researched as they aired their views in respect of their efficacy, concerns, feelings, attitudes, interpretation and implementation of the language-in-education policy during interviews. According to Gray (2009:17), there is an interrelationship between the theoretical position adopted by the researcher, the methodology and methods used and the researcher's view of epistemology. Within the postcolonial theory paradigm, it is believed that there are multiple realities, hence I made use of multiple methods in order to construct these realities. Accordingly, the next section describes the research design that was adopted, as well as the methods used in the collection of data.

4.4 The case study research design

In this study, I adopted the case study research design. Yin (2003:20) describes a research design as "a logical plan for getting from here to there, where 'here' may be defined as the initial set of questions to be answered, and 'there' is some set of conclusions (answers) about these questions". According to Terre Blanche, Durrheim and Painter (2006:33), "a research design is a strategic framework for action that serves as a bridge between research questions and the execution or implementation of the research". A research design can therefore be regarded as an overall plan that a researcher follows from the beginning of the research process to the end.

A case study research is regarded by Gall, Borg and Gall (1996:545), as "the in-depth study of instances of a phenomenon in its natural context and from the perspectives of the participants involved in the phenomenon". Therefore, since the objective of my research was to explore factors that contribute to failure by teachers to effectively implement the language-in-education policy in rural primary schools, I used the case study to gain "a rich and vivid description of events" (Cohen et al., 2011:289). Through the use of the case study, I was able to delve into into issues in more detail, relating to teachers' beliefs and attitudes as well as their experiences. In this research, I was in a position to investigate a contemporary phenomenon (Yin, 2003b cited in Gray, 2009:247) on the implementation of a mother tongue policy in a postcolonial context, implying that considerable data for my research was gathered from a few teachers operating in rural primary school settings.

According to Punch (2005:144), anything can serve as a case and a case may be simple or complex. For example, Denscombe (2010:55) suggests that a case study approach can be based on things such as an individual, an organisation, an industry, a workplace, an educational programme, a policy or a country. The use of a case study design was thus justified in this study since my focus was on the implementation of a bilingual education policy as a curriculum change issue in Zimbabwe. My case was comprised of rural primary school teachers in Masvingo District of education in Masvingo Province. I employed purposive sampling to come up with participants from three rural primary schools. During sampling, I took into consideration those teachers

who were most experienced at each one of the selected three primary schools, with the help of school heads (principals).

Masvingo district was chosen as a case for this study for two major reasons. The first factor is that I did my primary education in this district during the colonial era when English was enforced as the language of education at primary school level. The second factor is that when I taught in that district as a primary school teacher, again in pre-independence Zimbabwe, I experienced the same status with regards to the use of English as the language of education from Grade One in the primary schools. As a teacher educator in post-independence Zimbabwe, I supervised teaching practice in several districts including Masvingo district, but it was very rare to find primary schools, if any, which implemented the 1987 language-in-education policy (amended in 2006), which encourages use of the mother tongue. I therefore felt that choosing Masvingo as the case of my study would enable me to understand and to empathise with the research participants on challenges that rural primary school teachers face in implementing the current policy on the language of education.

Robert Stake (2000, cited in Silverman, 2010:139) has identified three different kinds of case study as follows:

1. The *intrinsic* case study where 'this case is of interest [---] in all its particularity and ordinariness'. In the intrinsic case study, according to Stake, no attempt is made to generalize beyond the single case or even to build theories.
2. The *instrumental* case study in which a case is examined mainly to provide insight into an issue or to revive a generalization. Although the case selected is studied in depth, the main focus is on something else.
3. The *collective* case study where a number of cases are studied in order to investigate some general phenomena.

My study falls within the intrinsic case study, since this type of case study was undertaken because as the researcher, I had an intrinsic interest in that particular case, not for the purpose of generalisation. Giving examples of Stake's case studies, Punch (2005:146) argues that generalisation would not be the objective, particularly where "the case may be so important, interesting, or misunderstood that it deserves study in its

own right. Or it may be unique in some important respects and therefore worthy of study". I believe that by conducting an intrinsic kind of case study, I studied an important, unique case which was of interest to me, composed of rural primary school teachers, school heads and schools inspectors, whose experiences led me to understand fully why the mother tongue is not being used as the language of education in accordance with the requirements of the current language-in-education policy.

Furthermore, Cohen et al. (2011:292) consider case studies to be 'a step to action' because their insights may be directly interpreted and put to use, for the purpose of staff or individual self-development, for within institutional feedback, for formative education, and in educational policy making. Cohen et al.'s (2011) observations are a pointer that findings from a case study such as mine can be used for individual and institutional improvement, a situation compatible with the postcolonial theory perspective which aims at individual and societal transformation. For Denscombe (2010:52), the case study is a form of enquiry which focuses on one (or just a few) instances with a view to providing "an *in-depth account* of events, relationships, experiences or processes occurring in that particular instance". In view of the need to fulfill the case study objective of delving into things in more detail, I collected data through individual interviews, focus group discussions and semi-structured open-ended questionnaires in order to obtain rich and thick data concerning the factors that hinder effective implementation of the language-in-education policy that recommends mother tongue usage in teaching and learning in primary schools.

One of the strengths of the case study approach is that of inviting and encouraging the researcher to use multiple sources of data and multiple data collection methods, typically in a naturalistic setting (Denscombe, 2010:54). I took advantage of the general objective of the case study, which is to study the case in detail, in order to develop a full understanding of that case as much as possible, using whatever methods seem appropriate (Punch, 2005:144). Gray (2009:247), however, warns qualitative researchers against being overwhelmed by data through ensuring that the sources of data are focused in some way. Taking into account Gray's advice, my data sources

were focused on rural primary school teachers, school heads and schools inspectors who, because of their status in the field of education, had the capacity to provide rich descriptions and details of their experiences. Case studies recognize and accept that several variables may operate in a single case, therefore in order to account for these variables, it was necessary to have more than one tool for data collection and many sources of evidence (Cohen et al., 2011:290). Accordingly, by administering questionnaires and conducting interviews, it was a way of gaining a deeper understanding of rural primary school teachers' practices with regard to their attitudes, beliefs, as well as their conceptualisation and implementation of the language-in-education policy in line with my research objectives.

The case study design was justified for use in this research which falls within the postcolonial theory paradigm where focus is on institutional transformation. The case study, thus "gives voice to the powerless and voiceless" (Tellis, 1997:5). It has been observed recently that many researchers are presenting studies of the powerless from an elite viewpoint, which does not represent the actual situation of the affected (Chilisa, 2012). In this study, which is premised on the postcolonial perspective, I made use of the case study design in which participants were given a voice to articulate their experiences and their interpretation of the situation. Such an approach created space for the participants to speak for themselves, thereby providing thick descriptions of their lived experiences, their thoughts and feelings with regard to factors that hinder effective implementation of the language-in-education policy in rural primary schools.

Cohen et al. (2011:289-290) point out that among some strengths of case studies is the fact that "they strive to portray 'what it is like' to be in a particular situation". The other strength is that they recognize that context is a powerful determinant of both causes and effects, and that there is need for in-depth understanding so that justice is done to the case. This study recognizes the postcolonial context as a crucial determinant of participants' attitudes and perceptions towards the use of the mother tongue in education, hence my aim was to capture the case of rural primary school teachers as a case in its uniqueness, rather than to use it as a basis for wider generalisation.

Denscombe (2010:62) summarises the benefits of the case study approach by saying that the approach allows research to 'deal with the subtleties and intricacies' of complex social situations, that it allows the use of a variety of research methods and that by using multiple sources of data, validation of data is facilitated through triangulation. Guided by this knowledge on the benefits of a case study design, data collected in that process enabled me to describe the findings from participants' perceptions and interpretations of the bilingual education policy within a postcolonial context.

Despite the strengths associated with case studies, there are criticisms levelled against this approach, particularly when it comes to the issue of limited generalizability and lack of the degree of rigour expected in social research (Denscombe, 2010:63; Gray, 2009:248). The weaknesses are summarised by Cohen et al. (2011:293) as follows:

1. The results may not be generalisable except where other readers/ researchers see their application.
2. They are not easily open to cross-checking hence they may be selective, biased, personal and subjective.
3. They are prone to problems of observer bias, despite attempts made to address reflexivity.

Denscombe (2010:63) advises researchers who conduct case studies to challenge the weaknesses stated above by carefully attending to detail and rigour in the use of the approach. In justifying the use of case studies, Yin (2003b cited in Gray, 2009:248) points out that as most scientific enquiries have to be replicated by multiple examples of the experiment, case studies can also be based upon multiple cases of the same issue or phenomenon. Yin (2009 cited in Cohen et al., 2011:294) further argues that case studies "can be part of a growing pool of data, with multiple case studies contributing to greater generalisability – just as the generalisability of single experiments can be extended by replication and multiple experiments". Echoing the same sentiments, Thomas and Nelson (2001:282) also contend that although case studies consist of a rigorous examination of a single case or a few cases, "the underlying assumption is that this is a representative of many of other similar cases in the same situation". However, Yin (2009 cited in Cohen et al., 2011) claims that case studies opt for 'analytic' instead

of 'statistical' generalisation. Accordingly, I was able to understand and explain the reality concerning the situation on factors that act as barriers to effective implementation of the language-in-education policy as described by participants who derived meaning from the socially constructed interactions with their world (Punch, 2005:145).

The argument by Punch (2005:144) is that in keeping with other qualitative research approaches, the aim of the case study is to gain an understanding of the case "in depth, and in its natural setting, recognising its complexity and its context. It also has a holistic focus, aiming to preserve and understand the wholeness and unity of the case". Similarly, my objective was to explore and gain in-depth understanding of the factors that contribute towards failure by teachers to effectively implement the bilingual education policy which recommends mother tongue usage as a social complex issue in a postcolonial context. The study was undertaken in rural primary schools, where participants were in their natural settings, in one district of Masvingo Province.

Having discussed the merits and demerits of case studies, the next section describes the qualitative research methodology. A description of qualitative research methodology is necessary because the postcolonial paradigm and case study design are both compatible with the qualitative research tradition.

4.5 Qualitative methodology

This study was conducted within the qualitative research tradition because according to Punch (2005:142), "case study is a qualitative research design".

Writing about qualitative research, Creswell (2005) describes it by saying:

> Qualitative research is a type of educational research in which the researcher relies on the views of participants, asks broad, general questions, collects data consisting largely of words (or text) from participants, describes and analyses these words for themes, and conducts the enquiry in a subjective, biased manner (p. 39).

In this study, I operated within the qualitative tradition because it was appropriate to use the qualitative methodology for "research that seeks to explore where and why policy

and local knowledge and practice are at odds" (Marshall and Rossman, 2006:53). Similarly, my study's major aim was to explore reasons for the discrepancy between the requirements of the language-in-education policy of 2006 and implementation practice by rural primary school teachers. By employing a qualitative methodology in my study, I relied on the views of participants with regards to their "thoughts, feelings, beliefs, values and assumptive worlds" through face-to-face interaction (Marshall and Rossman, 2006:53). I advocated for the use of qualitative methodology because my aim was to gather data from the subjects themselves (rural primary school teachers, school heads and schools inspectors), who narrated their experiences and interpretations of the bilingual education policy at primary school level. The focus of this study was that rural primary school teachers do not effectively implement the language-in-education policy, hence the purpose was to find out reasons why teachers are not forthcoming to ensure success in the implementation process.

Although qualitative research is reflected as an empirical research where the data are not in the form of numbers, conducting qualitative studies does not imply that the researchers cannot count aspects of their data (Deem, 2002:836; Punch, 2005:3). This shows that a researcher can make use of numerical data in qualitative research, an approach which I used to provide numbers where I saw fit to do so during data presentation.

My study is situated within the postcolonial theoretical perspective in which scholars who subscribe to this research tradition support qualitative methodology owing to its capacity to capture perspectives of the decolonised (Punch, 2005:138-139). Those who belong to the postcolonial perspective challenge the notion of neutrality in enquiry and justify the use of qualitative methodologies as demonstrated by Marshall and Rossman (2006) who argue that:

> All research is interpretive and fundamentally political [---]. Research involves issues of power and that traditionally conducted social science research has silenced many marginalised and oppressed groups in society by making them the passive objects of inquiry (p. 4).

In this study, through the use of the qualitative methodology, participants were given room to bring to light their differing perspectives with regard to factors that contribute towards failure by rural primary school teachers to teach in the mother tongue in accordance with the requirements of the additive bilingual education policy within a postcolonial context.

Punch (2005:186) suggests that the objective of a qualitative study is that the researcher should "look at something holistically and comprehensively, to study it in its complexity, and to study it in its context". In other words, the major characteristic of qualitative research is that people are studied in their natural settings. This implies that as a researcher using the qualitative methodology, I had to take an active part in the study. These sentiments are echoed by Mouton (2005:270), who argues that the researcher should essentially be the 'main instrument' in the research process. Through the use of the qualitative methodology, I was in a position to identify and expose factors that hinder implementation of the language-in-education policy by rural primary school teachers. Language attitudes were explored in relation to how they were disseminated and sustained in the postcolonial society and how this, in turn, affects the implementation of the bilingual education policy which encourages use of the mother tongue. The participants had to look back on their experiences on the interpretation of the current policy on the language of education and how that interpretation may have influenced their implementation of the accurate policy.

According to Miles and Huberman (1994 cited in Gray, 2009:167), one of the characteristics of qualitative research is emphasis of the researcher's role in gaining "a 'holistic' or integrated overview of the study, including the perceptions of participants". Such a characteristic of the qualitative research methodology influenced my choice of rural primary school teachers and school heads since I intended to collect data from these participants from their rural primary school settings. As my research was premised on the postcolonial theoretical perspective, the qualitative methods were suitable as they allowed the voices of the researched to be heard, and not to be silenced, a factor that is emphasised by researchers who operate in the postcolonial

theoretical paradigm (Marshall and Rossman, 2006). Through the qualitative approach, I therefore obtained in-depth (thick) descriptions and understanding of social actions relating to participants' specific context (Mouton, 2005:27) which, in my study, concerns reasons for failure to effectively implement the bilingual education policy in rural primary school settings.

My choice of the qualitative methodology was also influenced by the ontological position of this tradition which recognizes the existence of multiple realities that require the employment of multiple methods in order to understand them (Punch, 2005:139). The use of qualitative methodologies enabled me to explore rural primary school teachers' experiences, views and perceptions concerning the implementation of the language-in-education policy. These views, attitudes and beliefs constructed by teachers, school heads and schools' inspectors were elicited through the use of individual interviews, focus group discussions and semi-structured, open-ended questionnaires. These data gathering instruments were compatible with the qualitative methodology and the postcolonial theoretical perspective. Such a methodology allowed me to carry out in-depth discussions with participants, in relation to their day-to-day experiences on issues of the language of education, and how they felt the problem could be tackled by way of them suggesting possible intervention strategies.

Punch (2005:141) points out that qualitative researchers prefer to describe actions of research participants in great detail and make an attempt to understand these perceptions "of local actors 'from inside', through a process of deep attentiveness, of empathetic understanding, and of suspending or 'bracketing' preconceptions about the topic under discussion". In other words, qualitative researchers are interested in participants' own beliefs, history and context, which, in the context of this study, the history and beliefs are situated in a postcolonial context. Through the face-to-face interactions, participants' perceptions and views on factors that hinder effective implementation of the (2006) language-in-education policy were explored.

The research tradition generally guides the researcher on the methods to be used, and the researcher makes the decision depending on the "fitness for purpose" (Cohen et al.,

2011:537). The qualitative methodology allowed me to explore the perspectives of primary school teachers, school heads, and schools' inspectors relating to implementation barriers to the bilingual education policy. The following section describes the research instruments that were used to elicit views and perceptions of participants.

4.6 Research methods

This study aimed at understanding and describing rural primary school teachers' own experiences concerning the implementation of the language-in-education policy. My study was situated within the postcolonial theory paradigm where proponents of this tradition believe in "dialogical methodologies" (Ashcroft et al., 1998;; Marshall and Rossman, 2006; Ratele, 2006 Chilisa, 2012). To fulfill the expectations and requirements of the postcolonial theory paradigm, I employed the individual interview, focus group discussion and open ended questionnaire as data collection methods as a way of capturing "the perspectives of the decolonised" (Punch, 2005:173), as indicated in the section below.

4.6.1 The interview method

The interview, which is one of the main data collection tools in qualitative research, was used in this study. The interview is believed to be one of the most powerful ways of understanding others in contemporary research (Punch, 2005:168; Ratele, 2006:541). Gray (2009:370) describes a well conducted interview as "a powerful tool for eliciting rich data on people's views, attitudes and the meanings that underpin their lives and behaviours". My research was exploratory in nature, and sought to examine feelings, attitudes and beliefs of participants towards the use of the mother tongue in the education of rural primary school children. Therefore, the interview approach was justified for use in this study as I needed to access and gain insights into participants' opinions, feelings, emotions and experiences (Denscombe, 2010:173). I conducted

personal interviews with three school heads and two schools' inspectors in Masvingo District of Education.

Patton (1990:206) indicates that there are four types of interviews. The "formal conversation interview" is the first type, and it is said to be appropriate for getting information from the immediate context through questioning in the natural course of things. The "interview guide approach" is the second type, where the topic and issues to be discussed, the sequence and wording of questions to be asked during the course of the interview are all specified in advance. Gilbert (2008:186) argues that an interview guide is used for a focused interview. It assists in listing areas to be covered while leaving the exact wording and order of the questions to the interviewer. In the "standardised open-ended interview", which is the third type, respondents are asked the same basic questions with the exact wording and sequence determined in advance. The fourth fourth type is known as the "closed quantitative interview", where respondents answer pre-determined questions which they choose from pre-determined responses. In this particular research, I used the interview guide approach, as it allowed me to be flexible in terms of the order in which the topics were considered.

Fontana and Frey (1994 cited in Punch, 2005:169) classify interviewing into three categories, namely, structured, semi-structured and unstructured and they apply this three way classification to both individual and group interviews. Semi-structured interviews were used in this research, since these are compatible with postcolonial theoretical ideals in that participants were afforded the opportunity to speak out on crucial matters which concern them, rather than researchers imposing their own perspectives on them (Ashcroft et al., 1998). Denscombe (2010:175) echoes that semi-structured interviews are significant as they allow the interviewee to develop ideas and speak more widely on the issues raised by the researcher. The answers were open ended and there was more emphasis on the interviewee elaborating points which he or she considered to be of interest. This study sought to explore participants' views on the challenges of implementing a policy which encourages the use of the mother language at primary school level. Through the use of the semi-structured interview method, I was

able to delve in depth, in order to elicit rich data from school heads and schools inspectors. These two categories were chosen for interviewing because school heads and schools' inspectors are key players in the field of education who can influence change of policy at both school and district level respectively.

For Patton (2002 cited in Gray, 2009:384), "no matter what kind of interviewing style is used, and no matter how carefully interview questions are worded, all is wasted unless the words of the interviewee are captured accurately". Following this advice, I made use of a digital voice recorder for both the individual interviews and focus group discussions, in order to come up with detailed and accurate data which can be made available for public scrutiny. The audio-recordings captured participants' perceptions, meanings, definitions of situations, and constructions of reality during the interview (Punch, 2005:168; Silverman, 2010:288). Besides ensuring accuracy and trustworthiness of the data collected, this allowed me time to concentrate on the interview process which required me to listen, interpret and re-focus the interview at the same time (Gray, 2009:385). I also paid heed to Gray's (2009) advice which reminds qualitative researchers on the need to reassure interview participants pertaining to the confidentiality of the interview as some could feel uneasy about being audio-recorded.

4.6.1.1 Advantages of interviews

I used the semi-structured interview method which allowed me to 'probe' for views and opinions and to ask interviewees to clarify answers on the spot, to illustrate, and expand on their initial answers (Gray (2009:373). The use of the semi-structured interviews provided space for participants to articulate their priorities, opinions and ideas (Denscombe, 2010:192), in relation to the use of the mother tongue in teaching and learning in primary schools. When participants produced rich thick data, this increased the validity of my research, whose content of semi-structured questions was directly based on my research objectives (Gray, 2009:375). Through direct contact during the interview, validity was ensured as data could be checked for accuracy and relevance during data collection (Denscombe, 2010:192). Another advantage noted by

Denscombe (2010:192) is that participants get the "opportunity to expand their ideas, explain their views and identify what they regard as crucial factors". Therefore, in respect of my study, valuable insights concerning factors that hinder implementation of the language-in-education policy in rural primary schools were obtained as a result of the depth of the information gathered.

Semi-structured interviews are attuned to the postcolonial theoretical perspective which emphasises the significance of giving research participants a voice to express their views on critical issues that concern them. Through the semi-structured individual interviews, the sampled school heads and schools' inspectors were in a position to express their views about the extent to which societal values and the effects of colonialism influenced the interpretation and implementation of the language-in-education policy. Use of interviews enabled me to delve into individual life experiences of the school heads and schools inspectors, as they were given the opportunity to articulate their own challenges as well as those that teachers face in implementing the language-in-education policy in primary schools. One-to-one interviews are said to have an advantage in that they allow for opinions and ideas to stem from one source, making it easier to transcribe the recorded interview when it involves one voice to recognise (Denscombe, 2010:176).

Although the interview method has some merits, it is argued that the method has its own disadvantages, some of which are discussed in the section below.

4.6.1.2 Disadvantages of the interview method

In the case of face-to-face interviews, the audio-recorder can create an artificial situation, while tactless interviewing can be an invasion of privacy which makes certain people uncomfortable (Denscombe, 2010:193). Following these hints in an effort to minimize the limitations, I used interview techniques that built rapport and trust to an extent that my research participants expressed themselves freely with regard to their knowledge, values, preferences and attitudes (Arksey and Knight cited in Gray, 2009:375). Rapport with a participant means an understanding which is established on

the basis of respect and trust between the interviewer and the interviewee, so that the respondent does not feel intimidated. This approach is in keeping with the postcolonial theoretical perspective where respect and trust are emphasised (Chilisa, 2012). I adopted a stance where I provided neither too little nor too much rapport during both individual and focus group discussions. According to Gray (2009:380), "the secret is to remain objective, professional and detached yet relaxed and friendly". In view of such suggestions, I created an atmosphere of trust by making my participants relaxed, to allow them to reveal their opinions and experiences in their capacity as postcolonial subjects, on the factors that hinder effective implementation of the language-in-education policy.

Having discussed the advantages and disadvantages of the interview method of collecting data, the focus group discussion as another method which was used for data collection is discussed in the following section.

4.6.2 The focus group interview

The other method which I used to collect data from rural primary school teachers in this study was the focus group discussion. A focus group is a qualitative research technique which is a form of group interview which relies on the interaction within the group to discuss a topic or topics supplied by the researcher, aimed at yielding a collective instead of an individual view (Cohen et al., 2011:436). Denscombe (2010:177) identifies three distinct features of a focus group as follows:

- There is a 'focus' to the session, with discussion based on an experience about which all participants have similar knowledge.
- Particular emphasis is placed on the 'interaction' within the group as means of eliciting information.
- The moderator's role is to 'facilitate' the group rather than lead the discussion.

Accordingly, I made use of focus groups where, as a 'moderator', my role was that of facilitating interaction within the group of teachers who had similar knowledge on why

there is lack of agreement between the requirements of the bilingual education policy and implementation practices by rural primary school teachers. Like other interviews, Punch, (2005:171) observes that focus group interviews can be unstructured, semi-stuctured or highly structured. In this study, I made use of semi-structured interviews to yield rich thick data from rural primary school teachers within a postcolonial context. The focus group discussions centred on rural primary school teachers' day-to-day experiences pertaining to their interpretation and implementation of the language-in-education policy, as well as their knowledge, attitudes and beliefs on the role of the mother tongue in the education of rural primary school children.

Writing about focus groups, Morgan (1988 cited in Punch, 2005:171) reveals that "the hallmark of focus groups is the elicit use of group interaction to produce data and insights that would be less accessible without interaction found in a group". Likewise, I chose the use of focus group interaction for my study which is premised on the postcolonial theory tradition where interaction is emphasised as a way of giving a voice to the previously marginalised so that they can relate their own history and other experiences in relation to the effects of colonialism on the language of education (Ratele, 2006:539). During focus group discussions, participants interacted with each other rather than with me as the interviewer, thereby permitting the views of the participants to emerge. In the process, an opportunity was created for participants' agenda to predominate as postcolonial subjects, rather than the researcher's. My choice of the focus group interview method was based on my awareness that scholars who subscribe to the postcolonial theoretical perspective emphasise the issue of empowerment because it is from the interaction of the group that the researcher gets the data (Viruru, 2005:9; Rizvi et al., 2006:255; Chilisa, 2012:58). Hence, the focus group discussions gave rural primary school teachers a voice to articulate their attitudes, perceptions, feelings and ideas about the specific topic on the implementation of the late-exit bilingual education policy which recommends mother tongue usage up to the end of the primary school. During focus group discussions, rural primary school

teachers were empowered to express their concerns, and to suggest themselves, the nature of intervention strategies that could be employed to minimize the challenges.

4.6.2.1 Advantages of focus group interviews

Punch (2005:171) points out that well facilitated focus group discussions can "stimulate people in making explicit their views, perception, motives and reasons". Similarly, rural primary school teachers were stimulated to state and discuss the challenges that they faced in their effort to implement the language-in-education policy and bring to light what knowledge they had in respect of the role of the mother tongue in learning at primary school level. Through interaction, group members got to hear what others said, thereby stimulating individual participants to rethink their own views with regard to their concerns on the implementation of the policy on the language of education for primary school pupils. Focus group discussions allowed an opportunity for quality control because participants tended to provide checks and balances on each other and this served to curb false or extreme views (Thomas and Nelson, 2001:337). During focus group interviews, I was able to note non-verbal responses and I used this information to supplement or contradict verbal responses (Cohen et al., 2011). This is in line with Gray's (2009:339) observation that face-to-face interviews might assist in revealing underlying problems because the researcher can observe verbal tones and the body language of the researched.

In focus group discussions, I was in a position to interact with participants in a manner which allowed for clarification, follow up questions and probing (Gray, 2009). Moreover, given limited funding for my research, focus group interviews had the capacity of "producing a large amount of data in a short period of time" (Cohen et al., 2011:436) allowing information about several people to be gathered in one session (Thomas and Nelson, 2001:336). Punch (2005:171) aptly summarises the advantages of focus group interviews as data collecting techniques for qualitative research by stating that, "they are inexpensive, data rich, flexible, stimulating, recall-aiding, cumulative and elaborative". Therefore, I made use of the focus group interview since it is a data gathering technique

compatible with the postcolonial theory approach because of its capacity in "empowering participants to speak out and in their own words" pertaining to their attitudes, values and opinions (Cohen et al., 2011:436). Owing to these advantages, I was able to collect detailed rich data from the focus group discussions relating to factors that hinder effective implementation of the bilingual education policy which favours mother tongue usage in primary schools.

4.6.2.2 Disadvantages of focus group interviews

One of the limitations of the focus group interview is that of non-participation by some members and dominance by others as a result of, for example, differences in status (Thomas and Nelson, 2001:337; Punch, 2005:171; Cohen et al., 2011:437). In an effort to establish dialogical forms of communication, I ensured that there were "only small power differentials in the research situation" (Kelly, 2006:294). I achieved a balance in the group by excluding school heads from the focus group discussions to allow teachers to operate at the same level. The other limitation is the fact that because the number of people involved in the focus group tends to be small, less information may be gathered as compared to that from a survey (Cohen et al., 2011:437). To overcome these limitations, I triangulated data from the focus groups with data collected through other techniques, that is, personal interviews for school heads and schools' inspectors, and semi-structured, open ended questionnaire for teachers. As use of the questionnaire was employed as a method of collecting data in this research, it is discussed below.

4.6.3 The questionnaire method

The semi-structured open ended questionnaire was also used as a data gathering method. Gray (2009:239) indicates that there is a potential for richness of responses, and there is likelihood that the researcher can get interesting and unexpected responses. I chose to use semi-structured questionnaires as they are among qualitative methods recommended for data collection by postcolonial theorists (Ashcroft et al., 1998). Questionnaires were used to collect data from rural primary school teachers who

were selected to participate in this study. It was appropriate to use questionnaires since respondents were all qualified primary school teachers who were expected to be able to read and understand expected to be able to read and understand the questions (Denscombe, 2010:156).

4.6.3.1 Advantages of the questionnaire method

The respondents completed the questionnaires at a time and place that suited them, hence there was little scope for data to be affected by interpersonal data and there was no variation in the wording of the questions (Gray, 2009:339).

4.6.3.2 Disadvantages of the questionnaire method

One limitation of the questionnaire was that while open questions may be easy to answer, they are difficult to analyse (Gray, 2009:349). I paid heed to Gray's suggestion of using coding as the general solution to this problem. Another limitation is that participants may give inaccurate and misleading answers because the researcher cannot seek clarification as answers are 'given at a distance' (Denscombe, 2010:170). To address this limitation, I presented the semi-structured questions in such a way that accurate and necessary detail was elicited from respondents.

4.7 Data collection procedures

4.7.1 Pilot study

A pilot study can be conducted as a final preparation for the collection of data for a case study (Yin, 2003:78). For Gray (2009:359), piloting is necessary because it serves the purpose of throwing out confusing or unreliable questions, particularly in the case of questionnaires. Accordingly, I conducted a pilot study at one conveniently and purposively selected rural primary school, where respondents had similar characteristics of the intended population. This was done, for the reason that "methodologically the work at the pilot sites can provide information about the relevant field questions and about the logistics of the field enquiry" (Yin, 2003:80). To test the clarity and suitability of the instruments, I pilot tested my researcher designed questionnaire and interview guide for rural primary school teachers and an interview guide for school heads. I conducted

an individual interview with the school head, while five most experienced teachers from the same school but from different grade levels responded to the semi-structured, open ended questionnaires. The same teachers who responded to the questionnaire were participants involved in focus group discussions. Those participants were not part of the research sample. Through piloting, the strengths and the weaknesses of the instruments were established and the revealed gaps were addressed.

4.7.2 Population

According to Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias (1996:179), a population is the "aggregate of all cases that conform to some designated set of specifications". Similarly, my population included all the rural primary school teachers and school heads (principals) in Masvingo District of Education.

There are seven districts in Masvingo Province, namely, Bikita, Chiredzi, Chivi, Gutu, Masvingo, Mwenezi and Zaka. I chose Masvingo District because I worked in that district as a primary school teacher, a high school teacher, a lecturer and administrator at a teachers' college and currently as a university lecturer. Such experiences granted me a chance to interact with most of the teachers and school heads at various forums, a situation which made it easy for me to access the participants' views. My choice of Masvingo as a case for my study was thus influenced by the postcolonial theoretical stance as well as "research findings which have demonstrated fairly conclusively that the ethnic origin of the interviewer has a bearing on the amount of information people are willing to divulge and their honesty about what they reveal" (Denscombe, 2010:178). Gray (2009) also echoes similar sentiments that the same cultural background between the researcher and the researched is crucial in establishing authenticity. In other words, I was likely to get honest responses on matters considered as rather personal pertaining to participants' experiences on the marginalisation of the mother language in the implementation of the bilingual policy on education in rural primary schools.

Ratele (2006:553) argues that postcolonial scholarship brings to our attention the need to develop research relations which might bring researchers to an understanding of "an

other life" in a less alienating manner. Hence, the thinking in the postcolonial perspective which emphasises the importance of giving a voice to those who have not been visible, influenced my decision to consider rural primary school teachers as subjects for this study.

4.7.3 Sampling and sampling procedures

Purposive sampling was adopted for this study, in line with Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias' (1996:184) observation that purposive sampling depends on the subjective judgment of the researcher to come up with a sample that appears to be representative of the population. According to McMillan and Schumacher (2010:325-326), purposive sampling involves selecting information-rich cases for studying in depth. This approach allows the researcher to handpick the cases to be included in the sample, on the basis of his or her judgment, concerning their typicality. I used purposive sampling to access in-depth knowledge on the specific, unique issue of language-in-education policy implementation from teachers, school heads and schools inspectors, who happened to be knowledgeable people by virtue of their professional role and experience (Cohen et al., 2011:157). Teachers selected to respond to questionnaires and to be involved in focus group discussions were expected to have the following attributes:

1. Educated to at least diploma level.
2. Close to ten years of experience as primary school teachers.
3. Willing to respond to questionnaires and to be involved in focus group discussions.
4. Respected by colleagues for their ability to express views without fear or favour.
5. Viewed by the school administration as reflective practitioners who are capable of coming up with possible solutions to challenges.

In keeping with the requirements of qualitative case study research, I targeted this particular group of professionals in the full knowledge that it did not represent the wider population, since the primary concern in the sampling would not be to generalize findings. In a bid to "acquire in-depth information from those in a position to give it"

(Cohen et al., 2011:157), I therefore selected rural primary school teachers who possessed the above outlined qualities.

School heads were involved by virtue of their being the top leaders of selected schools. The schools selected for the study were also purposefully sampled. Even though they were situated in rural areas, schools at mission stations and village towns (popularly known as Growth Points) were not considered. The reason was that at these centres the infrastructure and the standards of living do not match those experienced by ordinary villagers in typical rural settings in Masvingo district, where learners hear English only at school. With the help of Masvingo District Office of Education, I was guided to identify three Grade One schools (those with an enrolment of more than 16 teachers) in order to widen the scope of getting information-rich cases per school. The schools' inspectors for Masvingo district automatically qualified as participants to represent their district.

Onwuegbuzie and Leech (2007, cited in Cohen et al., 2011:161), suggest that qualitative researchers should select a sample size that is "large enough to generate 'thick' descriptions and rich data, though not so large as to prevent this from happening due to data overload or moves towards generalizability". In other words, if the sample is too large, then the qualitative researcher would be overwhelmed by data instead of focusing on rich and detailed information from a reasonable number of participants. The above stated advice was taken into consideration in making the decision to come up with the sample of three rural primary school heads (principls) and two schools' inspectors to be involved in individual interviews and fifteen (15) teachers to respond to questionnaires and focus group discussions, making a total of 20 participants. School heads and schools' inspectors were included in the sample because they are administrators who are in a position to influence policy change and implementation at individual school level and at district level respectively. I could therefore safely assume that such participants possessed the characteristics required for meaningful participation in this study.

A total of fifteen rural primary school teachers from different grade levels, five from each of the three schools, were included in the sample as respondents to questionnaires and focus group discussions. These participants were regarded as information-rich key informants willing to talk during the interviews (McMillan and Schumacher, 1993:378; Patton 2002 cited in Merriam, 2009:77). All the fifteen teachers selected for the sample were asked to complete the questionnaires which were personally administered at each of the three schools, and collected after respondents had finished completing. There were three focus groups, each one made up of the same five participants per school, who had completed the questionnaires. The composition of the focus group consisted of teachers who had close to ten years and above in terms of experience at primary school level, among other attributes as cited above. Such participants were favoured because they had experienced the changes in the Zimbabwean language-in-education policy which started with a straight for English policy before independence. The policy switched over to recommend mother tongue usage in the first three grades according to the 1987 Education Act (revised in 1990 and 1994) and currently the (2006) amendment which stipulates that the mother tongue can be used up to Grade Seven. School heads were not included in the focus groups in order to cater for differential power relations, so that participants would not be reluctant to express their real, honest opinions in the presence of someone who had power over them.

4.8 The research process

4.8.1 Negotiating access to data collection

In this research, written permission to conduct the study was gained from the MoESAC, through the Provincial Education Director for Masvingo on 1 November 2012. Since I was equipped with two letters, one from the Head Office and the other from the Provincial Education Director, individual school heads readily gave their support and indicated their willingness to cooperate, both for the purposes of conducting a pilot study and for the actual research in the sampled schools. My application for Informed Consent was granted by the UNISA College of Education, after which I was able to ask

schools inspectors, school heads and experienced rural primary school teachers to willingly participate in responding to questionnaires, attending individual interview sessions and focus group discussions.

Access and entry are sensitive aspects of qualitative research, hence I was aware of the need to establish rapport and trust as well as authentic communication patterns with research participants (Marshall and Rossman, 2006:5). The success of the qualitative research depends on the ability to be "adaptive and flexible so that newly encountered situations can be seen as opportunities not threats" (Yin, 2003:59). I therefore paid heed to these suggestions during the conducting of interviews and focus group discussions.

4.8.2 Conducting of interviews

Gilbert (2008:187) suggests that the interviewer can record responses directly into an interview schedule or use a tape recorder to record the interview for later transcription. In this study, a digital voice recorder was used to record proceedings, to allow me to record as much detail as possible, while at the same time assuring accuracy of the data (Gray, 2009:385). I held interview sessions with interviewees individually, at places and times convenient to them, as a way of making participants feel secure during the interview session. Each personal interview with the two schools' inspectors and three school heads was roughly half an hour long. To achieve rapport and trust, I asked the interviewees to read the consent form before the beginning of the interview. To assist participants to relax, I also gave them a verbal assurance that the information that they provided would be kept as confidential information (Gray, 2009:380).

The interview guide included questions on the unique experiences of participants on the implementation of the bilingual education policy, opinion questions on the role of the mother tongue in teaching and learning in primary schools, as well as suggestions on intervention strategies. According to Strauss and Corbin (1990),

> To adhere rigidly to the interview guides throughout the research study will fore-close on the data possibilities inherent in the situation; limit the amount and type

of data gathered; and prevent the researcher from achieving the density and variation of concepts so necessary for developing a grounded theory (p. 180).

In view of the above observations, I allowed for a smooth flow of data from the participants by making use of the interview guides mainly to begin a new idea during the interview process. Although people find it comfortable to express themselves in their home languages, individual interviews and focus group discussions were conducted in English in order to avoid the challenges associated with translation. Teachers, school heads and schools' inspectors were not expected to have problems of articulating their views in English since they were all qualified teachers with five 'O' level passes which included English as a requirement before they undergo teacher training in Zimbabwe. However, participants sometimes used the mother language to emphasize a point during focus group discussions, and a critical friend was used to verify the translation of those parts of the script.

4.8.3 Conducting focus group discussions

Cohen et al. (2011:437) warn researchers to take extreme care in the sampling of focus group discussants "so that every participant is the bearer of particular characteristics required". Accordingly, focus group discussions in this study were held with the most experienced teachers at each of the three sampled primary schools. Like in the case of individual interviews, semi-structured open ended questions on the interview guide for focus group discussions were used to start a discussion on a given topic.

During the focus group interview, my role was that of 'moderator' as I was aware that in accordance with postcolonial theorising, my role was to 'facilitate' the group rather than lead the discussion (Denscombe, 2010:177). Such an approach was a means of "empowering participants to speak out, and in their own words and to voice their opinions as a group rather than individuals" (Cohen et al., 2011:436). For the success of focus group discussions, Cohen et al. (2011:437) go on to advise that meetings should be chaired in such a manner that "a balance is struck between being too directive and veering off the point, that is, keeping the meeting open-ended but to the point". In view

of this suggestion, I was careful in the way that I exercised control but at the same time avoiding influencing the views and opinions of the participants. In keeping with the postcolonial theoretical perspective, I talked less and made sure that the discussion was on track in order to give the discussants an opportunity to spell out their experiences, attitudes, and concerns in connection with the implementation of the language-in-education policy. Marshall and Rossman (2006:5) point out that those researchers who subscribe to the critical perspective of enquiry, in which the postcolonial theory is housed, have developed research strategies which can lead to "emancipation from social structures, either through a sustained critique or through direct advocacy and action by the researcher, often in collaboration with participants in the study". Likewise, participants in this study were given the opportunity to discuss and share their views by way of suggesting intervention strategies which would ensure effective implementation of the policy on the language of education.

The digital voice recorder was used to record the proceedings of each focus group discussion. Although the focus group discussions were audio-taped, an assistant was engaged in order to write down participants' responses of the interviews in case the gadget malfunctioned. During the focus group interview, I noted down any spontaneous reactions that were useful during the data analysis stage (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 1996:238). Each of the three focus groups met once for the duration of approximately two hours. The participants only received mineral drinks as my research was not funded. Recorded tapes were personally transcribed verbatim upon completion of the fieldwork.

4.8.4 Administering of questionnaires

Questionnaires were used to collect data from five teachers from each of the three sampled schools, making a total of fifteen participants who responded to questionnaires. The teachers were selected on condition of their experience, among other characteristics, and those same participants were involved in focus group discussions. Participants were asked to indicate their willingness to participate by

signing a Letter of Consent. I then administered the questionnaires personally and waited for the respondents to complete, and I collected them as soon as they finished writing. Asking respondents to complete the questionnaires while I waited may have been an advantage in that such practice would minimize contamination of responses through discussion with other teachers (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 1996:237). My intention was to get responses on participants' individual views before they came together for focus group discussions so that I could check on the consistency of the data.

4.9 Data analysis procedures

This study employed the postcolonial epistemological perspective and the qualitative methodological paradigm. The postcolonial theory was meant to enable the researcher to explore reasons why teachers did not effectively implement the language-in-education policy, and how they could, if possible, enhance their implementation strategies for the benefit of the learners in rural primary schools. In other words, this research sought to understand why teachers behave the way they do, in relation to the implementation of a policy which encourages mother tongue usage in the education of primary school learners. Since barriers to the language-in-education policy are context-bound, it was my contention that it may be possible to generate appropriate strategies to empower teachers to overcome the barriers. Through interacting with participants, listening to them and observing them during interviews and focus group discussions, such an approach allowed me to make sense of their perceptions and experiences, thereby creating "the endless possibilities to learn more about people" (Corbin and Strauss, 2008:13). As such, data generated by qualitative methods appear so voluminous and overwhelming to such an extent that "organising and analysing a mountain of narrative can seem like an impossible task" (Patton 2002 cited in Marshall and Rossman, 2006:158). Therefore, for such data to make sense and contribute to an understanding of the research problem, the researcher "has to impose some form of order onto this data" (Deem, 2002:846). In other words, I had to organize the "huge

piles" of data (Marshall and Rossman, 2006:157) that was collected through qualitative methods in order to bring structure, order and meaning to the collected data.

For Cohen et al. (2011:537), data analysis is a rigorous process which involves "organising, accounting for, and explaining the data; in short, making sense of the data in terms of participants' definitions of the situation, noting patterns, themes, categories and regularities". Therefore, data analysis involved 'constructing a framework for communicating the essence of what the data reveal' (de Vos, Strydom, Fouche, and Delport, 2011:397). In qualitative research, data collection, analysis and recording operate as interrelated procedures that are ongoing, rather than as isolated incidents (Marshall and Rossman, 2006:155).

A major feature of qualitative analysis is coding data, a method that was used in this research to organize data and come up with categories. Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2006:349) point out that "coding is the analysis strategy many qualitative researchers employ in order to help them locate key themes, patterns, ideas and concepts that may exist within their data". Marshall and Rossman (2006:160) also view the coding of data as the formal representation of analytic thinking, whereby generating categories and themes constitute the tough intellectual work of analysis. In this study, these ideas helped me to code the raw data from open-ended questionnaires, individual interviews and focus group discussions in order to come up with themes and categories (Marshall and Rossman, 2006:160). Coding is not merely a technical task, therefore as data is coded, new meanings and understandings may emerge, making it necessary to adjust the original plan. In line with the advice from Corbin and Strauss (2008:63), I began coding soon after the first interview since the first data serves as "a foundation for data collection and analysis". An inductive analysis was done to reveal the themes that emerged from the interview data. Marshall and Rossman distinguish between deductive and inductive sources of themes. Patton (2002, in Mashall and Rossman, 2006:159) describes the processes of inductive analysis as *"discovering* patterns, themes, and categories in one's data, in contrast with deductive analysis where the analytic categories are stipulated beforehand, according to an existing framework". Deductive

codes, sometimes referred to as priori codes, are therefore those codes or themes that are generated before the current data is examined. This type of data analysis is linked to the positivist research paradigms where the research process is followed in a more rigid manner. In other words, a researcher may choose to make use of already existing themes for his or her data. Inductive codes or themes are those that are generated by the researcher through direct examination of the data (McMillan and Schumacher, 1993:480). Researchers engaged in the qualitative tradition usually infer themes from the data and call it 'open coding' (Cohen et al., 2011:561). Since my research falls under the qualitative paradigm, I was compelled to generate themes from my data inductively.

To assist in data analysis, the use of memos was employed in a reflective journal for the purpose of generating unusual insights (Marshall and Rossman, 2006:161). Through engaging in coding and memoing, I was in a position to break down the raw data into themes and categories of meaningful ideas which were related to my research questions and which could be summarised into research findings (Patton 2002 cited in Marshall and Rossman, 2006:157). Memos were created in the reflective journal for every interview that was conducted in order to record non-verbal actions that were observed during my interaction with participants. This is in line with Creswell's (2007:150) views that data collection, recording and analysis are ongoing interrelated, simultaneous procedures. Basing on Creswell's suggestion, it means I could not collect data without substantial analysis going on simultaneously. As I was interested in the implied meanings of a discussion (Denscombe, 2010:275), the interview data was therefore personally transcribed verbatim. Transcription is a vital process of the research, and by personally transcribing my own tapes, such an experience assisted me to get "into contact with the data at an early stage" (Gray, 2009:503). Memos were written as I transcribed raw data and at the same time studied my reflective journal in order to deeply engage with my data. For Denscombe (2010:283), the first important task for the researcher is "to become thoroughly familiar with the data". This meant that the transcribed scripts had to be examined through reading and re-reading in order to make sense out of the data in line with my research questions. By so doing, I was able

to identify data themes and categories through data coding. As the analysis progressed, I developed memos as more detailed insights came to mind. According to Denscombe (2010:284), memos are crucial "as a means for logging new possibilities in relation to the analysis of data". Coding and memoing were therefore regarded as interrelated aspects of data analysis which were undertaken simultaneously (Marshall and Rossman, 2006:160-161).

Mayring (2004, cited in Cohen et al., 2011:563), suggests that qualitative researchers should follow a systematic set of procedures for the "rigorous analysis, examination and verification of the contents of written data". In other words, analysis of qualitative data is not a process which is done in a haphazard manner. Rather, McMillan and Schumacher (1993:482) suggest that data analysis "proceeds in a relatively orderly manner and requires self-discipline, an organized mind, and perseverance". Accordingly, the constant comparative method of qualitative data analysis was followed in this research (Cohen et al., 2011:557). The constant comparative approach is the analytic technique of qualitatively comparing and contrasting data from various data sources in a bid to develop categories and to look for patterns among the categories (McMillan and Schumacher, 1993:487; Silverman, 2010:280).

Cohen et al. (2011:600-601) explain the constant comparative method as follows:

(i)   Comparing incidents and data that are applicable to each category. The stage involves coding of incidents and comparing with previous incidents in the same and different groups and with other data that are in the same category --- *unitizing* has to be undertaken - dividing the narrative into the smallest pieces of information or text that are meaningful in themselves, for instance, phrases, words, paragraphs. It also involves *categorising*: bringing together those unitized texts that relate to each other, that can be put in the same category, together with devising rules to describe the properties of these categories.

(ii)   Integrating these categories and their properties – involves memoing and further coding. Here the 'constant comparative units change from comparison

of incident with incident to comparison of incident with properties of the category that resulted from initial comparison of incidents'.

(iii)   Bounding the theory. The third stage - of delimitation - occurs at the levels of the theory and the categories, and in which the major modifications reduce as underlying uniformities and properties are discovered and in which theoretical saturation takes place.

(iv)   Setting out the theory. Of writing theory - occurs when the researcher has gathered and generated coded data, memos and a theory, and this is then written in full.

The constant comparative method, therefore, entails examining the gathered data in order to identify emerging themes and categories through the process of coding and memoing. In this research, the themes and categories were systematically identified across the data sources and then grouped together through simultaneous coding and analysis in order to assist in the process of theory generation (Glasser and Strauss, 1967:102 cited in Cohen et al., 2011:600). Coding entailed identifying words and segments in the transcripts sometimes known as *unitizing* (Denscombe, 2010:284). Coding was therefore done on data that was related to factors that contribute as barriers to effective implementation of the current language-in-education policy in rural primary schools. Citing Glasser and Strauss (1967) as well as Charmaz (2006), Silverman (2010:280) indicates that "the constant comparative method involves simply inspecting and comparing all the data fragments that arise in a single case". In other words, the constant comparative method is compatible with triangulation (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992:74). Hence, the use of this approach was justified as I intended to achieve triangulation in this study, through collecting data from different groups and multiple sites and also through the use of multiple methods. Asking questions in connection with the data and making comparisons were the major analytic strategies for enhancing the analysis (McMillan and Schumacher, 1993:487; Corbin and Strauss, 2008:199). Summarising the process of the constant comparative approach, Glaser (1978 cited in Cohen et al., 2011:601) indicates that it can proceed from the moment the researcher starts to collect data, to seeking key issues and categories, to discovering recurrent

events or activities in the data that become categories of focus, to expanding the range of categories. The process is ongoing as it continues during the writing-up period.

In analysing data from individual interviews and focus group discussions, I started by personally transcribing data from the audio-tapes verbatim by hand and then typed the transcripts. Having transcribed the audiotapes, I read my research questions in order to remind myself about what I intended to explore. When reviewing the transcripts, I read the data over quickly in order to find out the common explanations in relation to each research question from the perspectives of different participants, and come up with a list of themes and categories for each transcript. In order to become thoroughly familiar with all the focus group and interview data, I read and re-read the transcripts in order to become "immersed in the minute details of what was said, what was done, what was observed and what is portrayed through the data" (Denscombe, 2010:283). In the process of reviewing the transcripts, I wrote down memos on ideas that came to mind. In concurrence, Glasser and Strauss (1967) propose the use of memoing to help in the process of reflectivity: "where the researcher writes ideas, notes, comments, notes on surprising matters, themes or metaphors, reminders [---] that occur during the process of constant comparative and data analysis" (Flick, 2009 cited in Cohen et al., 2011:601).

In the case of open-ended questionnaires, I read the answers carefully line by line making rough categories of answers that appeared to be similar and then coding them. Data was organized and analysed by considering the answers from each of the 15 participants before moving on to responses of the next participant. This way, I was able to get a holistic picture of the views of each participant. Upon completion of reading questionnaire responses, I reflected on recurrent ideas and then came up with tentative themes, categories and sub-categories. In the case of both questionnaires and interviews, themes were inductively arrived at and these were related to the research questions of the study. Data was divided into relevant themes and categories in respect of what participants viewed as challenges that teachers face in the implementation of the language-in-education policy in rural primary schools. Analysis involved interpretation which implied the researcher's understanding of events "as related by

participants" (Corbin and Strauss, 2008:480). Therefore, as categories and themes were developed and coding was advanced, I began to make interpretations of what I had learnt. Hence, interpretation "brings meaning and coherence to the themes, patterns, categories, developing linkages and a story line that makes sense and is engaging to read" (Marshall and Rossman, 2006:161-162).

4.10 Quality criteria measures

The question of validity and reliability is as important in qualitative research just as it is in quantitative research (Cohen et al., 2011). The difference in meaning comes because in qualitative research, knowledge and construction of knowledge revolve around the views of the researcher as well as the researched (Gray, 2009:190). Writing about validity in qualitative research, Hammersley (1990 cited in Silverman, 2010:275) says "by validity, I mean truth: interpreted as the extent to which an account accurately represents the social phenomena to which it refers". On the other hand reliability, "refers to the degree of consistency with which instances are assigned to the same category by different observers or by the same observer on different occasions" (Hammersley, 1992 cited in Siverman, 2010:275). In simple terms, Gray (2009:193) refers to reliability as the stability of findings. In other words, those involved in qualitative research are required to demonstrate that they have been rigorous and ethical in the way they conduct their research (Marshall and Rossman, 2006; Silverman, 2010; Cohen et al. 2011). Silverman (2010:276) suggests that validity and reliability in qualitative research can be improved through three different ways. The first approach is triangulation, where different methods can be used to address a particular topic. In this study, different methods were used, that is, the questionnaire, individual interviews and focus group discussions to get views of teachers, school heads and schools inspectors to address my topic on factors that hinder effective implementation of the language of education. The second way is by employing the member validation techniques to check on findings. According to Strauss and Corbin (1990:48), each interview should be summarised and confirmed with the interviewee to ensure that the summary is a true reflection of what transpired. Participants in this study were given the chance to confirm

the findings in order to address Marshall and Rossman's (2006:5) concern, that the newer perspectives of qualitative research demand that "as researchers we must examine how we represent the participants – the Other – in our work". The third way is through low inference descriptors which involve "recording observations in terms that are as concrete as possible, including verbatim accounts of what people say rather than researcher's constructions of the general sense of what a person said". During data collection in this study, reliability was strengthened through verbatim transcriptions and the use of thick description vignettes and quotes from open-ended questionnaires and interviews (Silverman, 2010:287).

4.10.1 Trustworthiness

Gray (2009:194) points out that some researchers, particularly those from the naturalistic tradition are more concerned about trustworthiness than validity and reliability checks. Trustworthiness includes credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. According to Lincoln and Guba (1885 cited in Cohen et al., 2011:181), the four key criteria of qualitative research are as follows:

a) Credibility (replacing the quantitative concepts of internal validity).
b) Transferability (replacing the quantitative concepts of external validity).
c) Dependability (replacing the quantitative concepts of reliability).
d) Confirmability (replacing the quantitative concepts of objectivity).

The above criteria were hence employed to strengthen the rigour and legitimacy of my study as discussed below.

4.10.2 Credibility

Lincoln and Guba (1985) argue that rigour in qualitative case studies can be achieved through careful audit trails of evidence; by participant confirmation which is also known as member checking and also through triangulation. According to Cohen et al. (2011), leaving an audit trail refers to:

---documentation and records used in the study that include: raw data; records of analysis and data reduction; reconstructions and synthesis of data; 'process notes' (on how research and analysis are proceeding); [---] information concerning the development of instruments for data collection (p.182).

Guided by these views in order to heighten the credibility of my study, I audio-taped all the individual interviews and the focus group discussions for my research, presented some of the tapes, typed all the transcripts of raw data, kept the tapes and all the answered questionnaires, and notes based on my analysis of data. These will be made available to assessors or any other interested readers.

According to Gray (2009:195), for most qualitative approaches, reliability is improved, and even guaranteed by triangulation where information is gathered, for example from multiple sources or by using multiple tools for gathering the data. Triangulation of data as a validation strategy "combines data drawn from different sources and at different times, in different places or from different people" (Flick, Kardorff and Steinke, 2004:178)". The same view is echoed by Yin (2003:89) who suggests that the multiple sources of data helps to deal with the problem of establishing construct validity and reliability of case study evidence. Accordingly, in order to provide multiple perspectives on various aspects of the same situation in relation to my research objective, I collected data from rural primary school teachers, school heads and schools inspectors as a way of achieving triangulation of data sources. These categories of experienced personnel who occupy different positions in the field of education focused on the same issue of articulating their experiences from various angles, pertaining to the implementation challenges on the language-in-education policy in rural primary schools. Triangulation in qualitative research, in Flick et al.'s (2004:179) opinion, "is now viewed as a strategy leading to a deeper understanding of the issue under investigation, and thereby a step on the road to greater knowledge". In other words, besides enhancing validity and reliability in my qualitative case study research, I was also in a position to acquire rich, thick data concerning my research objective on exploring factors that hinder effective implementation of the late-exit bilingual education policy which recommends mother tongue usage.

In addition to triangulation of data sources, I also employed methodological triangulation where I applied multiple methods to study my research problem. As stated by Robson (2002:370), "One important benefit of multiple methods is in the reduction of inappropriate certainty. Using a single method and finding a pretty clear-cut result may delude investigators into believing that they have found the 'right' answer". In view of the above observations made by Robson (2002), I enhanced the credibility of my study by employing the semi-structured open ended questionnaire, individual interviews and the focus group discussion method. Similar questions were raised in all the three methods in order to find out how the participants would respond to these questions through the various methods. Cohen et al. (2011) cite the methodological triangulation as the one used most frequently in educational research, and also as the one which has the most to offer. My research is a case study on policy implementation challenges, hence it is an example of a complex phenomena which deserves the use of triangular techniques as these are suitable "when a more holistic view of educational outcomes is sought, or where a complex phenomenon requires elucidation" (Cohen et al., 2011:197). By using triangulation of data sources as well as methodological triangulation, such an approach made me confident of the research results as it was an attempt to heighten the credibility of my data. However, Fielding and Fielding (1986 cited in Cohen et al., 2011:197) point out that methodological triangulation does not necessarily increase validity, reduce bias or bring objectivity to research. This warning is in line with Robson's (2002:370) observation that by using other additional methods, there may be conflicting results across methods, a situation which can "add to confusion and uncertainty". Likewise, it was possible for me to encounter contradictions in employing a number of data collection methods from personnel in the education sector. When such eventualities arose in my case study, I would follow Yin's (2003) advice that:

> The researcher should be able to accommodate unexpected contradictions in the findings instead of sticking to substantiated preconceived positions and if the quest for contrary findings can produce documentable rebuttals, the likelihood of bias will have been reduced (p. 61).

The fact that I employed both methodological and data triangulation put me in a position where I managed to construct good explanations for whatever contradictions came up

as I explored reasons why the mother tongue is not used in the education of rural primary school children in line with the education policy.

4.10.3 Transferability

Skrtic (1985, cited in Gray, 2009:194) suggests that trustworthiness in qualitative research can be addressed through a focus on "transferability, with purposive sampling to illustrate pertinent issues and factors when comparing two contexts for similarity, and thick descriptions to provide evidence for making judgments about similarities between cases". In other words, rather than speaking of generalizability, Gray (2009) argues for transferability to other situations, depending on the extent of similarity between the original situation and one to which it is transferred. For Cohen et al. (2011:181) "generalizing here refers to generalizing *within* specific groups, communities, situations or circumstances (internal validity) and, beyond, to specific *outsider* communities, situations or circumstances (external validity)". To that effect, I carefully selected my sample purposively so that the qualities or characteristics of the research participants could be stated explicitly in order for the global to be analytically extended from the local (Henning, 1995:32). Similarly, in order to qualify for transferability in this research, the population, sample and procedures have already been described in detail, and all the research findings and conclusions were all described in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. By providing such details of the context, process and results as much as possible, those who would want to make use of my study, can therefore, determine for themselves if the results could be transferred and used in another setting. Mason (1996 cited in Silverman, 2010:140) argues that qualitative researchers should not be satisfied with producing explanations which are particular "to the limited empirical parameters of their study [---]. Qualitative research should [therefore] produce explanations which are *generalizable* in some way, or which have a wider resonance". In line with Mason's thinking, a full explanation of my case of rural primary school teachers can be applied to similar cases in Zimbabwe in particular, and Africa in general.

4.10.4 Dependability and confirmability

Lincoln and Guba (1985 cited in Cohen et al., 2011:201) indicate that they prefer to replace 'reliability' in particular, with the notion of 'dependability'. For Skrtic (1985 in Gray, 2009:194), dependability and confirmability are determined by properly managed audit. Brock-Utne (1996 cited in Cohen et al., 2011:201) points out that because qualitative research is holistic in nature, it aims at recording "the multiple interpretations of intention in and meanings given to situations and events". Guided by Brock-Utne's views, I provided evidence of data by keeping audio-data from interviews, focus groups and responses to questionnaires. I created Data Sets X, Y and Z during the data analysis process. Data Set X contained all the typed questionnaire responses, Data Set Y comprised of all the transcribed data from focus group discussions and Data Set Z had all the transcribed and typed information from individual interviews for school heads and schools inspectors. I also kept the written notes that were made, as well as the final draft of the research project for inspection by any interested parties. Gray (2009:194) indicates that dependability can be achieved through the use of audio trails, while confirmability can be strengthened "with audit showing connections between data and researcher's interpretations". This view is echoed by Siverman (1997:203) who asserts that "Tape recordings and transcripts based on them can provide for highly detailed and publicly accessible representations of social interaction". In other words, dependability and confirmability would require that as a qualitative researcher operating in the postcolonial paradigm, I keep very specific descriptions of the processes followed in conducting the enquiry for the sake of those who may want to replicate the study.

Dependability also involves member checks (respondent validation) and reflexive journals (Lincoln and Guba, 1985 cited in Cohen et al., 2011:201). In line with the methodologies inclined to the postcolonial paradigm, I went back to the participants to conduct a 'member check' audit with the participants as a way of heightening the dependability and confirmability of my study on factors that hinder effective implementation of the language-in-education policy in rural primary schools.

4.11 Ethical considerations

This study sought to explore participants' views and attitudes on the implementation of the additive bilingual policy which recommends mother tongue usage in the education of primary school learners. This topic involved sharing a lot of personal and professional experiences by the participants, hence the need for Informed Consent. Silverman (2010:155) urges qualitative researchers to conduct research openly and without deception by giving as much information as possible about the research, to enable prospective participants to make informed decision on their possible involvement. According to Gilbert (2008:150), Informed Consent is a general principle on ethical behaviour in research, generally taken to mean that those who are researched should have the right to know that they are being researched, and that in some sense they should have given their consent. Therefore, for ethical reasons, I informed participants verbally and then asked them to read and sign an Informed Consent form as a way of guaranteeing their willingness to freely participate in interviews and responding to questionnaires (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 1996:183; Creswell, 2005:150). The Informed Consent form that I produced clearly stated the purpose of the study, that their participation was voluntary; that they were free to discontinue participation at will, and that their answers would be held in strict confidence (Gray, 2009: 78-79; Silverman, 2010:155). However, I was not able to consult them on what data to include in the research as achieving such a goal would require a lot of time. I also applied to the UNISA Research Ethics Committee for Ethical Clearance, which was granted. Silverman (2010:154) submits that by getting the backing of an academic institution, a researcher would earn the confidence of participants as this could help to establish rapport and address any reservations people might have about answering questions or sharing their private lives with the researcher.

On issues of anonymity and confidentiality, participants were informed verbally and in writing that their right to remain anonymous would be fully respected and that pseudonyms would be used in the final research report (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992:49). Participants in this study chose their own pseudonyms for themselves and for their schools. Questionnaire and interview responses, particularly those data files that

provide a link between a number or code and the respondent's name will be kept under locked storage to prevent data from being accessed by unauthorized people (Nachmias and Nachmias, 1996:88-89; Gray, 2009:78-79).

To safeguard the rights of participants in this study, I received authority from the MoESAC to visit schools and to meet teachers and school heads for the purpose of conducting the research. I fully informed the study informants about the purpose of the study, the methods to be employed, what their participation in the research entailed, and the intended possible uses of the research (Schurink cited in de Vos, 1998:258; Silverman, 2010:155; Marshall and Rossman, 2011:47-48). Prospective participants were informed that if they were uncomfortable with any aspects of the research procedures, they were free to seek clarification from the researcher, or even to withdraw from participation.

According to Flick (1999:42), one of the problems with Informed Consent is that participants may not comprehend the terminology of the research. In the case of my study, participants were familiar with research terminology since all of them were qualified teachers, school heads and schools' inspectors with experience in conducting research as it is a requirement at diploma or degree level for those who undertake such teacher education programmes in Zimbabwe.

4.12 Conclusion

The focus of this chapter was on methodological considerations where the research design, data collection methods, and data analysis were discussed. The methodology employed in this study was based on the postcolonial theoretical perspective. The study represents a qualitative case study design where questionnaires, individual interviews and focus group discussions were used to collect data. The population of this study comprised of rural primary school teachers in Masvingo District of Education, all primary school heads in that district, and schools' inspectors of Masvingo district. During the research process, participants sampled for this study were expected to express their concerns, beliefs, attitudes and experiences pertaining to factors that contribute to failure by rural primary school teachers to implement a bilingual education policy which

allows children to learn in their mother tongue in primary schools in a postcolonial context. The next chapter focuses on presentation and analysis of data from semi-structured open-ended questionnaires, focus group discussions and individual interviews.

CHAPTER 5: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of the study was to determine the barriers experienced by rural primary school teachers in implementing the Language-in-Education Policy (hereafter to be referred to as the LIEP) of 2006 in Zimbabwean primary schools. In chapter four, I presented and discussed the postcolonial theory paradigm as the research methodology, the strategies for gathering data and the methods that I used to present and analyse the data in response to the major question and the sub-questions of the topic under study.

In this chapter I present and analyse the data that I collected during the field work at three primary schools and two district offices in Masvingo District under the MoESAC. I report on data that I gathered from semi-structured open ended questionnaires for teachers which I labelled Data Set X, data from focus group discussions with teachers (Data Set Y) and individual interviews with three school heads (principals) and two schools' inspectors (Data Set Z). After coding data, I singled out significant ideas and then systematically arranged them into themes and categories for a thematic discussion. Through the use of the constant comparative analysis, I was able to compare and contrast the views of teachers, school heads and schools' inspectors, pertaining to factors that act as barriers to effective implementation of the current LIEP. In this chapter, I report the results in a non-evaluative manner, while the discussion of findings is done in chapter six.

Fifteen teachers, three school heads and two schools inspectors from Masvingo district office of the MoESAC participated in this study. Madiro, Bush and Zhowezha were chosen as pseudonyms for the sampled primary schools. Teachers chose pseudonyms for themselves and for their schools and the school heads concurred. The female MoESAC official settled for Zandile as her pseudonym, while the male official opted for Mombo. In order to maintain anonymity for the research participants, codes and pseudonyms were used on responses that emerged from the transcribed data. The codes in tables 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3 were therefore used.

Table 5.1: Codes for school heads

CODE	MEANING
SH-M	SCHOOL HEAD-MADIRO
SH-B	SCHOOL HEAD-BUSH
SH-Z	SCHOOL HEAD-ZHOWEZHA

Table 5.2: Codes for questionnaire responses

CODE	MEANING
QR-M	QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSE-MADIRO
QR-B	QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSE-BUSH
QR-Z	QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSE-ZHOWEZHA

Table 5.3: Codes for focus group discussion

CODE	MEANING
FG-M	FOCUS GROUP – MADIRO
FG-B	FOCUS GROUP – BUSH
FG-Z	FOCUS GROUP – ZHOWEZHA

Therefore, **Topi: QR-B: 5** would mean:

❖ Teacher whose pseudonym is Topi: Questionnaire Response - Bush Primary School, page 5 of transcript (Data Set X).

❖ **Rachel: FG-M: 24** would mean teacher whose pseudonym is Rachel: Focus Group discussion - Madiro Primary School, page 24 of transcript (Data Set Y).

❖ **SH-Z: 32** would mean School Head - Zhowezha Primary School, page 32 of transcript (Data Set Z).

5.2 Analysis of biographic information on participants

Questions 1-5 (Appendix 1) in the semi-structured open ended questionnaire were asked in order to obtain the biographic data with regard to the research participants on gender, age, professional qualifications, teaching experience and the grade taught. An analysis of details on research participants' personal and professional background enabled me to ascertain their knowledge of the LIEP for primary schools. Information on the participants' teaching experience particularly contributed to my understanding of their professional maturity with regard to the implementation of the LIEP in their classes at primary school level in the rural setup. Participants' responses to the biographic data are presented in table 5.4.

Table 5.4: Research participants' biographic data

Pseudoname	Sex	Qualification	Age	Experience in years	Grade taught
BUSH					
Ruramai	F	B Ed	30-39	11-15	6
Bishop	M	CE	40-49	21-25	7
Sonika	F	Dip Ed	30-39	6-10	2
Chipo	F	Dip Ed	30-39	6-10	5
Cleopatra	F	B Ed	40-49	21-25	SPED
ZHOWEZHA					
Jimmy	M	B Ed	30-39	16-20	7

Svosvai	F	B Ed	40-49	16-20	2
Jill	F	Dip Ed	50-59	16-20	2
Topi	F	CE	40-49	26+	6
Rachel	F	B Ed	40-49	16-20	5
MADIRO					
Mukoma	M	Dip Ed	40-49	16-20	ECD (B)
Edward	M	CE + B Tech	50-59	26+	6
John	M	CE	60+	21-25	3
Ruvimbo	F	B Ed	40-49	11-15	6
Tanaka	F	B Ed	40-49	16-20	4

SPED is a class composed of weak learners who need special education because they have different needs which require the teacher's attention.

ECD (B) is an early childhood development class which is part of the primary school and consists of pupils who are preparing to enter Grade One.

An analysis of results presented in table 5.4 above shows that of the 15 teachers who participated in this study, 10 were females and 5 were males, possibly indicating that more females teach in primary schools than males. Results also show that seven (7) held degrees in education while one (1) had a degree in Technology (B. Tech). The rest had either a certificate in education (CE) or a diploma in education (Dip. Ed). Knowledge of the professional status of teachers was crucial in order to give me insight into the extent to which attention is given to the LIEP during in-service training particularly for those who had done degrees. All teachers had significant teaching experience ranging from 6 to10 years up to over 26 years.

5.3 Thematic analysis of data
Table 5.5 summarises the themes, categories and sub-categories that emerged from gathered data and upon which the subsequent data analysis and discussion was organised. In the analysis of results, vignettes or the actual words that were written or spoken by the participants as responses to the semi-structured, open ended questionnaires, focus group discussions and individual interviews were captured verbatim and are indented for ease of identification.

Table 5.5: Emerging themes and categories

THEMES	CATEGORIES
5.3 Theme 1: Inadequate policy dialogue	5.3.1 Ineffective dissemination strategies 5.3.1.1 Failure to involve teachers 5.3.1.2 Unavailability of circulars and guidelines 5.3.2 Limited understanding of policy 5.3.2.1 Lack of awareness on existence of policy 5.3.2.2 Implementation of inappropriate policy
5.4 Theme 2: Lack of support	5.4.1 Non-availability of educational resources 5.4.2 School Heads' insistence on the use of English 5.4.3 Schools Inspectors' insistence on the use of English
5.5 Theme 3: Persistent English hegemony	5.5.1 Parents' perceived beliefs in English 5.5.2 Teachers' responsiveness 5.5.3 School heads' responsiveness 5.5.4 Schools inspectors' responsiveness 5.5.5 Pupils' perceived reactions
5.6 Theme 4 Negative attitudes towards the mother tongue	5.6.1 Attitudes due to low status 5.6.2 Attitudes due to colonial influence
5.7 Theme 5 Concerns and fears	5.7.1 Low levels of self-confidence 5.7.1.1 Lack of training 5.7.1.2 The challenge of translation

of teachers	5.7.1.3 Limited knowledge of policy
	5.7.1.4 Vulgar concepts
	5.7.2 Decline of educational standards
	5.7.2.1 Uncompetitive learners
	5.7.2.2 High failure rate
5.8 Theme 6 Intervention strategies	5.8.1 Professional development of teachers
	5.8.1.1 Training role of teacher education and the MoESAC
	5.8.1.2 Exemplary role of teacher education
	5.8.1.3 Research role of teacher education
	5.8.1.4 The role of the MoESAC
	5.8.2 Sensitisation of stakeholders
	5.8.3 Government role in policy implementation

5.3 THEME 1: INADEQUATE POLICY DIALOGUE

In this theme, I report on how participants in this study responded to policy implementation of the LIEP of 2006 that allows for the use of the mother language in teaching and learning up to Grade Seven. I identified two categories from this theme, namely: ineffective dissemination strategies to make implementers aware of the policy; and limited understanding of the nature and requirements of the policy currently in use in primary schools. In the first category, I focus on participants' explanations on how, due to inadequate policy dialogue, teachers were functionally unprepared to cope with the new LIEP of 2006 as demonstrated below.

5.3.1 Ineffective policy dissemination strategies

It emerged in this study that at the three schools and at the education district level, participants were of the opinion that the Government, through the MoESAC, did not formally put in place mechanisms to disseminate information on the 2006 LIEP. All the participants testified that there was no advocacy to popularise the policy to enable

implementers to effect the policy change. According to them, there was no commitment on the part of Government to make implementers aware of the policy as well as educating the teachers on how to implement it. From this category, I identified two sub-categories, namely: failure to involve teachers; and unavailability of circulars.

5.3.1.1 Failure to involve teachers in the adoption of the LIEP

All the fifteen teachers in this study asserted that they were not in any way involved in the adoption of the latest policy on the language of education for primary schools. They were not aware of any professional development activities to make them knowledgeable on the requirements of the 2006 policy on the language of education and how to implement it. Such failure to involve teachers was viewed as a contributory factor towards ignorance on the existence of the mother language policy by these policy implementers. The concerns were demonstrated by the following expressions which represent the assessment of many participants in questionnaire responses:

> We haven't done any staff development on the implementation of the current language in education policy (John: QR-M: 3).

> Since this is a new idea to me, I haven't seen the Ministry's support in form of materials and staff development on the implementation of the current language-in-education policy (Bishop: QR-B: 15).

> We have not yet received any material. Neither have I attended any staff development in this area (Topi: QR-Z: 30).

> Not involved because we are not even aware of it as a school (Tanaka: QR-M: 2).

> I was not involved since nothing was taught for me to be aware of the policy (Chipo: QR-B: 15).

> We teachers at the grassroots level were not consulted. If attempts were made its unfortunate because some of us are not aware of it (Rachel: QR-Z: 29).

It is evident that all the teacher participants denied ever having been exposed to any workshops and seminars as strategies to prepare them for the implementation of the 2006 LIEP. As a result of non-involvement in any policy implementation mechanisms, all the teachers in this study conceded that even the policy goals were not at all clear to

them as policy implementers. The following are examples of statements, with regard to the clarity of policy goals, which were generally expressed and concurred with:

> They are not clear since the policy was never taught to primary school teachers (Chipo: QR-B: 15).

> They are not clear at all because no consultation was made or refresher courses (Svosvai: QR-Z: 29).

During focus group discussions, the same sentiments pertaining to failure to involve teachers in the espousal of the current LIEP were reiterated when study informants indicated that they had not been exposed to any follow-up activities as measures to prepare them for embracing the new policy. The following statements represent the views of teachers from each school:

> There are no follow-ups. I have never heard even from our neighbouring schools. We talk sometimes as teachers but hey, we have never heard of such follow-ups to the policy (Tanaka: FG-M: 5).

> I think nothing has been done because we are not aware of it. If something had been done, we could be perhaps trying to implement it. So it means nothing has been done particularly to our rural schools (Bishop: FG-B: 24).

> The Ministry has done nothing about the policy (Svosvai: FG-Z: 36).

For Rachel, such non-involvement of teachers at an early stage in the formulation and implementation of the policy may contribute towards ignoring that policy change. She presents her argument during a focus group discussion in the following manner:

> I also feel that they (teachers) need to be involved during the initial stages of formulation of the policy so that they are fully aware since they are the implementers at the grassroots and if they are not aware then they would just consider the policy as 'their baby' and they won't take action (Rachel: FG-Z: 43).

School heads equally declared that the MoESAC was not supportive by way of giving information to sensitise teachers on the new policy through workshops. The following statements from school heads for Madiro and Zhowezha substantiate this finding:

> So far we haven't received any information about the policy, so we cannot say they are supportive because we don't have any information (SH-M: 2).

The Ministry is not doing much really *u-m-m* to promote mother tongue use in primary schools. I feel they are supposed to be conducting staff development courses in the requirements of the language to make it really very rich in use--- (SH-Z: 14).

The schools' inspectors corroborated the observations of teachers and those of school heads when Zandile confirmed that there was no support from the MoESAC to empower teachers on the use of the mother language in education as a policy change. She asserted thus:

To tell the truth, the office does nothing on this. As I said earlier, we do not have even workshops on language in education policy held at the District office. Even when I was a Head, when the BSPZ was introduced I was already a Head, we never held these workshops on the language policy but we always have staff development in the teaching of comprehension in English. We always have staff development workshops on the teaching of different concepts in Mathematics but not on the language policy, we have never. And people never get bothered to analyze the Grade 7 paper, why the pupils are performing dismally in Shona. But when it comes to English, quote me, there was an outcry last year 2012 that pupils performed badly in Content and already we had two workshops on Content and you can see how people *u-m-m* their attitude towards the mother language (Zandile – Schools Inspector: 21).

As apparent in all the verbatim statements above, the findings are that teachers, school heads and schools inspectors were of the same opinion that the MoESAC did not put in place any mechanisms to involve teachers to enlighten them on the requirements of the current policy and to empower them on how to implement the LIEP which they are supposed to be currently using.

Related to failure to involve teachers in professional development to empower them on the use of the mother language in teaching and learning was the absence of circulars and policy guidelines to direct teachers on how to embrace the policy change. This finding is reported in the section below.

5.3.1.2 Unavailability of circulars and policy guidelines
Questionnaires responses indicated that teachers did not get any circulars which spelt out the contents of the latest policy on the language of education and how to implement

it. This position was revealed in the following responses which are typical of all the teachers' views:

> We are not aware of circulars maybe teachers are being told verbally (Mukoma: QR-M: 3).

> I have not seen even a single circular of the language in education from the Ministry. In fact this is news to me (Ruramai: QR-B 16).

> I don't remember reading a circular about the issue mentioned in the rural schools I have taught (Bishop: QR-B: 16).

> If circulars were issued out, we missed them. The Ministry however could have held workshops to staff develop teachers like me and others in rural areas. As for materials, none have been issued to schools. If any, our school was left out (Rachel: QR-Z: 30).

Similarly, school heads professed ignorance on the existence of a circular on the 2006 LIEP, although under normal circumstances they would get information through circulars or announcements on new policies through the Education District office. However, all school heads in this study declared that on this particular 2006 LIEP, they had not received any circular nor had they got any form of verbal information by way of announcements, about its existence. This view was expressed by the heads for Madiro and Bush primary schools when they lamented lack of knowledge on the 2006 policy by declaring that:

> There is need for them to disseminate information about the whole thing because right now we don't have any information about it. So let them disseminate the information. They should also give us circulars *u-m-m* modules about the language policy and so forth so that we can easily implement. And there is also need to staff develop the staff, mount workshops and meetings with teachers and heads (SH-M: 4).

> I don't have because from my experience as a head *u-m-m* we used to get circulars direct from Head Office to schools, but now it's no more the case. So we get one circular per Educational Region and this is cascaded down to us as in form of announcements but we don't have a circular per ser from where we can refer to (SH-B: 9).

The above verbatim citations provide clear verification from school heads that circulars were not available as a measure to disseminate information to primary schools on the requirements of the current LIEP. With reference to policy guidelines that were put in

place by the MoESAC as a strategy to educate teachers on how to embrace the 2006 LIEP, the two schools' inspectors proclaimed that the Government was not serious about implementing the current LIEP because:

> No guidelines were put in place, no staff development workshops on language policies were held. I do not know when we last had such staff development workshops on language policies. That means even those above, the planners, they just plan, they are not serious with the language policy because nothing has been done on how to implement these things (Zandile - Schools Inspector: 19).

> I don't think there are any guidelines which were put in place because if there were any, then we would be knowledgeable about this policy that you are talking about. So I don't believe that there are any guidelines that were put in place (Mombo – Schools Inspector: 28).

As disclosed in the excerpts above, the proclamations illustrate that there is lack of political will on the part of Government to prepare teachers on the implementation of a policy which they are supposed to base their teaching on. I interpreted these views to be some of the factors that contribute towards limited understanding of the current LIEP in primary schools as espoused in the next section.

5.3.2 Limited understanding of the policy provisions

All the fifteen teachers, three school heads and two schools inspectors who participated in this study indicated that they were not aware of the existence of the 2006 LIEP. This was evident from the way they revealed serious knowledge deficiencies in terms of their interpretation and understanding of the nature and requirements of the current policy on the language of education at primary school level. From this category, two sub-categories emerged and these are: lack of awareness on the existence of the policy; and implementation of an inappropriate policy.

5.3.2.1 Lack of awareness on the existence of the 2006 LIEP

Participants in this study professed ignorance on the stipulation of the 2006 policy on the language of education which allows teachers to use the mother tongue as the medium of instruction up to Grade Seven. The following accounts relating to such

thinking, one from each of the three schools, were typical of those expressed by many teachers as questionnaire responses:

> I know nothing about the nature and requirements of the policy currently in use (Ruvimbo: QR-M: 1).

> I have no idea of the existence of the policy. If it exists it wasn't published through the correct channel of implementation (Cleopatra: QR-B: 14).

> I know nothing about this policy since I was never consulted (Svosvai: QR-Z: 28).

Whereas fourteen teachers clearly stated that they were not aware of the nature and requirements of the 2006 LIEP, only one teacher thought she knew the policy when she quoted an outdated policy both in her questionnaire response(Rachel: QR-Z:28) and during focus group discussions. Her position was represented by the following submission which was made during the focus group interviews when she proclaimed:

> ---it's like *u-m-m* the policy requires us to teach using mother tongue for infant grades but for upper grades I think it should be English when teaching other subjects (Rachel: FG-Z: 38).

The above quoted policy was actually an old policy of the 1987 Education Act amended in 1994, which allowed teachers to use the mother language in teaching up to Grade Three only, as opposed to the 2006 LIEP which calls on teachers to use the mother tongue in education up to the end of the primary school level. Therefore, all the fifteen teachers were not aware of the stipulations of the current policy on the language of education.

That teachers were not aware of the policy provisions was evident during focus group discussions when all the participants demonstrated remarkable ignorance regarding the nature and requirements of the 2006 policy. Arguments which substantiate that teachers had no information on guidelines of the 2006 LIEP included the following views which represent those of many teacher participants from the three schools:

> I do agree with the speakers. You find out that even the headmaster does not have the information pertaining to the policy and we don't know even if the District or Head Office itself has the idea of the policy. We don't know where it is perhaps it is in the pipeline. We don't know how long the pipeline is and where it is (Edward: FG-M: 1).

> We are not yet aware of the policy so we don't know its requirements (Ruramai: FG-B: 22).

> Unfortunately the policy has not reached this place so we are not using it. What we are using is the syllabus which is in English when teaching other subjects except Shona, that's when we use the mother tongue (Topi: FG-Z: 34).

The above reactions from questionnaires and focus group discussions clearly demonstrate that these policy implementers were not conversant with a policy that was supposed to guide them in their daily deliberations with pupils at primary school level.

Likewise, school heads gave responses that were to a great extent consistent with those of teachers pertaining to their lack of knowledge on the nature and requirements of the current policy. Data from school heads' individual interviews indicated that all school heads who participated in this study were ignorant about the demands of the 2006 LIEP. This finding is exposed in the following excerpts whereby all the school heads spoke on their own behalf and also on behalf of their teachers:

> That one we are not aware of it (policy). We are aware of this Grade 1 to 3 and 4 to 7 (SH-B: 9).

> Honestly speaking I am not at all well versed with this policy [...]. Obviously my teachers may not know anything about it, they are not aware of this policy (SH-Z: 13).

> *U-m-m* I have nothing to offer on that one. In fact I am not aware of the policy [---]. I don't have any knowledge about that, maybe I need to be told about it, I need circulars about it. (SH-M: 1).

Speaking on behalf of her teachers, the head of Madiro went on to vehemently deny any knowledge of the 2006 policy by her subordinates when she averred:

> Definitely they have nothing because I also have nothing. I brought them nothing and I don't assume that they have anything. They totally have nothing (SH-M: 2).

That school heads were not aware of the stipulation of the 2006 LIEP was corroborated by the two inspectors who spoke on behalf of the school heads under their jurisdiction by proclaiming that:

> As an inspector, my experience when we go outside there has shown me that the headmasters, the principals are not aware of this new policy, the 2006 Language

in Education Policy because they even force their teachers to teach ECD pupils in English in violation of the 1994 language policy because the 2006 they don't even know about it (Zandile – Schools Inspector: 19).

I think they are not knowledgeable [...]. I don't think they are knowledgeable because I have never heard any of the Heads talking about it, to be realistic (Mombo – Schools Inspector: 28).

Thus, findings undoubtedly showed that school heads in this study had no knowledge pertaining to the existence of a policy which they were supposed to monitor as immediate supervisors at local school level.

Like teachers and school heads, the two schools inspectors made it apparent that they themselves were also certainly not informed about the existence of the 2006 LIEP, as emphatically stated in the statements below:

Unfortunately Mrs Ndamba the 2006 Language in Education Policy has not been availed to me as the inspector. I know the old one of 1994, the language policy whereby every pupil from crèche, during those days it was crèche, now it's the ECD up to Grade Three where pupils should be taught all subjects in the mother language (Zandile - Schools Inspector: 18).

Unfortunately I am not privy to *u-m-m* the contents of that policy you are talking about and so my contribution on that I think will not be meaningful (Mombo - Schools Inspector: 27).

The above affirmations clearly exhibit absolute lack of knowledge by the schools inspectors in this study pertaining to the requirements of 2006 LIEP. I interpreted their responses to imply that the the policy on the language of education was shrouded in secrecy, making it impossible for the schools' inspectors to monitor implementation at district level in schools under their authority. To confirm that the policy was deliberately not disseminated was asserted by the two schools inspectors in separate individual interviews when they declared:

I cannot say it has failed this 2006 policy but it was not sent down to the implementers. So we cannot say it has failed but I believe as the Ministry somebody put in place this policy but then the one who is supposed to send to the implementers found maybe it is not all that suitable. Something must be done to the policy if ever it exists that policy and that person who is supposed to disseminate that policy to the implementers just put it on the shelves

> accumulating dust at the Head Office, nothing has happened so far (Zandile – Schools Inspector: 19).

> Maybe it's gathering dust in their offices. If they wanted this to be effective I think they should have held some workshops to sensitise heads and even educating inspectors themselves (Mombo – Schools Inspector: 28).

Therefore, findings indicate that teachers, school heads and the schools inspectors who participated in this study were all not aware of the requisite terms pertaining to the 2006 policy which was said to be gathering dust somewhere in the higher offices of the education sector.

Due to participants' ignorance on the existence of the current LIEP, it was not surprising that all teachers in this study were implementing an English only policy, and code-switched when deemed necessary, in violation of the requirements of the 2006 LIEP which stipulates that the mother language can be used in education in primary schools. Participants' experiences in implementing an inappropriate policy are reported in the next sub-category.

5.3.2.2 Implementation of an inappropriate policy

Since findings indicated that all participants had no information on the current policy on the language of education, I interpreted the situation to be one of the factors which probably made teachers employ the English only policy, contrary to the requirements of the 2006 LIEP which expected teachers to use the mother language up to the end of the primary school. By implementing the LIEP in a manner which they saw fit, one of the schools' inspectors declared that teachers' actions were justified since:

> As I have said earlier it's not that they are not willing to implement the current language in education policy, they do not know about it, headmasters do not know about it. If the inspector does not know about it, it's worse for the teacher. So it's not that they are not willing to implement, they are as implementers but the policy itself did not get into their hands (Zandile: Schools Inspector: 18).

As illustrated by the above quote from a schools inspector that teachers had not received the current policy on the language of education, they implemented the policy which they believed to be the correct policy when actually it was an outdated and hence

inappropriate policy. Rather, the teachers' interpretation and implementation of the current policy on the language of education is represented by the following caption where one participant declared during focus group discussions that:

> It says (policy) you must teach pupils in English. It does not say speak in Shona but teach in English. Only when you are now teaching Shona that is when you can speak in Shona. But all subjects right through must be taught in English (John: FG-M: 3).

Therefore, there was general agreement by all the teachers in this study that although they were expected to teach in English from Grade One up to Grade Seven, they used their own discretion to code-switch to the mother language when learners failed to grasp difficult concepts taught in the second language English. Code-switching as a common practice is demonstrated in the following statements, one from each of the three schools, which are typical responses to questionnaires by many teachers:

> I only teach in ChiShona in other subjects when pupils do not understand instructions in English (Mukoma – QR-M: 4).

> As an individual I do not implement the policy since I am not aware of it but I teach using English language and code-switch where necessary (Chipo – QR-B: 17).

> I just use Shona where I find children not to understand the point completely otherwise it's only English throughout the lesson (Jill: QR-Z: 31).

The above excerpts undoubtedly indicate that teachers in this study only switched to the mother tongue when it was extremely necessary to do so otherwise English was the language of education from the first grade. Further evidence that teachers at the three schools involved in this study taught in English and used code-switching as a strategy to make pupils understand abstract concepts was expressed during focus group discussions. Prominent in their responses were the following examples from many who justified how they implemented the LIEP by teaching in English and why they code-switched:

> As for me I follow the current, I am very strict. I emphasise that they speak in English unless it is a Shona lesson. Only when there is no communication between me and the children that's when I withdraw but I am strict even during

break time and during lunch I encourage them to use English always (Tanaka: FG-M: 3).

To be very honest at certain times when we would like to emphasize certain concepts that's when we switch on to Shona but normally you would find that the pupils we have, due to lack of books and other necessary things to facilitate learning, you find out you will be in a position to switch on to Shona so that the child will actually understand what you are trying to put across. Even if you want to continue speaking in English there are certain times when you see that there is communication breakdown, whereby you will be speaking but they are just looking at you, no grasping of concepts, no learning taking place, time lost and quite a number of things that the child should achieve from the learning scene (Edward: FG-M: 3).

The language that dominates is English, and Shona is only used where there is no communication. That's when perhaps we revert to Shona to make the point understood, but otherwise predominantly it is English (Bishop: FG-B: 23).

---We are code-switching although we are not allowed by the School Head (Jimmy: FG-Z: 41).

As for me I cannot conduct a lesson for thirty minutes in English, it will be a failure that lesson [...]. When I teach I use English but if there is communication breakdown I switch on to Shona (Ruvimbo: FG-M: 9).

The above extracts confirm the position that teachers from the three schools were not implementing the appropriate policy as they taught in English from Grade One. As a result, teachers used their own discretion to switch to the mother language as a strategy to make learners understand difficult concepts taught in English, albeit against the wishes of some school heads and inspectors who expected them to teach in English throughout the lesson.

In this theme, the study findings obviously pointed towards the lack of adequate dialogue between policy-makers and policy implementers pertaining to the requirements of the current policy on the language of education. There were no effective strategies in the form of teacher involvement, circulars or policy guidelines as mechanisms to popularise the latest LIEP. Consequently, teachers were ignorant about the policy provisions of the 2006 policy which allows the mother language to be used in the education of primary school learners up to Grade Seven. Therefore, what stands out prominently from teachers, school heads and schools inspectors who participated in this

study is that the 2006 LIEP in Masvingo district was not given adequate attention as teachers continued to implement an outdated policy by teaching in English from the first grade, only to code-switch as an individual teacher strategy when it was deemed necessary to do so. Related to policy dialogue is the need for continued support that should be given to teachers to ensure successful implementation of the LIEP, as revealed by participants' discernment in the following theme.

5.4 THEME TWO: LACK OF SUPPORT

In this theme, I describe participants' responses to the nature of support that they received and continue to receive from the education sector in relation to the implementation of the 2006 LIEP. I identified three categories from this theme namely: non-availability of educational material resources; insistence on the use of English by school heads; and insistence on English usage by schools inspectors.

5.4.1 Non-availability of educational material resources

Many questionnaire respondents, focus group discussants and interview participants pointed out that the Government, through the MoESAC did not supply schools with the relevant material resources to support the implementation of the mother tongue policy upon its inception. Even continued support in the form of any educational materials from the education sector, which is necessary to sustain the implementation of the current LIEP, was also said to be unavailable. These findings surfaced when all the teachers in this study expressed serious concerns about the lack of material resources to support the implementation of the most recent policy on the language of education. Informants' remarks which are typical of those articulated by many participants in questionnaire responses show that:

> No material was received from the Ministry in support of the implementation of the policy. No staff development was done by the Ministry in support of the policy (Rutendo: QR-M: 3).

Since this is a new idea to me, I haven't seen the Ministry's support in the form of materials and staff development on the implementation of the current language-in-education policy (Bishop: QR-B: 15).

There is little support from the Ministry because there are no Shona books for primary school subjects. We can say nothing has been done in terms of materials. We have no support in the current language-in-education policy. In fact the Ministry encourages us to teach our children to be fluent in English (Jill: QR-Z: 29).

Lack of resources as well as vocabulary for some scientific and mathematical terms makes it very difficult if not impossible to use ChiShona as language of education (Rachel: QR-Z: 40).

The above responses clearly spelt out that the MoESAC did not provide schools with any form of material resources as a way of supporting the implementation of the 2006 LIEP. Participants also felt that if materials were to be supplied, then it would be feasible to implement the policy, otherwise if the syllabi and textbooks are still in English, it would not be practical for teachers on their own to translate the documents into the indigenous languages. The idea that there was need to supply teachers with the necessary material resources for the success of the mother language policy was expressed in the following statements from questionnaire respondents who believed that:

If materials are supplied to us then it will be easy for us to implement. We have not yet held any meeting on the implementation of the policy (Mukoma: QR-M: 2).

The syllabi for other subjects have to be written in ChiShona if the policy is enforced, so that teachers cannot translate English to ChiShona (Jill: QR-Z: 39).

Likewise, focus group discussants at the three schools submitted the same concerns when they indicated that no materials whatsoever were received in connection with the 2006 LIEP. The following statements from each of the three schools confirm this finding:

They are not available. The resources like the syllabuses, the textbooks (Tanaka: FG-M: 17).

There are no resources and we were never told there are some changes. It's only UNICEF which donated those textbooks which are in English, not Shona textbooks, for all subjects (Cleopatra: FG-B: 32).

> Not any at this place, we have not yet received anything concerning the new policy. There are no materials available and I doubt very much even if the headmaster knows that there is such a policy (Rachel: FG-Z: 42).

Similar responses as those of teachers were received from School Heads when they pointed out that the Government had not supplied schools with the relevant educational material resources to enable teachers to effect the policy change. It was revealed by the School Heads that the textbooks, including those that were donated by Non-Governmental Organisations, particularly UNICEF, were all in English. The consistent position stated by the three school heads pertaining to lack of educational material resources is stated below:

> Definitely we don't have, right now we have textbooks which we were given by the Government through the EFT. All of them are written in English, so right now we don't have any resources which we can use to take up the language policy [...]. And also the textbooks that we have, the curriculum, it's also a barrier because we don't have resources, yes. How are we going to operate if we don't have the resources (SH-M: 5 - 6)?

> At the moment *u-m-m* we don't have, no syllabi, no textbooks. The books we were given were just core subjects, Maths, English, Shona and Science, no other textbooks other than those (SH-B: 12).

> We don't have adequate resources to use for the mother tongue. We do not have at all. If we had the resources maybe that could help us and change the attitudes of people (SH-Z: 17).

The above verbatim reports from the three school heads illustrate that there were no educational materials whatsoever at the three schools which participated in this study. As a result, in both questionnaire responses and focus group discussions, teachers did not see any point in teaching the other subjects in the mother language as required by the current LIEP because:

> Lack of resources hinders them to implement the policy since it will require the change in almost all the textbooks currently being used (Tanaka: QR-M: 7).

> Of major concern is lack of reading material/resources, starting to make books available takes time and needs resources. Assessment also is done in English so there is no point teaching other subjects in ChiShona (Rachel: QR-Z: 35).

> All the subjects are written in English from primary to university, as a result they are compelled to teach in English (Edward: QR-M: 7).

The issue of lack of educational material resources as a hindrance to effective implementation of the 2006 LIEP was also confirmed by schools' inspectors as expressed by one of them who lamented the Zimbabwe Government's shortcomings by saying:

> I think the government of Zimbabwe in general lacks resources to effectively make this policy get implemented. It's an issue of resources I think, just that (Mombo: Schools Inspector: 29).

Thus, the reactions from the teachers, school heads and schools inspectors show that failure to supply policy implementers with the relevant educational resource materials was viewed as a stumbling block in any effort to implement the 2006 policy. The fact that all the textbooks would need to be re-printed in the mother language was considered a mammoth task and a costly endeavour which the Government had no capacity to achieve. The following examples from each of the three schools were the sentiments expressed by many participants in questionnaire responses:

> The Government of Zimbabwe has no money hence they don't make a follow up to enforce the policy (John: QR-M: 6).

> I think the Government is not willing to enforce the implementation of the language-in-education policy because of financial constraints. This will mean reprinting of all textbooks in use to the mother tongue (Bishop: QR-B: 20).

> Firstly it's expensive to implement a change; changes are better said than done. Secondly the government will have to change and accommodate the same language in industry (Jimmy: QR-Z: 34).

During focus group discussions, the same issues were raised at the three school sites, concerning the position of Government, on its perceived inability to secure adequate resources for the success of a mother tongue policy in education as illustrated below:

> I think it will be very difficult because when we teach the children we test them after several years at primary level. So it will be very difficult and it will be very expensive for the Government to set exams in Shona, in that language, in that mother language, I think it will be very expensive (Ruvimbo: FG-M: 2).

> Ya-a-h, financial constraints, the Government will have to change everything. I don't know whether they will manage to do that to change all textbooks to Shona *u-m-m* that's a challenge (Bishop: FG-B: 30).

I think the challenges we are going to meet are shortage of material. It will be the major impact. Are they going to translate all those books into the Shona language? Where are they going to get the money? That is the problem (John: FG-M: 12).

For school heads, it was equally believed that the Government had no financial capacity to provide adequate educational material resources, and such failure would contribute as a barrier to policy implementation. This kind of thinking was expressed by one of the School Heads who stated emphatically that:

If you look at the resources that the Government has to put in place so that the policy is implemented, it's another barrier. Changing the curriculum is very difficult, maybe that is the reason why we didn't receive any information about it, yes. Because you look at the resources, you look at the funds that they would put to have that policy put in place, it's rather difficult---(SH-M: 7).

Therefore, lack of resources was viewed as one of the major barriers that the Government faces in the successful implementation of the 2006 policy. Financial constraints were considered to be a hindrance even if the Government had the intention to reprint textbooks into the indigenous languages. Thus, participants in the three triangulated data collection methods for this study, namely, questionnaire respondents, focus group discussants and individual interviewees were generally agreed that lack of educational material resources made it impractical to implement the 2006 LIEP. Apart from lack of educational material resources as a barrier to the successful implementation of the 2006 LIEP, findings indicated that school heads and schools' inspectors did not offer emotional and moral support to mother tongue usage in education in primary schools as evidenced by their insistence on the use of English as the only language of education. This observation is reported in the section below.

5.4.2 School Heads' insistence on English as the sole language of education

Another factor related to lack of support was highlighted by participants' claims that teachers did not implement the LIEP because school heads strictly demanded the use of English as the only language for teaching and learning at primary school level. It emerged in questionnaire responses that the teachers at the three sites emphasised

that all the school heads insisted upon the use of English right from Grade One. Although they had indicated that they were aware of the 1994 amendment to the LIEP, which encouraged teachers to use the mother tongue up to Grade Three, indications were that the school heads were not bound by this policy as indicated by the following responses from each of the three schools:

> The Head is not monitoring the implementation of the policy but rather emphasises the use of English in all subjects except Shona (Tanaka: QR-M: 4).

> Our Head encourages us to teach all English subjects in English except for Shona only (Chipo: QR-B: 17).

> Head stresses the use of English in all other subjects and encourages pupils to use the official language always (Rachel: QR-Z: 32).

The same views were expressed during focus group discussions at Madiro, as evident from the following response which represents what teacher participants said about school heads' insistence on the use of English during lesson delivery:

> Like what my colleagues are saying, she insists in using English in all the subjects unless it is in ChiShona (Tanaka: FG-M: 8).

The teachers' position with regards to the language of instruction was corroborated by school heads when they reported that they themselves preferred the use of English as the language of education. These views were reflected in the following statements emanating from the individual interviews with each of the three school heads:

> The language policy that we implement is that of using English language as the medium of instruction from Grade Three to Seven and we use English for teaching all subjects across the curriculum. Then for our infants we use the mother tongue or else we can mix. We can code-switch but for fast learners we can teach in English but we can always code-switch for better understanding (SH-M: 2).

> At this school the way we implement the policy is that from Grade One to Three, it's Shona in all subjects and in Grade Four to Seven it's strictly English as the medium of instruction, then Shona as Shona (SH-B: 9).

> Here at Zhowezha Primary school really there is the culture of conversing in English [...]. We encourage teachers to always use English as medium of instruction for all other subjects save for Shona starting from Grade One level (SH-Z: 14).

As manifest in the above responses, school heads did not report similar experiences with regard to when their schools began the English-only policy. The school head for Zhowezha indicated that his teachers started to use English as the language of instruction from Grade One. At Madiro School they began at Grade Three level while at Bush the school head said his school observed the English only policy from Grade Four. From the school heads' responses, it emerged that they had a limited understanding of what the 2006 LIEP entailed, and they did not have the same understanding of the provisions of the current policy on the language of education.

Although the school head for Bush indicated that his teachers used the mother language for teaching in infant grades (Grade One to Three), he implied that he allowed them to use the mother language only to explain difficult concepts. The understanding of the school head for Bush was that teachers may revert to indigenous languages, implying that English was the language of education. This position is illustrated in the way he interpreted and implemented the current LIEP at his school:

> The policy states that we must teach all subjects in English as medium of instruction then from Grade One up to Grade Three we may revert to vernacular languages or mother tongue(SH-B: 8).

This kind of understanding was not unique to school heads only as one of the schools inspectors declared his conceptualisation of the language of education by saying:

> I think I can only talk about the Infant Department which I know teachers are encouraged as much as possible to use the mother tongue where children experience problems --- (Mombo-Schools Inspector: 29).

Schools' inspectors also confirmed that teachers faced challenges in implementing the LIEP because they were forced by school heads to teach in English. The view that school heads did not tolerate mother tongue usage by teachers during lesson delivery was evident in the following response:

> Yes the challenges first of all, the headmasters themselves, they force the teachers to disregard the language policy. They want the pupils to be taught in English because English as an international language. They want pupils to master English from ECD, the headmasters (Zandile - Schools Inspector: 20).

Evidently, questionnaire responses, focus group discussions and individual interviews point to the fact that primary school teachers do not get requisite support on mother tongue usage in teaching because school heads insist on using English only from Grade One, contrary to the requirements of the 2006 policy and even the 1994 amendment to the LIEP which all the school heads claimed to be aware of. Similarly, schools' inspectors also did not provide teachers with the necessary support for implementing the current language of education as illustrated in the section below.

5.4.3 Schools' Inspectors' insistence on English usage

Schools' inspectors indicated that they would not tolerate mother tongue usage up to the end of the primary school because that would contribute towards pupils' failure to grasp concepts which are examined in English. This kind of thinking was exposed by one of the inspectors when he argued that:

> ---as much as possible we encourage the use of English because we know it will be a great advantage to the children if they are proficient in the language (Mombo - Schools Inspector: 29).

In other words, use of the mother tongue as the only language of education is viewed by the schools' inspectors as contributing to failure by learners to master concepts which are in English, hence the insistence on English usage so that learners get well versed in the language in order for them to cope with the language of examinations. During focus group discussions at all the three schools, teacher participants in this study proclaimed that schools inspectors were very strict when it came to mother tongue usage in learning because:

> They totally discourage the use of Shona especially when teaching Mathematics and other Content subjects. The supervisors encourage us to teach in English even at infant level (Jimmy: FG-Z: 36).

> I think the Inspectors are also not aware of this new policy because they expect us to deliver our lessons in English. Probably it's not their fault, they are also not aware of the new policy (Tanaka: FG-M: 9).

It also emerged during focus group discussions at Bush that one schools inspector had written a negative report one month prior to the time of my research when a Grade Two teacher had code-switched to the mother tongue during a lesson. The following

statement illustrates the seriousness of the incident which happened at that particular school during a class visit when the teacher was penalised for using the mother language to explain a difficult concept. The affected teacher emotionally narrated her experience as follows:

> Our supervision by inspectors, not by the School Head, they want us to use English throughout. Even if you put a point across and you see children are passive, let's say you are taking a science lesson, if you code-switch to Shona because you want pupils to understand you better to get the concept, they will write it against you *kuti ticha vashandisa Shona* (that the teacher used Shona). They do not want us to use Shona in other subjects, in any other lesson besides the Shona lesson. And if you code-switch it's a crime, maybe it's because they are not aware of the policy because why would they say it's an offence to code-switch in a lesson (Sonika: FG-B: 33)?

The unfortunate incident was confirmed by the school head for Bush, in a separate individual interview, when he narrated the unfortunate incident whereby one of his teachers got a negative report from a schools' inspector for using the mother language to explain a concept which learners had failed to grasp:

> When inspectors came to this school a month ago, one teacher was penalised for using vernacular in a lesson. It was a Grade Two class for that matter. From the way they give us the circulars and policy documents they don't allow us to implement what the policy says (SH-B: 9).

According to the school head for Bush, such a situation created confusion for him and his teachers since he was aware of the initial 1987 LIEP, amended in 1994, where teachers could use the mother language up to Grade Three. The school head for Bush had interpreted the policy to mean that teachers could code-switch to the mother language and had allowed his teachers to do so in the infant grades as illustrated below:

> I would prefer the vernacular where it is hard to understand concepts. I mean I prefer code-switching. The advantages are that the teacher will find a way of making pupils understand because the idea is for them to understand, not to confuse them (SH-B: 10).

Despite the school head's language preferences to allow teachers to code-switch to enable learners to grasp abstract concepts, the indication was that the schools'

inspector did not want the policy to be implemented as he thwarted the teacher's attempts to break the communication barrier. To highlight the confusion caused by the schools inspector who did not respect the policy provisions, Bush school head felt that such a situation left him with no ammunition to talk about the LIEP with teachers at his school when he argued that:

> Normally in such a situation people get confused *u-m-m* when inspectors come and tell you not to do this which is actually in a policy directive, so to talk about that after their visit becomes very difficult because you get confused. Even the administration becomes confused with regard to which direction to follow, so we need staff development at a higher level where we are attuned to a policy directive specially now that this policy is being further developed or fine tuned, to include more vernacular languages (SH-B: 11).

The school head for Madiro also related her experiences with schools' inspectors as follows:

> Yes inspectors as well because they say don't speak in Shona, you should teach in English so it's everyone involved including the DEO because he would address Heads using English, yes. So going back to Shona and say *itai izvi nezvozvo* (do this and that) they would say a-a-h, did he not go to school (SH-M: 6)?

Therefore, teachers and school heads in this study were of the opinion that schools inspectors worked against the demands of the policy on the language of education as some of them did not expect teachers to use the mother language even for code-switching in cases where teachers felt there was need to do so.

In this theme, findings were that teachers did not get support in the form of material resources to allow them to implement the current LIEP. The government was viewed as not having the capacity to reprint text books in the indigenous languages due to financial constraints. Besides the absence of material resources there was also lack of support from school heads and inspectors, some of who did not want the LIEP to be implemented to an extent of failing to accommodate code-switching even in situations where the teacher felt there was communication breakdown.

5.5 THEME THREE: PERSISTENT ENGLISH HEGEMONY

In this theme, I report on how the superior role of English was perceived by participants in this study as a factor which contributes towards neglect of the LIEP which encourages mother tongue usage up to Grade Seven. I identified five categories from this theme and these are: parents' perceived beliefs on the role of English; teachers' responsiveness; school heads' responsiveness; school inspectors' responsiveness; and learners' perceived reaction to the use of the mother tongue as the only language of education.

5.5.1 Parents' perceived beliefs on the role of English

All the participants in this study were of the view that parents had a high regard for English, as they believed that it would assist their children to have a brighter future. These sentiments were raised by teachers in questionnaire responses, where it was felt that parents considered English to be a superior language which enabled their offspring to get good jobs. The following statements represent this kind of thinking from many of the teachers' questionnaire responses:

> They require their children to be taught in English because failure to pass English closes the gates of the child's future (Edward: QR-M: 10).

> Parents will not be happy as they want their children to learn in English in order to be employed in different companies (John: QR-M: 10).

> They might think that the standards of education system are lowered since they consider English as a superior language (Sonika: QR-B: 23).

> Nowadays parents are educated and they have got great ambitions for their children so they want them to be equipped with all necessary skills for them to function (Rachel: QR-Z: 38**).**

English hegemony was demonstrated by teachers' responses when they indicated that parents preferred English because they were aware of its importance in Zimbabwe and other countries of the world (Mukoma: QR-M: 10). It was also stated by many participants that parents believed that if children were not taught in English, then there was no learning taking place at school.The belief that parents associated English with

learning is illustrated in the following statements from questionnaire responses, one from each of the three sites:

> They believe that if their children are not taught in English, there is not enough learning going on at school (Ruvimbo: QR-M: 10).

> Parents always prefer English for their children as this shows the level of learning for their children (Chipo: QR-B: 23).

> There is a general belief among parents that if a child is said to be learning he/she should be able to speak and understand English, so too much of the mother tongue in the education system will affect the value of education (Jimmy: QR-Z: 38).

During focus group discussions at all the three schools, it became apparent that parents believed that learning was going on at school only when their children were being taught in English. This belief is expressed by teachers in the following manner:

> As long as their children are speaking in English or learning in English, they are very happy. They think that there is a lot of learning going on, even if there is no learning going on but as long as their children are speaking in English, they are impressed (Tanaka: FG-M: 10).

> They will say the things have gone down. What is the education system doing? They view English as superior, no doubt about that. They think if you speak English you are educated, if you can't you have not gone to school (Bishop: FG-B: 28).

> It will not augur well with the parents because they are greatly against it since they consider someone educated to be able to speak in English. There are pupils who communicate in the language in which they are communicating (ChiShona) so they will consider them not learned at all, not educated at all(Jimmy: FG-Z: 38).

According to the focus group discussants above, the main issue raised was that parents resisted mother tongue usage in education because they associate education with the ability to speak good English. Therefore, since English is highly valued as it is equated to education, it was perceived that failure by teachers to teach in English would disappoint parents to an extent that some may withdraw their children and send them to schools where English is the language of education as revealed by the following focus group discussants from Zhowezha and Bush schools:

They will regard us as incompetent and they may even transfer their pupils to better schools (Topi: FG-Z: 38).

Pakupedzisira panogona kuzoita zvema groups, zvokuti vane zvikwanisiro vachaendesa vana vavo kunodzidza chirungu, vedu isusu ndovachasara vari kuno. Vane zvinhu zvavo vachaisa vana vavo kuma schools kwavanoziva kuti vacha benefita zvakanyanya, isu vedu vana ndovachauya kuno.

Translation: At the end there would be groups, so that those who can afford will send their children where English is the medium of instruction and our children would remain here. Those who are rich would send their children to schools where they know that they would benefit a lot while our children would come here (Chipo: FG-B: 31).

Other reasons for the parents' love of English as the language of education at primary school level were that parents are aware of the significance of English in the future life of their children since:

---the parents are aware of the importance of English. I think it will be a problem for them to hear that teachers are now teaching every subject in Shona [laughter]. They will come and have a battle with us here and say, what are you doing here? [...] They know the importance of English because they know that English is a passport for you. Examinations are set and are written in English, for you to interpret the question in an exam you have to understand English, so they are aware of the importance of English (Ruvimbo: FG-M: 11; 13).

Vanoda kuti vana vadzidzeEnglish (They want children to learn English), since they know kuti *usina English yacho* (that if you don't have that English) you are nobody. Most jobs require someone to have English, so they know that if the child is developed at primary level, he or she will be able to obtain English at 'O' level and it will be easy for the child to be enrolled in white collar jobs (Sonika: FG-B: 28).

The parents themselves, simply because they know if at 'O' level the child or their children pass English, they are so happy. Without English usually they become so unhappy because they know the future of their child is determined by the subject English. So they tend to be happy if the child passes the subject. They may have seven subjects passed but without English they say NO the teachers teaching at Manunure or whatever school are not doing work but if the children pass English and fail all other subjects they don't mind --- (Edward: FG-M: 10).

Owing to parents' awareness of the crucial role played by English in the future of their children, participants reported that these parents seemed to have an insatiable appetite for that language even if they are not educated themselves and do not understand

English (Chipo FG-B: 29). It was said that parents valued English to such an extent that they called for its usage beginning at a very early stage of their children's education as illustrated in the following statements raised during focus group discussions: This finding is demonstrated by participants at Madiro as follows:

> I wanted to say even if you are presenting something there in English, even those who do not understand English and the child is saying it in English they will just clap hands and they will be very happy yet they don't even understand what the child is saying (Tanaka: FG-M: 11).

> They are impressed they even want their ECD pupils to speak in English. They show happiness if their ECD pupils speak or have their poems in English [---]. Even those parents who are not educated *u-m-m* they know that this is English but they cannot speak it, they cannot even understand it but if they hear their child or their children speaking in English they show much happiness (Mukoma: FG-M: 10-11).

> I don't think the community will agree with that (policy) because they know even the elders, those who are over sixty or those who are almost a hundred years old, they know about English, how important English is even if they were not educated but we can say yes some may accept that but not all of them (Edward: FG-M: 13).

Because parents held English in high regard, participants felt that this factor would negatively impact upon the implementation of a policy which called for mother tongue usage in education in primary schools.

The same concerns expressed by teachers with regard to the attitudes of parents towards English were also raised by school heads. While two school heads in this study were of the view that parents would not tolerate a policy which encourages mother tongue usage, the response of the third school head showed that he was of the opinion that there would be a mixed reaction. The fact that parents had more positive attitudes towards English than the mother language in education was illustrated by the responses from the school heads for Madiro and Zhowezha, who claimed:

> Right, I don't think they are going to appreciate it because they feel that language (Shona) may be inferior you see, that inferiority complex that we have as Shona people. We feel that our own language *u-m-m* we tend to look down upon ourselves. I feel they need that English language to be used for teaching so that

pupils can fit in the society. Well, so they actually don't appreciate their own language or I can say we don't because I am also a parent (SH-M: 3).

I feel generally parents are even proud to be associated to the English language rather than the Shona language because of this acculturation aspect. We are so much used into using this English language as the medium of instruction to make us maybe look down upon our own language Shona (SH-Z: 15).

The above responses from the school heads demonstrated their assertion that parents held conservative views whereby the mother language was looked down upon and English was perceived as profitable. To them, English had become part of the culture for the people of Zimbabwe, hence it was difficult to accept any other language as the language of education. The school head for Bush held a different opinion since on one hand, he was of the idea that:

The parents I am sure they will be supportive because *u-m-m* it's now my view on their behalf *u-m-m* what they want is for their children to learn and understand what they are taught. So if you find ways and means to make them understand using whatever mode of instruction I'm sure they will support the use of this policy document (SH-B: 10).

On the other hand:

---then the parents might argue that if we make learning using vernacular languages, what will happen to my child suppose they might want to send the child abroad for further education, they might have a negative attitude on that aspect, they ask if it's an internationally recognised subject (SH-B: 12).

Therefore, the above response from the school head for Bush demonstrated that there might be mixed reactions from parents because whereas some may be supportive, others may question the wisdom in using the mother tongue in education, an indication that the use of the mother language may not be acceptable to all the parents.

Schools' inspectors expressed the same sentiments as those of other participants, that parents favoured English more than the mother tongue as the language of education. Interviews with schools inspectors revealed that they also were of the opinion that parents' positive attitudes towards English were a barrier to effective implementation of the current LIEP. The perception that it would be tough to convince parents to accept

education in the mother language was expressed by one of the schools' inspectors who pointed out:

> But the war with parents, I doubt if we will win the war with parents but of course they will see what is happening that their children will profit as time goes on. But the problem is that when now the parents will compare their children when one is doing Grade Two in the urban or ECD in the urban setting and the others are doing ECD poems or their rhymes in English and theirs in Shona then they will say Ah! No, in the rural areas there is no education because pupils are doing everything in Shona, while these ones in town do it in English. Teachers in rural areas are getting Government money for nothing because our children cannot talk in English (Zandile - Schools Inspector: 24).

Thus, all the participants in this study were generally agreed that parents' attitudes which were more positive towards English than the mother language were a hindrance towards effective implementation of the 2006 LIEP. Teachers' perceptions towards the role of English, which may be an effective barrier to mother tongue usage in education, are demonstrated in the next section.

5.5.2 Teachers' responsiveness towards the role of English

The opposing discourses towards the implementation of the LIEP, which allows mother tongue usage in education, were evident in the way almost all the teachers argued for the use of English as the language of education. Thirteen out of the fifteen teachers indicated that if they were given a choice, they would opt for English as the only language of education for various reasons, chief among them being that English was viewed as the language of communication both locally and internationally. This finding is illustrated in the following questionnaire responses from each of the three schools, which are typical of most responses:

> Advantages are that they will be able to communicate with other people and can also read other materials of importance written in English (John: QR-M: 8).

> The pupils will be able to read any information exposed to them. The pupils will also be able to communicate with people from anywhere in the world. In fact the pupils will fit well in the global community (Ruramai: QR-B: 21).

English is the best to use; limiting the pupils to Shona will hinder them in keeping in touch with information on health and other important information internationally (Rachel: QR-Z: 36).

During focus group discussions, the same role of English as a language of communication was maintained by teachers when they expressed the opinion that, for example:

> ---you find that most of the countries actually use English as the medium of communication. You would find a barrier between our pupils and even ourselves with people abroad or even within our country, you find out you go to Matebeleland they speak Ndebele and English is the medium of instruction that you would use actually when communicating with a person who uses a different language within the country (Edward: FG-M: 1).

The reason stated by one teacher who preferred using the mother tongue as the language of education was because Shona is easily understood by the pupils and it is also easy for the teacher to express himself or herself in front of the class (Jimmy: QR-Z: 36). The other participant who preferred mother tongue usage had this to say:

> I would prefer vernacular language particularly if all the people in that country share one vernacular language. Pupils understand instructions in vernacular language more easily than they do with a second language (Bishop: QR-B: 22).

The superiority of English language in Zimbabwe was further said to be evident in its use as the language used for examination purposes. Questionnaire respondents were of the opinion that the reason for justifying the use of English by the majority of the teachers was that examinations for all subjects were written in English except for ChiShona. This issue was raised by a significant number of questionnaire respondents whereby many participants stated that they were justified to favour English because of the following reasons given from each of the three schools:

> Most of the teaching business in schools is exam oriented, so teachers' concerns have to do with preparing a child who passes at the end of the course. Anything that exists out of the limits of the exams is not worth committing oneself (Jimmy: QR-Z: 39).

> Exams are set in English therefore pupils will then be able to interpret the questions. Pupils will be able to communicate internationally (Ruvimbo: QR-M: 8).

It enables pupils to learn to speak the official language which is English. The English language enables them to tackle the Zimbabwean exams at all levels since it is set in English (Bishop: QR-B: 21).

We use English because at Grade 7 exams pupils do not write exams in Shona so we have to prepare them before they face problems (Jill: QR-Z: 28).

During focus group discussions, all the participants raised the issue of examinations as one of the major reasons why teachers preferred English as the language of education. The following statements illustrate this finding, where the informants strongly argued against the use of ChiShona as the language of education as that would in no way assist learners to tackle examination questions:

I think the current language in education policy in reality if we try to take that teaching in Shona, the problem is that at the end of the seven year course why can't they set tests in Shona if they want us to teach these pupils in their mother language(John: FG-M: 3)?

---the problem is that in future, you see, the exam is set in English and English is the current official language so it does not make sense later when the exam is in English (Chipo: FG-B: 22).

If assessment is going to be done in English then it holds no value [laughter] because the pupils will even find it more difficult in converting what I will have said in Shona and change it to English in an exam, it will be difficult (Jimmy: FG-Z: 35).

Therefore, all the teachers from the three school sites were of the opinion that as long as tests and examinations were set and written in English, it was illogical to teach in the mother language and then examine candidates in English as learners would not have grasped the requisite vocabulary to enable them to tackle examination questions at the end of Grade Seven.

The other main objective for preferring English as the language of education in primary schools was evident when participants indicated that if teachers used the mother language, then learners would fail to get sufficient exposure to prepare them for English usage at secondary school level. This view was expressed by some questionnaire respondents who felt that if English is used:

Pupils will not have any problems in grasping concepts when they are at secondary level. Nowadays communication is mainly in English, so the use of English is quite important (Mukoma: QR-M: 8).

Whereas, if the mother language is used as the medium of instruction in primary schools,

It can cause challenges to the secondary school teacher since transition of English speaking through the lessons can make pupils passive (Chipo: QR-B: 24).

The issue of language challenges at secondary school level was raised at the three schools during focus group discussions. Participants felt that if the mother language is used as the medium of instruction at primary school level, it would be difficult for secondary school teachers to start teaching in English at such a late stage, since it was believed that learners need maximum exposure to the English language. The following statements are among those raised at each of the three school sites:

What I know is practice makes perfect and when practising in English they will be perfecting their understanding of the language, so if they don't practise that English, it will be difficult for them at secondary level to grasp the concepts there (Mukoma: FG-M: 7).

Since the child will be using English at secondary level, I think it's good for the strong foundation to be laid during the seven year course (Ruvimbo: FG-M: 7).

It will be difficult for the secondary school teacher to teach subjects in English which were taught in Shona at primary school level. We are facing this challenge at Grade Three because it is a transition grade from infant. Starting to learn in English at secondary level will be a problem (Ruramai: FG-B: 29).

But will the pupils fit well in secondary education if we use Shona throughout from Grade One to Seven and then English from Form One upwards? Will they be able to spell (Jimmy: FG-Z: 41)?

Remember those days when we were not doing creative writing in the primary school, pupils were failing to write compositions when they went to the secondary school. So we want to believe the use of English will help pupils to master concepts in secondary level better if they are taught in English in the primary school (Jill: FG-Z: 41).

English was also considered a popular language which is in demand in the global community because of its role in technology, a function which could not be achieved

through the use of any of the local languages (Chipo: FG-B: 27). In the same line of thinking, the following views were also raised as questionnaire responses, and also during focus group discussions:

> English is a language on demand. It enables young/old to be on the net developing skills and knowledge. The era we were brought up encourages us to know much about the world due to English (Cleopatra: QR-B: 21).

> The advantage is the popular language is currently the official one. It enables you entry into white collar jobs you see, without that you don't get there as of now (Bishop: FG-B: 27).

Thus, teachers who participated in this study argued against mother tongue use in education for reasons that English as the language of instruction was necessary for communication locally and internationally, for examination purposes and to expose learners to the language as a way of preparing them for secondary education. The perceptions of school heads, who are the local custodians of the LIEP at school level, are described in the next section.

5.5.3 School heads' responsiveness towards the role of English

All the three school heads echoed the same sentiments as those of their teachers by clearly indicating that they preferred English as the language of education rather than a LIEP which encourages mother tongue usage up to Grade Seven. For Madiro school head, she would opt for English because it is an official language which enables people to communicate locally and internationally. The superior role of English was acknowledged as follows:

> Our school would prefer to use English as a medium of instruction. The reason is that *u-m-m* we will make our pupils fit in the society well because this language is an international language so children will end up in America and Britain, where ever. They also speak and communicate easily with others. It will be easier to communicate one to one rather than using an interpreter when using our own language, so that one is an advantage as well which is OK [...] And also the teaching staff, you find that some teachers come from as far as Tsholotsho, so if they don't have that common knowledge, how are they going to teach pupils here at Madiro School without that language (SH-M: 3-4)?

The views of Madiro school head were reiterated by Zhowezha school head who claimed that the major reason for him choosing English as the language of education was that it had an advantage over the mother language, as it was a requirement for one to be formally employed and to enter institutions of higher learning. This kind of thinking is expressed in the statement below:

> The major advantage is that *u-m-m* when pupils leave school they want to be employed formally; they want to go to universities and colleges. They can't go to those important places of their lives without having passed the English language, so they need to exercise speaking it and they need to pass it and need to know it fully in depth because they will need it in future for their careers (SH-Z: 15).

Whereas the other two school heads indicated that they strictly wanted English as the only language of education, the school head for Bush expressed a slightly different position by stating that although he valued English, he would accommodate codeswitching where learners encountered problems in comprehending difficult concepts taught in English. This finding is illustrated in the following statement where he stated:

> I would prefer the vernacular where it is hard to understand concepts, I mean I prefer codeswitching. The advantages are that the teacher will find a way of making pupils understand because the idea is for them to understand, not to confuse them (SH-B: 10).

The indication from the school heads' responses is that they generally prefer the use of English as the language of education, contrary to the demands of the 2006 LIEP which is supposed to be currently in use. Related to school heads as local supervisors, are schools' inspectors who assess teachers' performances and write reports as supervisors from the District office. It was therefore prudent to seek their perceptions on the role of English as described below.

5.5.4 Schools inspectors' responsiveness

Schools' inspectors in this study claimed that English was so important that implementing a policy that recommended mother tongue usage up to Grade Seven was an unviable proposition to them. English hegemony in today's Zimbabwe was

expressed by Zandile, who strongly felt that English was indispensable for teachers to enter universities to obtain degrees and subsequently to get promotion to posts of responsibility in the education sector. This finding is illustrated below:

> Teachers want to be promoted, they want to advance. One cannot enter the university, now there are so many universities which have mushroomed in this country; one has got to advance oneself. You have to grow and grow professionally at universities but without English, how can you enter the university? So these are some of the major barriers that they cannot implement it because people want to advance (Zandile - Schools Inspector: 22).

In addition, Zandile was of the opinion that school heads and teachers preferred teaching to be conducted in English because of their experiences in 1988 when candidates were allowed to enrol at teachers' colleges without English. The decision was rescinded only a few years later when every qualified teacher who did not have 'O' Level English was now required to write and pass English language for promotion purposes. According to Zandile, teachers learnt the importance of English the hard way, by walking long distances to attend English lessons when some of them were already old men and women. Hence, English was viewed as superior and a barrier to the implementation of the LIEP because of:

> ---what once happened as I have already said that the same teachers who were allowed to enter tertiary without English, they were asked now to obtain English language on their certificates and very old women and men found themselves now attending lessons in the afternoon at the nearby central schools in the rural areas so that they can write and so that they can have the English language as a subject, as a requirement because for now you cannot be promoted. Teachers are facing this dilemma, that's why you find that these Headmasters themselves they have seen it all (Zandile - Schools Inspector: 22).

Zandile was of the opinion that the Government contradicted itself by changing goal posts, thereby causing confusion with regard to teachers' confidence in the mother tongue as the language of education (Zandile - Schools Inspector: 26).

With regards to teaching in the mother language up to the end of the primary school, Zandile rejected such a policy, claiming that English was important for learners as it would enable them to pass subjects in the curriculum. She, however, indicated that she preferred the 1987 LIEP amended in 1994 whereby English would be gradually

introduced while pupils learn in their mother language up to Grade Three. This view is reflected in the following statement:

> So on this one of 1994, I really support it that up to Grade 3 all subjects should be taught in the mother tongue but English should be introduced here and there for the vocabulary of the child […] From Grade Four up to Grade Seven all subjects should be taught in English except Shona or the mother tongue only because it is a requirement. English is a requirement everywhere, English is a requirement. If you need to pass Science you must understand English, if you need to pass Mathematics you should understand English (Zandile – Schools' Inspector: 22-23).

Mombo, the second schools' inspector categorically shot down the idea of using the mother tongue as the sole language of education up to Grade Seven. He thought the idea was a non-starter because he believed that learners would not benefit from learning in the mother tongue as they would not be in a position to answer examination questions. This idea is revealed in the statement below where he argued that:

> As for the use of the mother tongue as the sole language of education up to Grade Seven, I totally disagree with that because right now when it is not being fully implemented we are seeing the effects. Children don't master concepts, they cannot express themselves and it will be worse when it comes to exams. They will not be able to attack questions, they will not be able to express or to answer questions meaningfully because their level of understanding will be very low (Mombo – Schools' Inspector: 28).

English was therefore viewed as a superior language by schools' inspectors in this study because they believe that it enables learners to answer examination questions and it is a requirement for promotion purposes and for individuals to be enrolled at institutions of higher learning.

All the three categories of participants in this study, namely, teachers, school heads and schools' inspectors claimed that English had to be maintained as the language of education in primary schools because of its superior role for examination purposes, preparing learners for secondary education and subsequent access to tertiary institutions as well as acquisition of good jobs later on in life. English was also viewed as a superior language of communication locally and internationally, as it enabled the learners to get white collar jobs upon completion of their studies. The expected reaction

of learners, who are the direct beneficiaries of the intended LIEP, were sought from teachers and school heads as described in the next section.

5.5.5 Learners' perceived reactions

In this category, I report on what teachers and school heads perceived to be the reaction of learners in the case of implementing a mother tongue LIEP up to Grade Seven. Teachers in this study were of the opinion that learners held English in high regard. This finding emanated from teachers' questionnaire responses where thirteen of the fifteen teachers alleged that pupils were not likely to accept such a LIEP. According to the majority of teachers in this study, if the mother language was used as the sole medium of education, learners would think that the teachers were incompetent hence they would not take education seriously. The position that learners would look down upon a teacher who uses the mother language in education was illustrated in the following statements which were typical of many such responses:

> Pupils will not accept the use of ChiShona since it will even be difficult for the teacher to teach in Shona all the subjects (Mukoma: QR-M: 9).

> Pupils will think that the teacher is not literate enough to deliver lessons in English (John: QR-M: 10).

> They will be bored and they will not participate fully during the lesson (Sonika: QR-B: 24).

> They may have a negative attitude towards the teacher, thinking that he/she cannot use English. They won't be eager to learn (Svosvai: QR-Z: 38).

Similar sentiments were raised during focus group discussions when it was felt that learners loved English so much that they would get bored if the mother language becomes the sole language of education. This finding is evident in the following ideas which came up during focus group discussions at two of the schools where teachers expressed the following views:

> I think if we can also look on the part of the child, I think the child will develop negative attitudes towards learning. Learning everything in Shona? It will be monotonous, boring (Ruvimbo: FG-M: 13).

Tinoreva kuti vana vanonyanya kufarira English saka ikazongoramba yangova Shona naShona unoona kuti vana vava kutobhowekana. **Translation:** We mean that children mainly like English so if Shona is used continuously you would see that children, the learners will get bored [Laughter] (Ruramai: FG-B: 27).

The two teachers who felt that learners would welcome such a policy believed that it would enhance the learners' understanding of difficult concepts which are taught in the second language. This idea is expressed in the following statements from questionnaire responses:

> There is likelihood that pupils will overwhelmingly accept the move because they have difficulties in grasping a lot of concepts (Jimmy: QR-Z: 38).

> I think they will enjoy it since it enhances better comprehension of concepts. English is a barrier to their understanding since it is a second language (Bishop: QR-B: 24).

According to two school heads, if the 2006 LIEP is implemented, the reaction of learners would just be like those of their parents as they also would not value education in the mother language. This kind of thinking was expressed by the school head of Madiro, who indicated that learners believed in the worth of English more than the home language when she strongly said:

> I don't think they would appreciate it, I don't think they would take it up as a good policy as such because they also want to learn other languages, even other languages like Ndebele or whatever. So their own language I don't think they would take it […]. They have a negative attitude towards their own language, yes, they don't feel it is a good language because once you learn in English you can communicate with someone in America in which everyone wants to go there and talk with those white people, you see (SH-M: 3; 6).

Likewise the school head for Zhowezha also pointed out that the mother language was not favoured by learners as they would rather be associated with the English language which they were struggling to master. This finding is demonstrated in the statement below:

> The learners may be having problems in actually using the language effectively. They may not be eloquent as they wish to be but really they also love the language and they will do their best to be associated with English even when they converse outside school hours, outside school premises. At times they try to

converse in English, broken English of course, which means they really like it (SH-Z: 15).

I interpreted the fact that learners wanted to be associated with a language which they were not good at, to be evidence that they really took English to be a superior language which they loved to speak at all costs.

As for the school head for Bush, he expressed a directly opposite view pertaining to what he perceived to be the reaction of learners if the mother tongue policy was implemented. According to him, learners would actually celebrate such a move since they faced problems in comprehending concepts that were taught in English:

> As far as the learners, from my experience as a Head when I supervise, you find the learners feel more at home when the teacher teaches them in Shona. In English there is a bit of a problem there, so they will actually accept it hundred percent (SH-B: 10).

The majority of the teachers and school heads in this study were of the opinion that learners looked down upon their mother language while a few believed that education in the home language would be a welcome move for learners.

Results indicated that participants in this study were generally of the belief that English hegemony is evident in the perceived behaviour of primary school pupils who displayed a liking for English more than they valued the home language as the language of education.

In this theme, persistent English hegemony was displayed by all the participants in this study, as evident from their perceptions which point to their preference of English as the language of education contrary to the recommendation of the current LIEP of 2006. The negative attitudes towards mother tongue usage in education are reviewed under the following theme.

5.6 THEME FOUR: NEGATIVE ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE MOTHER TONGUE

In this theme, I report on participants' responses pertaining to their attitudes towards the mother tongue as the language of education. Two categories emerged from this theme,

namely negative attitudes which were viewed as being caused by the low status of the mother tongue; and those attitudes considered to be emanating from the influence of colonialism.

5.6.1 Negative attitudes due to the low status of the mother language

Whereas English was viewed as a superior language in terms of its instrumental value, the mother language was considered of no benefit to the primary school pupils and to the community at large. As a result of its low status, participants believed that the use of the mother language in education is currently not relevant and consequently, they even failed to appreciate the role of the first language in the teaching and learning of primary school pupils.

Fourteen out of fifteen questionnaire respondents were of the opinion that the 2006 policy was not relevant. The argument that came out prominently was that the mother language could not play the key role of wider communication, along with the opinion by many participants that the LIEP would be responsible for lowering the standards of education. These findings are illustrated in the following statements which represent many such views expressed by participants in questionnaires:

> The use of ChiShona only will be a drawback to our education system especially to some of the children who will get a chance to learn in other nations (Tanaka: QR-M: 11).

> The use of ChiShona only will marginalise pupils and they will fit in only Zimbabwe and not anywhere else (Ruramai: QR-B: 24).

> Use of ChiShona betrays the nation. Our children will be backward and will not be suitable to expose themselves to other nations (Cleopatra: QR-B: 24).

> Limiting teaching and learning activities to ChiShona only may not fully prepare them in life. Education is about learning new things and that includes learning a new language (Rachel: QR-Z: 39).

> It will lower the standards of education since one will be confined to one place, unable to communicate within and outside the country (Ruvimbo: QR-M: 10).

For some respondents, the policy was not relevant as the Government had done nothing in terms of raising the status of the indigenous languages, for example:

> I think the policy is not relevant because nothing has been changed to suit the policy, for instance the official language, Examination Council, textbook matters, etc. (Bishop: QR-B: 24).

> The examinations at National level in Grade Seven are written in English, so it's no use teaching in the language not tested (Tanaka: QR-M: 7).

Almost all the questionnaire respondents demonstrated their unwillingness to teach in the mother tongue mainly because it was not a universal language used for wider communication, hence they believed that the standards of education would be negatively affected.

It emerged during focus group discussions at Zhowezha and Madiro that the relevance of the policy was viewed as questionable in a situation where the status of the mother tongue remained low, as illustrated below:

> As long as assessment is done in English we should teach in English, as long as that final assessment is done in English it won't be relevant (Topi: FG-Z: 42).

> I think it will take a very long time to be implemented because it was passed in 2006 and now it's 2013 and we are not even aware, not to mention the resources, availability of resources, so I think it will take time to be implemented but if ever it will be implemented, so currently it's not relevant (Tanaka: FG-M: 17).

Only one questionnaire respondent was positive on the relevance of the policy which encourages mother tongue usage in education when he said:

> The policy is very relevant. In fact it's only Zimbabwe and a few other countries that are shunning their indigenous languages following the dictates and prescriptions of their so called colonial masters. It's high time we take pride in our culture (Jimmy: QR-Z: 37).

Thus, the majority of teachers in this study viewed the current LIEP as irrelevant as it would contribute towards the lowering of standards whereas nothing is being done to uplift the status of the mother language. Consequently, teachers did not see the need

for introducing the mother tongue policy as its success was doubted due to the status of the mother language which remained low.

Further evidence of negative attitudes towards the use of the mother language in education was made apparent when almost all the questionnaire respondents indicated that they were not prepared to teach in the mother language even if learners faced challenges when lessons are conducted in English. The following statements from each school represent what was said by the majority of teachers in acknowledging challenges in using English as the medium of instruction:

> A number of children in rural schools do not understand English so at times you are forced to switch to mother language (Tanaka: QR-M: 7).

> The recipients find it very difficult to comprehend English as the medium of instruction. Perhaps it's because of the rural environment where they come from. Very little English is spoken at home (Bishop: QR-B: 21).

> Pupils in rural areas lack exposure and as a result their mastery of the language is hindered and as teachers we tend to elaborate difficult concepts in mother tongue (Rachel: QR-Z: 35).

Similarly, focus group discussions clearly highlighted the issue of challenges that teachers face when teaching rural school learners in English as a second language. The following statements represent the thinking of many of the teachers who participated at the three schools:

> ---they will not understand you what you want to say to them. They will just stare and look at you until you appear to be stupid then you have to come back again in order for you to be in line with them, that is when you need to speak in Shona (John: FG-M: 12).

> English is a second language we are not very conversant with, which is why we don't use English throughout. We chip into Shona here and there you see, because it is also a challenge even to us. It is a second language and obviously there are obvious challenges when you learn a second language, *u-m-m* so we also face challenges. With the learner, it's worse now because of the environment. In other environments yes, where it is spoken but in our case where the child learns it the day he comes to school then you start from point A and face a challenge (Bishop: FG-B: 29).

> Most of the time you tend to be just talking to yourself and pupils do not enjoy when they do not understand. They feel bored and some may even play truant because they are afraid of this language, the L2, yes (Rachel: FG-Z: 39).

Thus, it is clear from the above excerpts that learners struggle to understand concepts taught in a foreign language. Since English is a second language, it was also viewed as a challenge even for teachers who reverted to the mother language to express themselves better. Since some teachers were viewed as facing difficulties in expressing themselves when teaching in English, using the first language as the medium of instruction was regarded as an opportunity to alleviate such a challenge as:

> (a) Teachers will not encounter any difficulties in putting across concepts because some teachers have a poor command of the English language. (b) To some extent it helps pupils on concept mastery (Topi: QR-Z: 37).

Whereas learners face challenges when learning in English, all the teachers in this study acknowledged the fact that they understand better when the mother language is used for teaching and learning in primary schools. The arguments put forward were that learning in the first language is vital as it makes communication between the teacher and pupils easy. This finding is revealed in the following statements which are typical of those expressed by many questionnaire respondents from each of the three schools:

> (a) Easy communication between the teacher and pupils. (b) It will be to their advantage because the children will understand most of the concepts taught (Ruvimbo: QR-M: 9).

> It makes explanation of concepts easy and makes learning and teaching environment conducive (Chipo: QR-B: 23).

> (a) My instructions will be easily understood by my class. It is not very taxing when it comes to the nitty-gritty of English language when trying to express myself. It is easily understood by the pupils. (b) It brings the whole learning process closer to the pupils' world and making the process enjoyable (Jimmy: QR-Z: 37).

However, it appears that when teachers indicated that the first language is important in learning, they meant when it is used for code-switching as exemplified by one participant's response in the questionnaire and another during focus group discussions as follows:

Using ChiShona may help the teacher in elaborating some concepts to make pupils understand. Switching to L1 may help pupils in rural areas to understand some difficult concepts but it does not have to be ChiShona throughout the lesson (Rachel: QR-Z: 38).

There is no point of continuing teaching in English when the pupils do not get what you are trying to put across. So there is need now to use the mother language for the pupils to understand but not all the instructions in Shona, but most if not all the instructions to be used in English then when the pupils do not show any understanding then that's when you have to use their mother language (Mukoma: FG-M: 3).

Despite the challenges that learners face when lessons are conducted in English, and the fact that they master content easily when it is presented in the mother tongue, the majority of the teachers indicated that if they were given a choice, they would still opt for English than the mother tongue as the language of education. The grounds for preferring English ranged from, for example, examination purposes (Ruvimbo: QR-M: 8), and further education (Tanaka: QR-M: 8). Therefore, due to the low status of indigenous languages, findings indicate that participants in this study did not give due consideration to the importance of the mother language in education.

The gravity of negative attitudes towards use of the mother language was made loud and clear when many teachers indicated that even if textbooks and syllabi were translated into the mother language, they were still not prepared to teach in the mother tongue as the only language of education. Fourteen out of the fifteen teachers who participated in the study indicated their unwillingness to implement the current LIEP, with four arguing that they would only implement a mother tongue policy upon being forced by the policy-makers. Reasons for unwillingness to implement a mother tongue policy mainly centred on the fact that these teachers did not believe that the mother language had the capacity to be the language of education. Below are statements from each of the three schools, which illustrate typical questionnaire responses by many who showed lack of faith in the mother language even if relevant educational materials were made available. They indicated their unwillingness by declaring that:

I won't be willing to teach all subjects in Shona since it will be difficult to carry out experiments, name ingredients in Shona and explain most of the concepts. Other English words cannot be explained in Shona (Ruvimbo: QR-M: 11).

I wouldn't like that because later in life the pupils whom we teach might find themselves working outside the country where the vernacular language would not be spoken. They will find difficulties in communication (Bishop: QR-B: 25).

It is not very challenging and educative to dwell on ChiShona only. Some terms are better explained in English (Rachel: QR-Z: 40)

During focus group discussions, it became apparent that teachers had negative attitudes and did not believe that their home language had the capability of becoming a language of education. Below are examples of explanations given during focus group discussions at Madiro by such participants who expressed their unwillingness to implement a mother tongue policy even if educational materials were all translated into the first language by declaring that:

I will not be willing. Perhaps those people who will be there some time would be willing. I am a person of my time, let's not forget that we are people of our time and we don't know about the next generation. [...] At this present moment we are using English and if we say abruptly we start to adjust to something you see, a hot iron if you just throw it into the water, in cold water, you know what happens, you see bubbles that means disaster will occur, due to that sudden change (Edward: FG-M: 20).

As I have already said, it will be monotonous. I will not be willing because teaching all subjects in just one language from morning up to evening ah! I don't think I would be willing (John: FG-M: 20).

Similar sentiments were held by school heads with regard to their reaction to policy implementation if all books were translated into the mother language. The school heads for Madiro and Zhowezha expressed their concerns that a mother tongue policy up to Grade Seven would not be readily accepted and would probably take a very long time to be put into practice. These sentiments are marked in the statements below where the two School Heads declared:

Right, it will be very difficult for us because first of all you need to have the information, so you need to go through all the textbooks, that's the challenge that we will have. You need to read all of them before you go to the pupils, which is a hectic exercise. It's not easy because you need to read books one by one before

you go to teach. Yes we may accept it but it's difficult to implement, it will be difficult for us. As a policy we cannot reject it, we take it as it is but it will be very difficult (SH-M: 4-5).

That may take long and a lot of debate, a lot of arguments and *u-m-m* a lot of indifference. People really may not be prepared in a short time to accept that or to use that Shona as solely a medium of instruction because of the points I mentioned that it will take a very long time, maybe decades, to change to that. For now no, no (SH-Z: 16).

It is evident from the above verbatim reports that due to negative attitudes towards the use of the mother language if the policy were to be enforced, then the school heads would not willingly implement it.

The school head for Bush expressed similar concern over some conservative teachers and administrators in the education sector, whose negative attitudes towards the use of the mother tongue might act as barriers to the implementation of the current LIEP. However, he indicated that as an individual he would willingly implement a LIEP which allows the mother language to be used in education up to Grade Seven, if books and syllabi were translated, as that would be an advantage to learners. He presented his thoughts as follows:

I would advocate for that if I had the powers to do so because like I said I take my role model in the world as China, where learners are taught in Chinese and you can see that the level of their development even at primary schools is quite unique. So to do the same and translate all the syllabi and all the textbooks into the vernacular I'm sure all our pupils learn from the known to the unknown, now they already know Shona, so if we continue teaching them in Shona, we produce very good graduates in the long run, that's my own view(SH-B: 11).

Winding up the question of negative attitudes towards implementing a mother tongue policy, both the school head for Madiro and schools' inspector Mombo aptly summarised by saying:

So we don't value our own language, so attitudes from the parents, the pupils, from the teachers and even from the Head is an obstacle. Then if the Head has an attitude and pupils have an attitude you know there is no learning which will take place (SH-M: 6).

Well, we cannot run away from the aspect of attitudes. It affects, I think *u-m-m* the level of Heads and Inspectors or right across the board (Mombo - Schools Inspector: 29).

Participants in this study were also of the opinion that if pupils learnt in the mother language at primary school level, then their chances of learning English would be compromised. This idea was stated by one participant who claimed that:

This will close their chances of learning the other language and they might find it difficult to interact with other people who might be speaking English later in life (Bishop: QR-B: 24).

Negative attitudes due to low status were further made evident when participants proclaimed that the mother language did not have the capacity to render someone employable. These views were raised during focus group discussions at Madiro and Zhowezha, as demonstrated below where teachers felt that:

---when you want to have a course, you want to do a certain profession or you don't have a skill in something you must have English. They don't really think of introducing Shona as to be one of the subjects to be passed when you want to go for a certain skill or for a certain profession. They want English, so without that English then that child is in the dark and will never get anywhere --- (Mukoma: FG-M: 7).

I think teaching in Shona maybe will side-line the pupils we will be teaching because the industry side will say we want English, we want Science, we want Mathematics whereas you taught them in Shona and they are able to communicate in Shona. Whatever they are doing will be in Shona so they will not go anywhere, they will be marginalized (Jimmy FG-Z: 44).

They won't benefit from the mother tongue just because you find out *u-m-m* without English, the gates or the avenues are closed for the child for the whole life. You may pass any other subjects but you find out if you fail English, the future is very difficult for the child. It is the gateway, the door will be closed for the child and the world would ignore the child [...]. English is very important because it is the gateway to whatever you want to do in life. Even if you do not want to be employed, with English you are able to earn a living (John: FG-M: 5).

During the individual interview with the school head for Madiro, she echoed the teachers' sentiments on the lack of power by the local languages to afford someone employment opportunities when she proclaimed:

If you go to South Africa and look for a job you cannot communicate with those people because you do not know their language. So this one as an international language will make them fit in the society very well [...] When you are looking for a job, you don't speak Shona and say '*ndauya kuzotsvaka basa'* (I have come to look for a job). It is English throughout, *utaridze kuti uri munhu wakadini, wakainda kuchikoro* (to show that you are a person who went to school), English is very important (SH-M: 6).

The question of negative attitudes due to the low status of indigenous languages has therefore been spelt out in this category where participants clearly declared that the policy on the use of the mother language was not relevant. Negative attitudes were found to be caused by participants' beliefs that the mother language had no capacity to be the language of education; that examinations were not written in the mother language; those without English would not be employable; and that learning in the mother language would hinder the individuals from learning the English language. Even if learners understood better only when concepts were explained in the home language, the majority of teachers strongly felt that they were not prepared to take up a mother tongue policy in primary schools. According to teachers, school heads and schools' inspectors, these negative attitudes towards the mother language came about as a result of postcolonial effects, a concept described in the next section.

5.6.2 Negative attitudes due to colonial effects

In this category, I account for participants' views regarding the impact of colonialism on their beliefs and attitudes towards mother tongue use in education. Beginning with parents, their negative attitudes due to colonial influence was exposed by one questionnaire respondent who argued that:

I think parents shun the use of the mother tongue in the education of primary school children because colonialism has taught them that English is superior to vernacular since it enhances entry into white collar jobs (Bishop: QR-B: 23).

Teachers' negative sentiments were expressed during focus group discussions when participants portrayed awareness that colonialism had influenced their way of thinking as illustrated below:

---I think it is colonial. Suppose we were not colonised by the British, we were not going to use English as our official language, perhaps we were going to use that language which the coloniser was using. So if we take for example in Europe, their first language is English and their examination is written in their vernacular you see. You go to Britain today their first language is English, their examination is in English. If you go to Japan they use their vernacular to write their exams. So it is also possible for us to use our vernacular to write our exams, so perhaps because of our colonial history, we are taking English as superior to other languages you see, that is why *u-m-m* it is the effects of our colonialism (Bishop: FG-B: 25).

---Those guys who are advanced in technology, the Chinese and the Japanese whatever, they are teaching their children in the mother language, they are not teaching them in English and they are so advanced. Yet here in Zimbabwe we are cocooned into using this English which is not even ours, our minds are still colonized [Laughter] (Tanaka: FG-M: 13).

Like what I said before, you would find that if we continue to use our language we would be a bit primitive because colonialism has got impact on the systems of education in every country not only Zimbabwe whereby you find most of the countries in the world, they use English so you find if we debar our children to practice the language we will be backward you see (Edward: FG-M: 7).

Thus, colonial effects were seen as a challenge for many postcolonial countries, including Zimbabwe, which now regards English as a superior language. For John, these colonial effects were viewed as impacting on those in the top echelons of power who no longer entertain their home language even for communication within families. This point was made known during a focus group discussion when he asserted that:

Even from the top, no one is prepared to speak in Shona. How can they encourage us to speak in Shona while those people from the top are no longer interested to speak in Shona? Even their children when they come from school they don't want to hear them speaking in Shona in their own houses (John: FG-M: 10).

In a similar manner, all the school heads also expressed the views that colonialism had taken its toll on the beliefs of people in Zimbabwe. Products of the colonial system took pride in being associated with the English language as compared to the mother language, thereby making it difficult for them to accept the first language as the sole medium of instruction in primary schools. The thinking of each of the school heads was demonstrated as follows:

Looking down *u-m-m* I think it's because we have been colonized, our language and everything due to colonialism. You find that we ended up not valuing ourselves, our languages and our culture (SH-M: 3).

Being a former colony of Britain, I feel we have been using English as the medium of instruction for too long and that is the major reason why people are generally proud to be associated with the English more than any other language in Zimbabwe, including the parents (SH-Z: 15).

It will take a long time for all those people to change because some are conservative, some *u-m-m* may buy the idea but how to implement it for such conservative people it might become a barrier [...]. We have our old teachers we have in our system who are still around and then administrators as well, we might have some conservative administrators at school level and district level (SH-B: 12).

The schools' inspectors also voiced their concerns towards the effects of colonialism as represented by Zandile's analysis that:

---mentally we were colonized, together with our parents even today. As I have said earlier that on Parents' Day when an ECD child recites an English poem everyone jumps up in the air happily, the mother picks up the child. Colonially, we were colonised and we think English is the best. When you can speak English you are learned (Zandile - Schools Inspector: 23).

To stress her point on how colonialism had negatively impacted on individuals to an extent that they looked down upon their own language, Zandile gave an example of her experience with a certain lady who had majored in ChiShona at university but was not willing to disclose that she had a degree in an African language. She therefore hid her certificates when she became a school head and pretended that she held a Bachelor of Science degree. This experience was described as follows:

I know a certain lady who has a BA in Shona. This was obtained in 1978 at the University of Rhodesia [...]. But when the Ministry said every Head should bring her qualifications, she proclaimed that all her certificates were lost, were stolen, she is to apply to get her certificates from the UZ but orally she says she is a BSc teacher. This shows that even at her school she is not helpful to the Department of Shona because herself, an educated person, she is so shameful that she is a Shona teacher. So how can it be implemented even at primary level (Zandile - Schools Inspector: 23)?

I interpreted the reaction described above, where an educated individual did not want to be associated with her major subject at university, to be a clear indication of negative attitudes towards the mother language.

In this theme, it is apparent that teachers, school heads and schools' inspectors were conscious that given the negative attitudes towards the mother language, the 2006 LIEP was not relevant. Due to the low status of the indigenous languages, learning through them was viewed as contributing towards lowering of standards in the education sector. These local languages were therefore regarded as of no value to the education of a child and subsequently in the future world of formal employment in white collar jobs. Teachers indicated that learners faced challenges when they are taught in English, and that they understand concepts better when lessons are conducted in the mother language. As a result of the low status of the mother language as well as beliefs and attitudes associated with the influence of colonialism, teachers indicated that given a choice, they were still not prepared to take up the mother language policy in primary schools, even if educational materials were translated into the indigenous languages. To further explore reasons for implementation failure, teachers were asked to express their concerns and fears in implementing the LIEP, as described below.

5.7 THEME FIVE: CONCERNS AND FEARS OF TEACHERS

In this theme, I report on what participants viewed as teachers' concerns and fears pertaining to the implementation of a policy which encourages mother tongue use in teaching and learning up to the end of the primary school. Three categories which emerged from this theme are: low levels of teacher self-confidence; decline of standards; and high failure rate at Grade Seven level.

5.7.1 Low levels of self-confidence

In this category, I give an account of what participants regarded as their level of confidence towards implementing a policy which proposes use of the mother tongue as

the language of education up to Grade Seven. Four sub-categories emerged from the position held by teacher participants with regard to their lack of confidence, and these are: lack of training; challenges of translation; limited knowledge of policy requirements; and that some terms are cultural taboos when stated in the home language of the learner. These sub-categories are presented in the sections below.

5.7.1.1 Lack of training

Lack of relevant training was viewed as a major reason why teachers lacked confidence in using the mother language when teaching. These views are represented in the following examples from questionnaire responses:

> Not very confident because I was trained using English and taught using English. Using Shona will be like teaching old dog new tricks. I will take time to adopt and some terms will be difficult for me to explain (Ruramai: QR-B: 19).

> Am not confident since am not trained to teach in ChiShona (Rachel: QR-Z: 19).

The above concerns were reiterated during focus group discussions when participants declared their lack of self-confidence because they had not received any relevant training to equip them with knowledge and skills to implement the LIEP. Cleopatra actually proposed that for teachers to have confidence, training had to be undertaken over a long period of time, "Not refresher courses, they are short term, training for a long period not refresher courses" (Cleoptra: FG-B: 26). The following responses represent many such concerns that came up from informants at each of the three schools:

> In fact confidence comes when somebody is well versed in a certain thing. You cannot get confidence when you do not know something (Mukoma: FG-M: 19).

> I support the first two speakers. If we got training yes we can manage to teach in the vernacular language because we will be equipped. We will be able to teach especially the other subjects like the science subjects, content subjects and especially mathematics because it's not easy to teach mathematical concepts in Shona but if you are trained to do that you can manage (Sonika: FG-B: 26).

> Currently I am not very confident, I am not yet equipped. Maybe with syllabus interpretation and some key terms in the mother language, yes, so that I grasp them first before imparting to the children (Jimmy: FG-Z: 43).

Thus, teachers believed that given adequate training, they would be in a better position to teach using the mother language. All the school heads in this study concurred with teachers' concerns as they also expressed that their teachers had not received any form of training to enable them to implement a mother tongue policy. This finding is demonstrated in the school heads' interview responses where they all lamented lack of training for teachers in order for them to gain the knowledge and skills necessary for implementing the 2006 LIEP (SH-M: 2; SH-B: 9; SH-Z: 14). The following statement represents the thinking of the School Heads whereby the school head for Madiro suggested that it was paramount for the Government to provide training for the successful implementation of the current policy when she argued:

> ---Then the teachers themselves, they also have a negative attitude and it will be a barrier. If you look at the type of training that we got from the colleges, does it mean that we have to be trained again in order to take up this policy because we were trained under the English language policy as a medium of instruction? Our colleges were trained to take up English as a medium of instruction, to teach in English, so it means we have to go back to the college and maybe get training. So that one is another barrier, the training that we got does not cater for that (SH-M: 5).

Thus, responses from all teachers and all the school heads in this study confirmed that teachers had not received any form of relevant training to empower them to implement the LIEP of 2006 and hence, it was felt that such kind of training was crucial for the success of the current policy.

5.7.1.2 The challenge of translation
The majority of the participants in this study stated that they were not confident to implement the LIEP because they did not have the capacity to translate concepts since all the textbooks are written in English. Questionnaire responses indicated that participants displayed their incompetence in translating concepts from English to the

mother language. The following reasons represent many such responses given by participants from the three schools:

> It will be difficult to teach in ChiShona as other subjects are not written in ChiShona. There are other words which you cannot find in ChiShona (Mukoma QR-M: 7).
> It will be very difficult to teach all subjects in Shona because some English words have no proper Shona words (Sonika: QR-B: 19).

> The syllabi for other subjects have to be written in ChiShona if the policy is enforced, so that teachers cannot translate English to ChiShona (Jill: QR-Z: 39).

> ChiShona lacks vocabulary in almost all other subjects and as a teacher explaining concepts in ChiShona always won't be easy. Pupils need to be challenged with suitable vocabulary, concepts, etc (Rachel: QR-Z: 34)

Similar sentiments were raised during focus group discussions at all the three schools where teachers emphasised their fears pertaining to how they would translate concepts from English to the mother language on their own, for example, scientific concepts such as 'pollination' (Tanaka FG-M: 12) and photosynthesis (Cleopatra: FG-B: 25) without actually distorting the meaning of the terms. Although many such concerns were raised, only the following examples were taken for illustrative purposes:

> And you find out that some of the subjects like Science, Mathematics, *u-m-m* probably Physics, do not have terms that can be used to rate facts that are supposed to be put across in that particular subject, for example oxygen we can say 'mweya' but if it comes to photosynthesis we can not *u-m-m* it's impossible to get a word that is suitable. We will be manufacturing words and we will take years to make that one implementable [laughter]. Yes, it will be very difficult (Edward: QR-M: 2).

> ---It will be hard to teach other subjects in Shona because there are some words which are in English which might be very difficult to translate them into Shona. As a result we will develop a very backward community. If we are to look at the world as it is, English is a language which must be known in order to communicate with others (Ruramai: FG-B: 22).

> Maybe the first challenge is that of limited vocabulary to explain some concepts for example Environmental Science. Concepts like transpiration, you would end up maybe distorting the concept (Topi: FG-Z: 40).

> When we code-switch we will be elaborating difficult concepts. If there is no vocabulary on Mathematical terms in Shona that will be the barrier for me to explain those other concepts (Rachel: FG-Z: 37).

The school head for Bush echoed the sentiments of teachers pertaining to challenges that schools may face when teaching is conducted in the mother language in the absence of properly translated vocabulary for use. He argued by asking:

> Right, like I said there are certain concepts in subjects like social science, environmental science, how are they going to be translated into the vernacular? Concepts like photosynthesis, soil erosion, all those key words, how are they going to be translated into the vernacular since no dictionary in vernacular exists? You find they actually borrow from English certain words and put them in parenthesis (SH-B: 12).

Although many teacher participants lamented challenges in teaching in the mother language, one participant felt that he was competent to teach in the learners' first language but then said he was frustrated because examinations were in English. Hence, the view that he saw no logic of implementing the LIEP was clarified when he argued:

> I may be confident to do that but as long as exams are set in English, it makes no sense to teach in ChiShona all subjects up to Grade 7 (Bishop: QR-B: 19).

Participants were generally agreed that teaching in the mother tongue would be a daunting task for teachers, since they would be expected to translate concepts from English to the mother language. The situation was worsened by the fact that teachers were not aware of ChiShona dictionaries which they could consult for accuracy of terms.

5.7.1.3 Limited knowledge on policy requirements

Teachers indicated that they lacked knowledge of the policy requirements, hence they could not put into practice what they did not know. This concern was revealed during focus group discussions at Madiro and Zhowezha where all the participants expressed that they had low self-confidence in implementing a mother tongue policy simply because they were not aware of the provisions of the current LIEP, for example (Tanaka: FG-M: 18; Svosvai: FG-Z: 43; Jill: FG-Z: 43). This finding is exposed in the following statements which are typical of many such responses:

Personally myself I am not confident with the policy because I am even illiterate about the policy myself, therefore I cannot just lead people from the unknown to the known (John: FG-M: 18).

We have not been made aware of this document so we cannot say we are confident of something we don't know much about (Topi: FG-Z: 43).

I know nothing about the policy. Since we are not aware of the policy, including the administration, perhaps it's not aware of this policy.We are adopting it now from you in this room. Now you would find *u-m-m* adaptation yes we agree to implement but the people who are outside, I am talking about some of our teachers who are outside they have no idea. Even our headmistress, she has no idea about the policy. So you would find out that we would be fitting a square peg in a round hole by saying the policy can be implemented. It is very difficult to implement what you do not know (Edward: FG-M: 4).

Therefore, teachers lacked confidence to use the mother language in the primary schools because they were unsure of the stipulations of the policy and such lack of knowledge made them feel inadequate and hence disempowered. Another aspect which made teachers uncomfortable to teach in the mother language was the issue of cultural taboos as described in the next section.

5.7.1.4 C*ultural taboos*

It emerged in this study that some teachers said they lacked confidence in teaching in the mother language due to cultural reasons. They stated that it was taboo to mention names of reproductive organs in ChiShona. This finding came out in questionnaire responses as illustrated below:

I am not confident enough to teach in ChiShona as there are words we can't pronounce to pupils (John: QR-M: 6).

I can be confident to teach in Shona up to Grade 7 but I will have many challenges since some items will sound more vulgar when explaining them in Shona (Ruvimbo: QR-M: 6).

During focus group discussions at all the three schools, it was also revealed by participants that it was difficult for teachers to name some body parts in the home language. Teaching in English was therefore regarded as an advantage because:

> In vernacular language there are some concepts which cannot be taught in Shona. For example the topic on reproduction, you cannot code-switch. *Haiiti* (It's impossible) [laughter]. Sometimes we can say vernacular language is good because children understand but some topics a-a-h it is difficult (Sonika: FG-B: 29).

> Some words in topics like the reproductive system cannot be said in Shona but in English because they will be vulgar (Svosvai: FG-Z: 40).

> ---there are other Shona words which you cannot explain clearly to the pupils, anenge otosvodesa (they become vulgar) but if you say them in English there is nothing wrong [---] especially in ES (Environmental Science) during reproduction (Ruvimbo: FG-M: 8).

In concurring with the issue that was raised pertaining to the fact that some terms become vulgar when stated in the mother language, John added that, "*It will be a taboo, yes, culturally*" (John: FG-M: 8).

According to the excerpts above, teachers lacked confidence to teach in the mother language because in the Zimbabwean African culture adults cannot name some body parts in the presence of the youths.

Therefore, results indicated that all the teachers who participated in this study clearly revealed lack of self-confidence to implement a LIEP which encourages mother tongue usage as the language of education up to the end of the primary school. Low self-confidence was mainly caused by lack of training to empower teachers with relevant knowledge and skills on how to implement the policy. The other reasons for low self-concept were given as failure to translate materials written in English, limited knowledge of policy requirements and the issue of concepts which were cultural taboos when presented in the mother language.

5.7.2 Decline of standards

In this category, it emerged that participants raised three main issues related to decline of standards if the mother tongue is used as the sole language of education up to Grade Seven. The sub-categories that I identified include production of uncompetitive individuals and high failure rate at Grade Seven level.

5.7.2.1 Uncompetitive learners

Participants in this study were concerned about producing uncompetitive individuals since learning in the mother tongue was considered equivalent to lowering the standards of education. These ideas were expressed in the following examples of questionnaire responses:

> My fear is that if Zimbabwe adopts the use of Shona while it has no capacity to employ all its people how will the people mix with the outside world when they cannot communicate with them well (Ruramai: QR-B: 18).

> Mother tongue language if used excessively our children will be illiterate in subjects that involve English (Cleopatra: QR-B: 19).

> I fear that schools that follow the policy may end up producing uncompetitive pupils who are less privileged in the society (Jill: QR-Z: 33).

> It will limit pupils' interaction in the global village and with the new technology then pupils will be lagging behind in most areas (Rachel: QR-Z: 33).

Focus group discussants were equally concerned about producing graduates who would not compete in today's world where English is highly valued. This concern was raised at all the three schools as represented by the following extracts from each of the three schools:

> Myself I think pupils would not benefit because if they were going to remain in the rural schools yes they were going to benefit but because they will be moving from rural to urban, they are not going to benefit anything as there will be a challenge when they go to urban areas so I don't think they can benefit unless they were going to remain in the rural area (John: FG-M: 5).

> I don't think it will be relevant because there are some of our rich people whose children are in many other countries. When they go to those countries it will be very difficult for them to cope with the syllabuses (Sonika: FG-B: 31).

> ---considering the new technology of using computers, pupils will not be able to use those new technologies using ChiShona because in other countries there is no such language (Jill: FG-Z: 41).

The concerns of producing uncompetitive learners was also raised by Inspector Mombo who was of the opinion that it was difficult for rural primary school teachers to implement

the 2006 LIEP as learners were expected to be at the same level with their urban counterparts, particularly the question of Grade Seven examinations which were written in English by all. This idea was expressed in the following manner:

> I think some of their concerns include things like, well, they will not be on the same level of performance with their urban counterparts. I think it's a question of standards, because not all exams will be in Shona (Mombo - Schools Inspector: 29).

The question of producing uncompetitive learners was therefore believed to affect rural learners when compared to their urban counterparts and even when compared to international standards. Therefore, the use of the mother tongue in education in primary schools was seen as a contributory factor towards the decline of standards, thereby producing individuals who would not fit in the modern world where English is viewed as the language of power.

5.7.2.2 High failure rate

Many participants in this study were concerned that implementation of the current LIEP would contribute to high failure rate at Grade Seven level. Their argument was that because all the educational materials are in English, if learners are taught in the mother language, then they would fail examinations which must be answered in English in all other subjects except for ChiShona as a subject. The participants' fears were evident in the following statements from questionnaires which represent similar responses from many participants:

> Pupils would not succeed at the end of the primary level as they don't understand the language used in tests (John: QR-M: 5).

> If pupils are taught in the language in which the exams are set they tend to perform better but if the issue is vice versa, pupils will fail since they will not understand the questions or its requirements (Ruvimbo: QR-M: 5).

> Our learners will have problems in answering their exams as many of them are set in English. Application to any schools/jobs is done in English so the implementation of this policy is like digging a grave to the country (Sonika: QR-B: 19).

Similar sentiments were raised during focus group discussions at Zhowezha and Bush schools where it was felt that if education is conducted in the mother language, then learners would not be competent to answer examination questions which are set in English at the end of the primary school. The concerns are represented in the following declarations:

> How will they imitate the teacher? You teach in Shona and examine them in English, how will they imitate? They are exposed to mother language at home, they are exposed to mother language at school and then you examine them in English [….]. If you use Shona in teaching, right you teach all the concepts in Shona, are they going to change the Shona that you will be teaching to English when they are being examined? Are they going to be able to do that(Jimmy: FG-Z: 37)?

> ---but the problem is that in future, you see, the exam is set in English and English is the current official language so it does not make sense later when the exam is in English(Chipo: FG-B: 22).

> My worry is whether the examination body will cater for different languages, considering that there are different languages used in Zimbabwe. Does it mean that here in Zimuto Mathematics will be tested in Shona? So the assessment will be done in English and the teaching in Shona (Topi: FG-Z: 35)?

The fact that examinations were written in English was regarded as a major blow in any efforts to implement a mother tongue policy since learners were likely to fail.

School heads have the powers to discourage their teachers from using the mother tongue because they are concerned about the pass rates at their schools. This argument was presented by the schools inspector Zandile, who said that school heads do not like teachers to use the learners' home language because:

> ---they are towards the pass rate of their school because one has got to pass Content which is set in English, Maths in English and English language itself so everyone wants that glory, that the school is performing very well. That's why they are forcing because they want the pass rate of the school. They say the school can perform well when all the lessons are handled in English. That's why you find that there is more time set aside for revision in these other subjects which are taught in English than Shona because they want the child to pass all the subjects. If you want any implementation to take place, it is the Head, he can sit on that policy, and he can sit on it (Zandile – School Inspector: 26).

Thus, teachers, school heads and schools' inspectors in this study were mainly concerned about the fact that if teachers did not use English as the medium of instruction, there would be a high failure rate at Grade Seven since learners are required to write the examinations in English in all subjects except ChiShona as a subject. Although schools enforce the English-only medium in primary schools, educators in this study expressed the concern that learners struggled to understand concepts which are taught in the second language.

Findings in this theme are that, teachers' concerns and fears were mainly that they had no self-confidence to implement the current LIEP due to lack of training, a handicap which they said had incapacitated them from translating concepts from English to the mother language. Since examinations are written in English, participants were concerned that teaching in the learners' home language would lead to high levels of failure, hence producing incompetent primary school graduates. To alleviate the challenges that teachers face in implementing the LIEP, participants in this study proposed some intervention strategies, which are presented in the following theme.

5.8 THEME SIX: INTERVENTION STRATEGIES

This study was concerned about exploring the barriers which hinder teachers from implementing the 2006 LIEP which, seven years after its inception, had still not been adopted for use in Zimbabwean primary schools. The significance of my study was acknowledged by Inspector Mombo who echoed at the end of the individual interview that:

> ---Don't forget that I said at the beginning that I was not knowledgeable about the 2006 Education Policy which you talked about but I hope and trust that your research will assist Government or the Ministry of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture in a big way. I hope the Ministry will be assisted in that it will get to know of its pitfalls so that they can be addressed (Mombo - Schools Inspector: 30).

The above statement from the MoESAC official clearly demonstrated the need to furnish education authorities with information on how they can achieve their policy objectives of implementing a policy which encourages mother tongue usage up to the end of the

primary school. Accordingly, in this category I report on the suggestions given by participants in this study pertaining to what they considered to be measures which could be put in place to break the barriers which hinder teachers from using the mother tongue as the language of education up to Grade Seven. Three categories emerged from this theme and these are: the training of teachers; sensitisation of stakeholders; and provision of educational material resources. These categories are elaborated in the sections below.

5.8.1 Professional development of teachers

The professional development of teachers as an intervention strategy was regarded by all the participants as the major technique which should be employed by universities and teachers' colleges and by the MoESAC to empower teachers on the essential role played by the mother language in the learning of primary school children and also on how to implement the policy effectively. Participants suggested that such training had to be done at all levels of the education sector for the benefit of schools' inspectors, school heads and primary school teachers. To begin with, suggestions on the role of teacher education institutions in the professional development of primary school teachers for the benefit of mother tongue usage are presented and analysed in the next section.

5.8.1.1 The training role of teacher education and the MoESAC

All the teachers in this study strongly believed that if they could go for retraining, then they would be in a position to cope with the demands of the new policy which encourages mother tongue usage in the education of primary school learners. The participants proposed that teachers' colleges and universities which award diplomas and degrees in education had to be involved right from the planning stage (Svosvai: QR-Z: 41) and in implementing the policy (Edward: QR-M: 12). The following statements from questionnaires typify responses on the reasons for involving teacher education institutions:

> Universities and colleges must be involved when the policy is made so that there will be very easy flow of the information (John: QR-M: 12).

> Train teachers at colleges, not to send circulars that might be difficult to interpret and implement (Cleopatra: QR-B: 26).

> Students at universities and colleges should be equipped and acquainted with the changes so that they implement them when they get to schools. College and university lecturers should hold in-service and refresher courses for teachers (Topi: QR-Z: 41).

Involvement of teacher education institutions, was considered important in making teachers appreciate the essential role of the mother tongue in education and how to implement a mother tongue policy. Teachers in this study therefore valued the training of pre-service teachers as a crucial step for any meaningful implementation of the LIEP to take place. Coupled with pre-service education, was the suggestion that the re-training of practising teachers was very vital and it was proposed that this could be done through seminars, workshops and in-service programmes. This finding is demonstrated in the following extracts representing observations made on questionnaire responses from the three schools:

> ---Implementers should be educated through seminars, workshops or in-service courses (Ruvimbo: QR-M: 13).

> There is need for training of teachers for them to have a knowhow of the policy (Sonika: QR-B: 25).

> Provide learning resources in the form of textbooks and facilitating workshops on the importance of these policies. If teachers are not informed then policies would just be ideas on paper (Rachel: QR-Z: 42).

For Cleopatra, training was supposed to be done for a long period rather than simply offering refresher courses as these would not provide ample time for teachers to master the relevant techniques on how to implement a mother tongue policy (Cleopatra: QR-B: 26).

The issue of training needs was also raised during the focus group discussions at all the three sites where the informants suggested staff development for teachers (Chipo: FG-B: 33; Cleopatra: FG-B: 33; Tanaka: FG-M: 2) for the following reasons:

Staff development workshops at school level where the supervisors or education officers are involved, they need to be together with the teachers so that when they come to supervise they would not label me dull (Jimmy: FG-Z: 44).

So we should adhere to the fact that here we should be trained in order to meet the requirements of the policy if it is going to be given to us, for us to succeed in this area (Edward: FG-M: 20).

Thus, teachers who participated in this study claimed that if they were trained on how to implement the policy, they would be in a better position to put it into practice, as explained below:

It's just like a stranger, you are not quite sure whether he is a stranger, a policy, whatever. We are afraid of strangers, strangers like this policy (Edward: FG-M: 19).

Lack of training plus ignorance, fear of the unknown even if we hear it now we don't know whether it will be successful or not (Bishop: FG-B: 33).

The idea of the need for training was also raised by the School Head for Madiro who was of the opinion that both teachers and school heads required retraining as a way of preparing them for the implementation of the 2006 LIEP. This finding was revealed in the statement below:

The first one I think the Government could revisit the training of teachers, maybe retrain the teachers to adopt a new policy [...] Training of personnel, teachers, and heads to adopt that policy, maybe it could be an intervention strategy (SH-M: 7).

Besides teachers and school heads, schools inspectors equally regarded staff development as a move that the Government needed to consider seriously, and went on to place themselves in the category of officials who required to be empowered through training. This view was expressed thus:

Well I think there is need for a level of seriousness on the part of the Ministry to make sure that they have put resources, resources that will enable *u-m-m* educate players like inspectors and headmasters to be informed, to be knowledgeable, to be staff developed on this policy so that its implementation can be effective (Mombo-School Inspector: 30).

The idea of staff developing practising teachers was further suggested by Inspector Zandile when she clarified how such an initiative could be exercised at various levels in the Education District. According to her, teachers could be trained as follows:

> Staff Development should start right at school level, mostly at cluster level and then district. At district it will be those members, few members who will go back to their clusters, Cluster Chairpersons or those who are interested who have specialized in Shona at tertiary lets say at primary level. Then we will take those ones and then they will disseminate. They will hold staff development workshops at cluster levels or even at school levels (Zandile-Schools Inspector: 25).

Pertaining to staff development of education personnel, Inspector Zandile's advice was that such training could be conducted at district level and cascaded down to school clusters and finally at individual school level, while utilising those teachers who majored in the African languages at university level.

Therefore, all the three categories of participants, namely teachers, school heads and schools' inspectors were of the view that professional development of teachers and other education officials was an effective intervention measure which could assist in providing requisite knowledge and skills to enable teachers to implement the current LIEP.

5.8.1.2 Exemplary role of teacher education

Apart from the training of teachers, participants in this study suggested that teacher education institutions should be exemplary in their demeanour regarding the implementation of the current LIEP. This view was exposed by some participants in the responses to questionnaires as follows:

> The institutions should be exemplary and teach their students in ChiShona and their students will in turn teach pupils in the same language (Ruramai: QR-B: 26).

> The education institutions should teach that all languages are important and should not be biased towards one language which might be regarded as superior to other languages (Bishop: QR-B: 26).

> Students at universities and colleges should be equipped and acquainted with the changes so that they implement them when they get to schools. College and

university lecturers should hold in-service and refresher courses for teachers (Topi: QR-Z: 41).

Likewise, the question of exemplary teacher education institutions was raised by informants during focus group discussions at Zhowezha as exemplified by Jimmy's contribution when he averred:

> Universities and teachers' colleges need to teach the policy by teaching their students first in Shona so that the students will be taking part and will take it to the pupils (Jimmy: FG-Z: 44).

Thus findings indicated that teacher education institutions were regarded as vital nerve-centres where the LIEP had to be taught through example to pre-service and in-service students as a way of giving them confidence to implement the policy upon completion of their programmes. Another crucial role suggested for teacher education institutions as focal points on the training of teachers was that of research as illustrated in the section below.

5.8.1.3 The research role of teacher education

Apart from training teachers through pre-service and in-service programmes, conducting research and experiments on how to implement the current LIEP was deemed a necessary intervention strategy by participants in this study. This kind of thinking was revealed in the following response which suggests that:

> They should call for workshops to teach how the policy can work given time to use it. They also can make experiments on certain schools so that others can see the results (Jill: QR-Z: 42).

Focus group discussants at Bush and Madiro primary schools proposed that the relevant teacher education institutions should:

> Research further, find out from other countries which have been successful. Outreach programmes to make teachers aware, like what you are doing right now (Bishop: FG-B: 33).

> I think they should consult, yes, involve the policy implementers during the drafting stage. Then when the policy is drafted they should pilot test it with just a few schools, a few samples (Ruvimbo: FG-M: 18).

It was therefore believed that by researching to find out from other countries and also by getting ideas from primary school teachers who are the policy implementers, loopholes would then be identified and rectified through an informed process. This finding was articulated by the School Head for Bush in the following manner:

> Right, I would quote Madam like what you are doing now, you are doing research. If we could have more people doing research to this aspect, we are going to make a breakthrough (SH-B: 12).

Participants in this study were generally agreed that teacher education institutions should play the key role of training teachers on how to implement a mother tongue policy through pre-service and in-service programmes, through research and by playing an exemplary role in their conduct. Likewise, the staff development of qualified teachers was also regarded as the responsibility of the MoESAC as participants anticipated that such a pivotal role could be accomplished through conducting seminars and workshops to empower teachers on the implementation of the current LIEP. The recommended role of sensitising all stakeholders in education by the MoESAC is described in the next section.

5.8.1.4 The role of the MoESAC in securing funds

For the success of the mother tongue policy in education, participants suggested that the MoESAC was supposed to carry out the major task of sourcing sufficient funds and making them available for securing material resources and the professional development of teachers (Topi: QR-Z: 42).

The following proclamation represents the views of those who were of the opinion that enough funds were necessary for all the programmes, and resources deemed important for the success of the 2006 LIEP:

> They must carry out awareness campaigns. Enough training for teachers. Enough funding for all programmes that should be carried out (Sonika: QR-B: 26).

During focus group discussions, the idea of strong funding also came up at Bush primary school (Chipo: FG-B: 33). A further proposition was given during focus group discussions at Madiro, where one of the participants suggested one way of going round the problem of shortage of funds as that of seeking for donor funding:

> I think they should also seek donor funding so that resource materials can be produced in abundance and to be able to be distributed to schools. They will also have money to arrange for seminars and workshops so that the policy implementers will be aware, will be equipped with the information pertaining to the policy if everything is translated (Ruvimbo: FG-M: 20).

The idea that the MoESAC ought to play a momentous role in the success of the current policy on the language of education at primary school level was aptly summarised in the following manner:

> Introduce within the curriculum aspects that will support mother tongue usage in education. Provide relevant material support for implementation. Provide funds for training already practising teachers as well as students on how to implement the policy (Jimmy: QR-Z: 42).

Thus, participants in this study were of the idea that for the mother language to be effectively used as the language of education in primary schools, availability of funds was a critical issue that had to be attended to by the MoESAC, to allow for the production of material resources and the actual professional development of schools' inspectors, school heads and teachers at district, cluster and individual school levels. It was further suggested that all stakeholders who had something to do with the education of primary school children needed to be sensitised on the significance of the mother language in education as described in the section below.

5.8.2 Sensitisation of stakeholders

Many participants in this study expressed the concern that as long as stakeholders did not know the implications of learning in the mother language, successful implementation of the 2006 LIEP would not be achievable. It was proposed that teachers, school heads, schools inspectors and parents all needed to be made aware of the policy requirements for them to be convinced about the worth of teaching and learning in the mother

language at primary school level. These ideas were raised in the responses to questionnaires as exemplified by the participant who put forward the following suggestion:

> If circulars are distributed well in all schools then teachers will have to give suggestions that will help policy makers to think of a better way of making other policies (Mukoma: QR-M: 12).

Focus group discussants were of the same views pertaining to the proposal that policy implementers should be made aware of the policy requirements and its advantages. This finding is evident in the statement below:

> I think if the policy is explained to teachers, if they understand it, it will be easier for us to implement it because you cannot just implement a thing which you don't know (John: FG-M: 17).

A similar strategy was suggested by Tanaka who suggested the best method of making teachers aware of the policy as that of consulting them by way of involving them. This idea was expressed as follows:

> And I think the policy makers should first consult with the people who are supposed to implement the policy because there are new policies there. They just send the policies, that's why they don't even reach here because those people who are also in the middle if they are not for the policy, if they do not support it, they sit on it and relax (Tanaka: FG-M: 18).

At school level, Edward suggested an intervention strategy which would see school heads disseminating information on the LIEP at cluster level for the benefit of all teachers. This finding is evident in the following citation:

> I can take it in this view that as Heads they go for meetings and know about the clusters that we have there. When given the information they should come and deliver the information at cluster level, then bring many teachers together, the Headmasters giving lessons pertaining to those policy changes that are taking place, which is at broad spectrum [---] so that clusters country wide if they do that, the information will be delivered easily and taken seriously (Edward: FG-M: 9).

Apart from making teachers and other education authorities aware of the provisions of the LIEP, participants suggested that it was crucial to work closely with those parents whose children were in primary schools (Chipo: QR-B: 25) and to educate them on the

importance of the policy (Topi: QR-Z: 41). This view was also expressed during focus group discussions at Bush and Zhowezha, where it was also suggested that parents and the community at large were crucial stakeholders who should be informed about the worth of the mother language in the education of their children (Jill: FG-Z: 44). This finding became apparent when the following assertions were made:

> *Vabereki vangada kutanga vaziva kuti importance ye policy iyoyo kwavari nevana vavo ndeyei uye ingavabatsira chii ndokutoti vaigamuchire.***Translation:** Parents may want to understand first the importance of that policy to them and to their children and in what way it would assist them, only then would they accept it (Ruramai: FG-B: 31-32).

> Maybe of importance is to make parents aware of the new policy so that they know what is going on in the schools [---]. The community needs to be conscientised on the importance of this mother tongue before we start to implement the policy (Rachel: FG-Z: 39).

> Maybe if the community is made aware of the changes, then we would not face many hurdles. Parents should be made aware that teachers are now free to teach in Shona all the time then they would not label you (Jimmy: FG-Z: 40).

During individual interviews, the requirement to make teachers and school heads conscious of the 2006 LIEP was emphasised by the school heads for Madiro and Bush when they pointed out that:

> There is need I think, once the policy is put in place the powers that be must ensure that this is followed to the latter in the spirit of the circular, by making follow-ups during supervision, and then making these available to all schools for reference in hard copies (SH-B: 31).

> There is need for them to disseminate information about the whole thing because right now we don't have any information about it. So let them disseminate the information. They should also give us circulars *u-m-m* modules about the language policy and so forth so that we can easily implement. And there is also need to staff develop the staff, mount workshops and meetings with teachers and heads (SH-M: 4).

Whereas the school heads and teachers merely suggested that parents needed to be made aware about the requirements of the current LIEP, Inspector Zandile went into detail to advise how that intervention strategy could be implemented by clarifying:

The fact that now the Government has opened a stage that we always have meetings with the SDAs, that's the only time now we can introduce the importance of the mother language to the SDAs/SDCs so that when they are to buy textbooks they should always remind the headmasters that on the list of the textbooks which I am going to sign the cheque for, that there is nothing for Shona. They will only do that after we have conscientised them through the workshops which we are always doing with SDC members and they will go back home and educate their counterparts, people who have voted them into those posts (Zandile - School Inspector: 24-25).

According to the above proposal, parents can therefore be made aware of the LIEP through the SDA (School Development Association) or SDC (School Development Committee) meetings with education officials from the Education District office. Thus, participants in this study recommended intervention strategies that would make parents, teachers, school heads and school inspectors conscious about the provisions of the 2006 LIEP as well as its significance on the learning of primary school pupils.

5.8.3 The role of Government in enhancing policy implementation

In this category, I describe what the participants proposed as the measures that can be put in place to combat the problem of the low status of the mother tongue. The major task was to overcome the problem of lack of educational material resources in the implementation of a mother tongue policy. For these participants, provision of material resources would make the implementation of the current policy more viable. This finding is apparent in the following statements which represent many such responses from questionnaires and focus group discussions at Zhowezha and Madiro schools:

The policy must be made public to the teachers and also the reading materials must be written in the mother tongue for usage in rural primary schools (John: QR-M: 12).

To provide with resources like syllabi, books and other materials which are useful to the teacher and the pupils (Jill: FG-Z: 44).

They should also make sure that materials are available for us to be able to implement that policy, materials such as syllabuses and books (Tanaka: FG-M: 19).

To the above submissions, Edward added the initiative of providing libraries to rural primary schools as a measure to ensure the viability of the mother tongue policy (Edward: FG-M: 20). During individual interviews with school heads, the response to how to break the barriers on lack of resources was seen by the school head for Bush in the following context:

> If we could have more writers in vernacular, who write books in vernacular then they become translators (SH-B: 12).

The translation of textbooks and syllabiinto the mother tongue and making them available to all schools was taken to be an effective measure to enhance the implementation of the 2006 LIEP particularly in rural areas.

Apart from making resources available through the MoESAC, participants in this study implored the Government to involve the public media, to make the mother tongue the official language and to employ a bottom-up approach to policy implementation if the policy is to be taken seriously.

Starting with media reforms, it was suggested that public media had to be mainly in the mother tongue (Ruvimbo: QR-M: 12). This idea was further elaborated in focus group discussions at Bush and Zhowezha, where the point was raised that simply translating books would not be sufficient as a strategy to convince stakeholders to accept a mother tongue policy at primary school level. Rather, for the home language to be accepted as the language of education, communication in the mother tongue should begin from a broader spectrum through the state media and advertisements so that the entire community gets involved, and not only at the primary schools. This kind of thinking was exposed when some participants argued by saying:

> *Ndinoona sokuti policy iyi kuti igamuchigwe, since vana vedu tichivaticha from known to unknown, ndinoona kutoti mararamiro avo, zvavari kusangana nazvo tingati muma radio, ngazvitotanga kuchinja ikoko kuchingotaurwa ne Shona ne Shona ne Shona. Ndokuti kunyangwe mabhuku ochinjwa voziva kuti todzidza ne Shona. Ma adverts ano advertiser zvinhu ngaave eShona votanga kuzvionera ikoko, kana vouya kuchikoro vanenge vava kuziva kuti tiri kusangana nezvinhu zvakadai.*

Translation: I think for this policy to be accepted, since we teach our children from known to unknown, I see that the way they live, what they come across say from radios, it must first be changed there so that communication is Shona, Shona, Shona, so that if books are translated then they would be aware that now they would be learning in Shona. Advertisements should be in Shona so that they begin to see things there, so that when they come to school they would be aware that they would meet such things (Ruramai: FG-B: 32).

To public media; newspapers and Radio should communicate in the mother language because currently it's only Radio Zimbabwe which is communicating in the mother language while all the other stations are communicating in English, including the Television (Jimmy: FG-Z: 44).

During focus group discussions at Zhowezha, discussants were also mainly of the opinion that for the LIEP to be successfully implemented, the Government ought to make it the official language and hence a requirement for the job market. The following questionnaire and focus group responses confirm this kind of thinking:

If mother tongue is to be used in schools, then the Government has to break away from using English in courts and other social gatherings. It must also be a requirement on the job market just like English and Mathematics are today (Rachel: QR-Z: 41).

And also to make the mother tongue an official language in places like the courts and in parliament, maybe people will know that and they will regard it as an important language (Svosvai: FG-Z: 44).

It was also suggested in this study that the top to bottom approach in the dissemination of the 2006 LIEP had to be revised if the Government wanted to get positive results. This issue was raised during focus group discussions at Madiro, and it also came up during individual interviews with the School Heads for Zhowezha and Bush as expressed in the statements below:

I think policy making should start at school level going up not from the top. It is vice versa, they should start here because at the top they do not know what we are facing here (Mukoma: FG-M: 17).

Ministry should maybe *u-m-m* normally our policy or directives are from top to bottom. Now if they can get ideas from the shop floor, the schools, whereby they can get ideas from us, then make recommendations upwards and then come up with a viable policy (SH-B: 12).

> I think the top should come down to the grass roots and make sure what they put on paper is implemented. They should not just plan or propose, put something on paper and fail to make a follow-up on the implementation of the policy (SH-Z: 16).

Participants therefore suggested that ideas should come from the implementers and not the other way round. Coupled with ideas from the grassroots, there were further suggestions from Madiro during focus group discussions where it was suggested that monitoring of policy implementation by the policy-makers should be done through the method of moving from one school to the other (John: FG-M: 19). For example,

> ---The policy makers should be sure of how the policy is being implemented. They should move around the schools or move around the districts or whatever and be aware of implementation of their policy as well as including the schools to be part of the policy-makers so that it won't be difficult for them to implement it (Mukoma: FG-M: 19).

Thus, close monitoring was seen by participants as an effective approach that would ensure effective implementation of the LIEP.

At individual primary school level, many teachers who participated in this study proposed professional development as an effective method of making policy implementation feasible. This point was raised in questionnaire responses as well as during focus group discussions as represented by the following accounts:

> It should start from the Head then to the teachers and staff development meetings should also help for the school to implement the policy (Mukoma: QR-M: 13).

> Schools may engage in staff development workshops where every teacher provides his or her opinions on the advantages of the usage of the mother tongue in the education of the rural primary school children (Bishop: QR-B: 27).

> The role of the Head is to inform his staff and to staff develop teachers so that they can fully implement the policy (Rachel: FG-Z: 38).

Besides conducting seminars on the implementation of the current LIEP for his or her teachers, participants expressed the view that it was imperative for the school head to supervise the implementation of the mother tongue policy in a more serious manner (Chipo: QR-B:27; Topi: FG-Z: 38; Cleopatra: FG-B: 28). The following questionnaire response exemplifies this finding:

> If Heads can make class visits to see what language does the teacher use whilst in his/her classroom and how children respond to the lessons (Jill: QR-Z: 34).

Apart from staff development and supervising teachers, unique methods of promoting mother tongue usage in primary schools were further recommended when some participants advocated for "Competitions through poems, drama and songs composed" (Cleopatra: QR-B: 34) and demonstration lessons (Chipo: QR-B: 34) as exemplified by Svosvai who stated that these could be conducted using the mother language (Svosvai: QR-Z: 42). Therefore, by suggesting the use of competitions and conducting demonstration lessons, participants in this study were of the opinion that the LIEP would then be taken seriously by teachers who happen to be the policy implementers.

Findings from this category indicate that participants advocated for Government input through establishing effective dissemination strategies and raising the status of the mother language by making it an official language and also using it in the public sphere.

Findings under this theme are that participants proposed many intervention measures that could be employed to make the implementation of the mother tongue policy viable, chief among them being the professional development of teachers on the requirements of the policy and how to implement it; sensitisation of parents and educators at all levels; and also the provision of educational material resources.

5.9 Summary of findings

In theme one, findings indicated that there were no circulars, no policy guidelines and no staff development workshops as policy dissemination strategies to make teachers aware of the 2006 LIEP and how to implement it. Due to inadequate policy dialogue, all the study participants were ignorant of the nature and requirements of the policy on the language of education, which allowed learners to access the curriculum in their mother tongue. Consequently, teachers implemented an inappropriate policy where learners were taught in English from Grade One. Code-switching was accommodated in some schools in the early grades, but teachers continued with the practice in the higher grades as a way of combating the language barriers caused by teaching in the second language, without the approval of their school heads.

Theme two revealed that teachers did not receive continued support in the implementation of the current LIEP due to lack of relevant educational materials in the form of textbooks, teachers' guides and syllabuses in the mother language. School heads and schools' inspectors were also viewed as major players in hindering effective implementation of the LIEP as most of them strictly insisted on the use of English as the sole language of education from the first grade.

In theme three it was clear that the superiority of English contributed to positive attitudes towards the second language as teachers, school heads, schools inspectors, parents and learners all viewed it as the language of power, and thus more suitable as the language of education. The major reasons given for favouring English were that examinations were set and written in English, English was the language of communication inside and outside the country, and that it plays an inimitable role when it comes to further education, employment in good jobs, promotion to posts of responsibility and in science and technology.

Theme four exposed that negative attitudes were predominant in almost all the participants according to the way they expressed their beliefs and perceptions towards the mother language. Firstly, negative attitudes emanated from the low status of the mother tongue, which was seen as of no value in the education of primary school pupils. Secondly, it surfaced that participants were conscious that their way of thinking had been influenced by colonialism and its effects, thereby creating negative attitudes. Teachers were aware that primary school pupils faced challenges when education was conducted in English and that when the home language was used upon codeswitching, learners understood concepts better. It was rather surprising that teachers in this study were not prepared to take up a mother tongue policy if given a choice. Furthermore, almost all the teachers did not want to teach in the mother tongue even if all the materials were translated into the mother language. I interpreted such reactions to be associated with beliefs in myths that the mother tongue had no capacity to be used as the language of education.

In theme five, teachers in this study mainly expressed concern that their low self-confidence was due to lack of training to empower them with knowledge and skills to translate materials into the home language and to effectively use the mother tongue during lessons. The other major concern was the belief that by implementing a mother tongue policy, standards of education would decline, thereby contributing towards a high failure rate which would culminate in producing incompetent learners who do not fit well in the global community.

Theme six consisted of suggested intervention strategies, with the major proposition being that of training teachers through various professional development programmes both at pre-service and in-service levels for two major reasons. Firstly, training and retraining of teachers on the issue of bilingual education was seen as crucial for creating positive attitudes by enlightening teachers on the pedagogic benefits of using the first language in primary schools. Secondly, such professional development would equip teachers, school heads and schools' inspectors with knowledge on how to implement a mother tongue policy. The teacher education institutions were expected to be exemplary in language policy implementation and more importantly, to conduct research on how to implement a late-exit bilingual education policy at primary school level. To complement the efforts of teacher education institutions, the MoESAC was expected to source funds for various activities associated with the implementation of the LIEP such as policy dissemination, material production and professional development of education personnel through seminars and workshops at district, cluster and individual school levels. In chapter six, I discuss the possible explanations of my findings, and compare emerging themes with existing research studies.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I presented and analysed data thematically from semi-structured open-ended questionnaires for teachers (Data Set X), focus group discussions (Data Set Y) and individual interviews for school heads and schools' inspectors (Data Set Z). In this chapter, I present a detailed discussion of findings by way of comparing emerging themes with existing knowledge which is based on other research studies. The major objective of this study was to explore the factors that inhibit rural primary school teachers from effectively implementing the LIEP of 2006, which allows learners to access the curriculum in their home language up to the end of the primary school. From the data collected, two conclusions were drawn. Firstly, the factors that were identified as barriers to the implementation of the current policy on the language of education all seem to be related to colonial influence. This first strand consists of five themes identified as bearing these major barriers, namely: inadequate policy dialogue, lack of support, persistent English hegemony, negative attitudes towards the mother language, and teacher concerns and fears. Secondly, in line with the postcolonial epistemological perspective which is the guiding theory in this study, participants came up with their own propositions on intervention strategies which may help to minimize the factors which restrain effective implementation of the current LIEP. I begin by giving a comprehensive discussion of the first strand of themes related to postcolonial thinking as revealed in the following sections.

6.2 Inadequate policy dialogue

The findings of my study under this theme were that implementation failure may have been perpetuated by Government since there was no information disseminated to policy implementers pertaining to the nature and requirements of the 2006 LIEP. Therefore, failure by policy-makers to propagate requisite information, as reflected in the findings, may be a possible explanation why teachers in this study did not effectively implement

the current policy on the language of education, which they all claimed to be quite ignorant about, as discussed below.

The study findings clearly indicated that the Zimbabwe Government did not formally put in place any mechanisms for advocacy, as a way of popularising the policy, to effect the curriculum change. Brynard (2005) believes that implementation is a complex political process rather than an event (Item 2.2: Chapter 2). This observation is evident in this study where failure to achieve policy objectives could be attributed to failure by teachers to get specific steps prescribed in the policy for them to follow in order to accomplish the intended goals (Brynard, 2005). On analysing the actions that happened at provincial, district and school levels after the enunciation of the LIEP in 2006, the findings confirm that there were no steps taken to make teachers aware of the current policy, hence, learners continue to access the curriculum in English (Magwa, 2008; Nkomo, 2008; Chimhundu, 2010).

There are several possible explanations as to why the policy-makers did not put in place strategies to bring about clear policy dialogue between themselves and policy implementers, in this case primary school teachers. One of the possible explanations to implementation failure associated with inadequate policy dialogue may have been the top-down nature of policy implementation (Item 2.5: Chapter 2), as pointed out by some participants in this study. The Government, through the MoESAC, may have assumed that once the LIEP had been authoritatively proclaimed, then primary school teachers would automatically implement the policy which allows them to teach in the mother language (Rogan and Grayson, 2003; Brynard, 2005; Sergiovanni, 2005; Jansen, 2009). Findings clearly indicated that teachers had not been involved in any way as a way of making them knowledgeable of the latest policy on the language of education and how to implement it. As these teachers are the target group at the grassroots level when it comes to implementation of the LIEP, failure to involve them at the initial stages of the policy formulation may have contributed towards the resistance of the policy changes (Sergiovanni, 2005). For teachers to become fully committed pertaining to the implementation of the LIEP, bottom-up practices are recommended since they assist in

forming a good foundation by allowing stakeholders to make an input in raising the status of the mother language (Benson, 2005). For Darling-Hammond (2005), it is important to consider the strengths of both the top-down and the bottom-up perspectives since:

> Neither a heavy-handed view of top-down reform nor a romantic vision of bottom-up change is plausible. Both local invention and supportive leadership are needed, along with new 'horizontal' efforts that support cross-school consultation and learning (p. 366).

Therefore, for successful implementation of the current LIEP to happen, it was probably necessary for the policy-makers to consider both the top-down and the bottom-up initiatives (Cohen and Spillane, 1994; Fullan, 1994; James and Jones, 2008; Jansen, 2009).

Coupled with the top-down nature of policy implementation, is lack of commitment on the part of policy-makers. Findings in this study were that policy-makers did not make any effort to disseminate information to make teachers aware that the mother language could now be used as the medium of instruction up to Grade Seven. Such lack of commitment to enlighten implementers on the policy which should guide them in their day-to-day practice could be attributed to lack of political will, which results in continued vernacularisation of African indigenous languages as a result of colonial hangover (Chimhundu, 1997). For Warwick (1982 in Brynard, 2005), if those responsible for policy implementation are unwilling or unable, then not much will happen in terms of effecting the policy change.

Another factor associated with inadequate policy dialogue may be lack of implementation capacity (Fullan, 1991). My study findings suggest that the Government did not have the capacity to access resources such as human, financial, material, technological and logistical which are necessary to disseminate information and to make the LIEP viable. According to literature, failure to access the above stated requirements is tantamount to implementation failure (McLaughlin, 1998). If the Government does not have the requisite resources to empower teachers with implementation capacity as indicated by participants in this study, it therefore implies

that these policy implementers may not be in a position to manage and sustain change pertaining to the current mother tongue policy in education.

Failure to garner support from stakeholders in education, namely, schools' inspectors, parents and school heads may also be associated with inadequate policy dialogue, as a barrier to effective implementation of a mother tongue policy. Schools inspectors can be regarded as a major category of stakeholders as they are capable of influencing change as government representatives at district level (Item 2.4.3: Chapter two). Yet findings indicate that schools inspectors in this study were not aware of the existence of the current policy on the language of education. If they are not knowledgeable like they indicated in this study, then there might be no way in which they can encourage and monitor the use of a policy which they do not even know about (Fullan, 1991). Likewise, school heads in this study were equally ignorant of the policy requirements, yet they are crucial gatekeepers when it comes to effective policy implementation at individual school level (Item 2.4.3.1: Chapter two). Parents, through the School Development Committees, are major stakeholders as they can frustrate any change efforts made by the schools (Sergiovanni, 2005), particularly on a sensitive issue such as the use of an African indigenous language in education up to the end of the primary school. Parents may resist the LIEP, and even influence teacher practices because of ignorance pertaining to the significance of using the mother language in education for cognitive development (Banda, 2000; Alidou et al., 2006; Beukes, 2009; Prah, 2009).

Probably due to lack of knowledge on the benefits of learning in the mother language, parents in this study were highly resistant to the use of the mother tongue in education, to such an extent that they would even contemplate withdrawing their children in the event that a mother tongue policy is enforced in primary schools. If parents are not enlightened on the significance of the first language in the education of their children, they may not be supportive of the said policy on the language of education, thereby influencing teacher practices on the implementation of a mother tongue policy (Qorro, 2009). Therefore, failure to alert parents, school heads, schools' inspectors, college lecturers and even learners on the proposed policy change was a serious oversight on

the part of Government as these significant stakeholders are capable of thwarting the teachers' efforts to implement change (Fullan, 1991; Brynard, 2005; Sergiovanni, 2005).

Inadequate policy dialogue may have negative effects towards implementation success when teachers as policy implementers do not see the need for change (Jansen, 2009). Whereas the Zimbabwe Government saw the need to elevate the status of indigenous African languages in line with current research trends on the impact of the mother tongue in education (Alidou et al., 2006), findings indicate that teachers in this study did not appreciate that need. Probably due to lack of policy dialogue, teachers in this study were so concerned about the low status of the mother language that they regarded the current LIEP as irrelevant at the present moment. Literature from several large scale studies conducted in the United States point towards the fact that policy changes which do not address what teachers view as priority needs may lead to implementation failure (Fullan, 1991; Rogan and Grayson, 2003). Teachers in this study were not clear on the policy goals, and as a result, they continued to teach using the outdated policy which they transformed to allow code-switching to the mother tongue only when learners failed to grasp concepts taught in the second language, English. If there had been sufficient dialogue where teachers would raise their concerns (Fullan, 1991: 71), the complexity with regard to policy change could have been addressed since "any change can be examined with regard to difficulty, skill required, and extent of alterations in beliefs, teaching strategies, and use of materials".

Through policy dialogue, all the requisite knowledge and skills highlighted above could have been identified and, through professional development, the identified negative teacher attitudes changed to allow effective implementation of the proposed policy change on the language of education (Sergiovanni, 2005). Therefore, lack of policy dialogue to enlighten teachers on the need for mother tongue education, as key figures in the implementation process, may be explained as a possible barrier towards implementation success of the current LIEP.

Similarly, when change is made on grounds of political necessity without putting in place mechanisms to prepare teachers or to make the crucial follow-up activities, Fullan

(1991) believes that the whole implementation process becomes impractical. Teachers in this study stressed the point that the implementation of a mother tongue policy was not feasible because they were never involved in any form of dialogue to inform them about the requirements of the current LIEP, and also how to implement it. There were no circulars and no policy guidelines issued, and neither were seminars, workshops or any form of follow-up mechanisms conducted for teachers.

Due to lack of dialogue through follow-up activities, teachers in this study said they did not have an opportunity to communicate their challenges in implementing a mother tongue policy. The fact that there was no relationship between the policy-makers and teachers meant that there was bound to be implementation failure (Fullan, 1991). Lack of Government intervention, therefore, could be a possible factor which contributed as a barrier to effective implementation of the new policy on the language of education (Mutwii, 2004; Darling-Hammond, 2005). If the Zimbabwe Government through the MoESAC had provided the necessary support to ensure the success of the mother tongue policy by following the correct channels of policy dissemination, monitoring the success of the LIEP and engaging teachers in order to work with them and not on them (Bailey, 2000), the mother tongue policy could probably have been effectively implemented.

Study findings show that the policy-makers demonstrated lack of seriousness pertaining to how the LIEP should be implemented, an attitude which may send mixed feelings and which may culminate in failure to implement the mother tongue policy for education in Africa (Banda, 2000; Ghazali, 2010). Such lack of political will may be a possible explanation as to why the officially declared language of education policy was not being implemented (Kamwangamalu, 2009).

The question that may arise is: "How can the Government ask teachers to use the mother language in education when there are no relevant educational materials and when all Grade Seven examinations are written in English?" Teachers saw it as a deliberate move by policy-makers to simply promulgate a policy whose implementation was not realistic due to lack of support services. According to Bamgbose (1991) what

was experienced and expressed by my study informants was one form of declaration without implementation (Item 3.2.2: Chapter 3). In Bamgbose's view, when a government declares a new policy while it is aware of its limitations, this is one of the forms of declaration without implementation. In implementing the 1987 policy revised in 1990 and 1994, where learners were allowed to be educated in the mother language up to Grade Three, school heads interpreted that to mean that teachers could revert to the mother tongue when learners had failed to understand difficult concepts taught in English. In view of the options provided in the LIEP through the use of "may" which appeared to make the policy vague, the study results indicate that school heads and teachers took advantage of the "escape clause" in the policy, which says that learners 'may be taught in either Shona/Ndebele or English as the language of education', thereby allowing policy-makers to be freed from being held responsible, and for non-compliance to go unquestioned (Nkomo, 2008; Valdiviezo, 2009).

Declaration without implementation was also evident in my study findings since participants indicated that the Government did not provide any specified implementation mechanisms by way of issuing circulars and policy guidelines as preparatory processes for teachers to follow in order to enable them to adopt the new policy. As a result, a situation was created whereby the LIEP of 2006 merely remained on paper, gathering dust in the highest offices of Government without being monitored or evaluated by the powers that be. The situation described above, where the Government decides to "let sleeping dogs lie" (Chimhundu, 1997) by failing to put in place preparatory measures for teachers to follow in the implementation of the LIEP, may be taken as a possible state-related barrier to policy implementation.

On the perceived vagueness of the formulation of the policy on the language of education, the current practice is not significantly different from that of the colonial era (Nkomo, 2008). The way school heads in this study interpreted the LIEP was that teachers should teach in English from Grade One, but could only codeswitch to the mother language when there was communication barrier during the first two or three years, depending on what was prescribed by the administrators at a given school. The

perceived vagueness of the policy therefore allowed teachers in this study to rely on their own discretion to make a choice on when and how to codeswitch, since they said there were no uniform requirements on how to use the mother language. When choice is given in a bilingual situation, the mother language tends to suffer (Prah, 2009) as evident in this study where teachers and school heads preferred the subtractive bilingualism where learners were immersed in English from ECD (pre-school) level, contrary to the requirements of the current LIEP, thereby contributing towards implementation failure.

Zimbabwe experienced fluctuations due to the changes in policies in the language of education (Item 3.2.5: Chapter 3). However, my study findings indicate that teachers were not affected by any of the changes which came as a result of Zimbabwe independence in 1980 since they were only aware of the English only policy of 1962 following the report of the Judges Commission. It is my contention that these teachers had not been exposed even to the initial LIEP enshrined in the 1987 Education Act, amended in 1994, which allowed the use of the mother language during the first three grades of the primary school. The majority of teachers in this study used English as the sole language of education from Grade One because they believed that it was the language of education. There is a possibility that after the recommendation of the Judges Commission of 1962 to use English as the sole language of education, that policy made an impact. The major reason for the impact was due to the fact that there was orientation of teachers, school heads, schools' inspectors and lecturers from teachers' colleges throughout the country on how to use English as the sole language of education, along with new syllabuses, new teachers' guides and new textbooks for learners (Siyakwazi and Siyakwazi, 1995). Worse still, teachers and other education authorities during that period acknowledged the advantages of using the first language in education, yet they expressed the view that they were prepared to sacrifice the advantage of using the mother language "in favour of fostering a more rapid acquaintanceship with English idiom at an impressionable age" (Judges Report, 1962:46 on *The Use of the Vernacular, Sub-Section* 208).

Whereas the English-only policy of 1962 got such overwhelming support, my study findings reflected that the scenario was the direct opposite when it came to the mother tongue policy of 1987 where teachers could use the home language up to Grade Three, amended in 2006 to enable learners to access the curriculum in the mother tongue up to Grade Seven. I therefore reason that because policy-makers did not go back to key stakeholders in education by way of employing mechanisms for orientation and reorientation of practitioners on the change of policy, teachers in this study continued to implement the old and therefore inappropriate LIEP. Results in this study indicate that teachers were not involved in any way to make them aware of the policy change, in line with current research findings the world over, on the advantages of using the first language in education particularly in rural areas where English is not heard outside the classroom (Dube and Cleghorn, 1999; Alidou et al., 2006; Baker, 2006; Brock-Utne, 2007; Brock-Utne and Skattum, 2009). Furthermore, syllabuses, teachers' guides and textbooks are all still in English, yet the policy-makers expect teachers to use the mother language in education without making the necessary preparatory measures to equip them with the relevant knowledge and skills like what happened with the English-only policy of 1962.

It can further be argued that due to inadequate policy dialogue to popularise the mother tongue policy of 2006, teachers implement an obsolete English-only policy which they transform by using their own discretion to code-switch to the mother language when learners fail to grasp concepts taught in the second language. The same findings were established in a research conducted by Mugweni, Ganga and Musengi in 2012, where Zimbabwean teachers were found to be employing code-switching from English to the mother language as an individual teacher strategy to facilitate understanding of complex mathematical concepts from Grade One up to Grade Seven. In other words, the way teachers implement the current LIEP is that English is used as the language of education throughout in primary schools. However, as reflected in my study findings, teachers indicated that they were forced by circumstances to revert to the mother tongue when learners do not grasp abstract concepts when English is used as the sole medium of instruction. In KwaZulu-Natal, Mashiya (2011: 25) established that teachers

use codeswitching which is dominated by English in Grade R up to Grade 2 at isiZulu medium schools where the mother tongue is supposed to be the language of education. The host teachers in Mashiya's study who preferred code-switching frustrated student teachers by not allowing them to practise teaching in isiZulu, skills which the University had offered them through specialization modules on dual medium of instruction. Teachers use code-switching as a strategy to solve a number of challenges facing learners when education is conducted in a second language (Uys and van Dulm, 2011:67; Gort and Pontier, 2012:5). Although teachers view it as a way of facilitating learning, code-switching is a debatable issue (Then and Ting, 2011:299) which some education authorities regard as a dubious and hence problematic strategy which is highly personal and context specific (Dube and Cleghorn, 1999; Holmasdottir, 2003; Foley, 2008; Muthivhi, 2008; Salami, 2008; Mugweni et al., 2012).

The question that one might ask is: "Why did the policy-makers fail to disseminate information on the current LIEP to make teachers knowledgeable of its requirements and to empower them with skills on how to implement it as a curriculum change issue?" There are two possible explanations with regard to why the Government was not willing to publicize the current LIEP. Firstly, my study findings showed that policy-makers may have sat on the policy and let it gather dust because they might have lacked the political will to popularize policy on the use of the mother language in education. Secondly, the findings also suggest that probably the Government did not have the required human, financial and material resources to employ policy dissemination mechanisms and to monitor the implementation of the LIEP.

Related findings by Mushi (1996 cited in Banda, 2000) point out that there was strong political will and commitment exhibited in Tanzania when KiSwahili was adopted as the language of education. The situation described by Mushi was the opposite of my study findings which revealed that the Zimbabwe Government simply pays lip-service to the use of the mother language in education without providing the necessary motivation to seriously promote mother tongue usage in education in tandem with research findings in

the modern world (Alidou et al., 2006; Baker, 2006; Mutasa, 2006; Nkomo, 2008; Brock-Utne and Skattum, 2009; Chimhundu, 1997, 2010).

Therefore, the probable state-related factors which may act as barriers to the implementation of the LIEP, as reflected in this study, are lack of political will and commitment to source funds for making stakeholders in education knowledgeable about the provisions of the current policy and how to use the mother language in education. It may be inferred that such lack of political will by the Zimbabwe Government, a postcolonial state, may be attributed to negative attitudes towards use of the mother language in education (Kamwangamalu, 2004, 2009). The colonial influence is evident in the study findings which pointed out that when it came to challenges facing teachers in using English as the language of education, such concerns quickly received the attention of education authorities, who immediately mounted a number of workshops, thereby directing resources to the teaching of English as opposed to the implementation of the current LIEP. The need for continuous support, which is necessary for the success of a mother tongue policy, is discussed in the next section.

6.2.1 Schools' inspectors' lack of awareness on policy provisions

Findings in this study showed that schools inspectors, who are the administrators at district level had not been exposed to the policy change since its inception in 2006. As a result, they had no knowledge pertaining to the existence of that latest policy on the language of education, and they were not aware of any follow-up activities on the said policy. International research points out that the support of the district administrators is vital for any educational change to happen (Fullan, 1991). Fullan goes further to point out that even if district administrators endorse the policy change, such a move on its own would not be adequate unless they make a follow-up on the implementation of the desired policy. In this study, the above proposed support was not forthcoming from schools' inspectors who indicated that mother tongue usage in education up to the end of the primary school was a non-starter, citing the important role of English in education.

The fact that schools inspectors were not supportive of the policy made it difficult for teachers to regard implementation of the current LIEP as a serious issue, thereby contributing to implementation failure.

6.2.2 The school heads' lack of knowledge on policy stipulations

The school heads in this study all indicated that they were not aware of the 2006 amendment to the LIEP which allowed learners to access the curriculum in their mother language up to the end of the primary school. They pointed out that they were knowledgeable about the initial 1987 Education Act on the LIEP, revised in 1994, which permitted teachers to use the mother language up to Grade Three. However, they interpreted that policy to imply that teachers could teach in English from Grade One, only to code-switch to the mother language when it was strictly necessary to do so in the first three grades. There are three possible explanations for the lack of support by school heads, all of which are linked to English hegemony. First, there is the possibility that these school heads had no faith in the use of the mother language in education since they indicated that they were themselves educated in English and received their training in English, a factor which may contribute to implementation failure (Ndawi and Maravanyika, 2011). Second, inadequate dialogue between policy-makers and school heads may have contributed to their failure to interpret the policy on mother tongue usage up to Grade Three, which they claimed to know but were never exposed to how to interpret it and how to implement it. Third, they may have been aware that the policy required learners' home language but did not want this to happen as the findings show that school heads were interested in improving the Grade Seven pass rate where examinations are written in English. School heads are bound to panic over Grade Seven results because it happens to be a serious matter in Masvingo Province, where primary school ratings for the best ten and the bottom ten schools are done after the release of Grade Seven results every year, and the performance is made public in 'The Mirror' and 'The Star' which are local weekly newspapers for Masvingo province. James and Jones (2008) concluded in their study that school heads are central figures that are

powerful when it comes to conditions necessary for implementation, as they have the capacity to promote or inhibit change.

6.2.3 Teachers' ignorance about the nature and requirements of the policy

The study findings indicate that teachers, who are the central players in the implementation of the language of education, were ignorant of the provisions of the current policy. This situation, where teachers had serious knowledge deficiencies on the current LIEP works against the spirit of successful policy implementation. Bitan-Friedlander et al. (2004) believe that for any policy to be successfully implemented, teachers should be willing and confident in their ability to adapt the change to the needs and abilities of their learners. Teachers in this study were found to be unwilling to implement a mother tongue policy, which they viewed as unsuitable for the needs of their learners who are required to write all tests and examinations in English in primary schools. Collarbone (2009:17) argues that in order for suitable change to happen, teachers should have a compelling reason for the change, a clear vision of the future, and a coherent plan to get there. Findings indicate that teachers in this study did not experience any of the above three factors as the Government had not given them a convincing reason for the change from an English only policy to the mother tongue, and they had not seen any policy guidelines or any form of intervention measures on how to implement the new policy. In the absence of clear policy guidelines, teachers were constrained to implement a policy which they were uncertain about its requirements. Therefore, the fact that the policy-makers did not make any effort to understand what teachers think, what they value, what they feel and say, through collaboration (James and Jones, 2008) may be a contributory factor towards non-implementation of the current LIEP.

6.3 Lack of support

The lack of support for the mother tongue policy can be explained in terms of non-availability of educational material resources, schools inspectors' and school heads'

insistence on the use of English as the only language of education, as reflected in the study findings.

For successful implementation of a bilingual programme, it is necessary to develop African languages into genuine academic languages to appreciable levels (Alidou et al., 2006; Foley, 2008). In this study, teachers suggested the reason for non-implementation of the LIEP as unavailability of material resources. This finding demonstrates that the Government prescribed the use of the mother language without developing the essential educational materials to support policy implementation. There are two possible reasons why teachers did not want to implement the LIEP. The first explanation is that teachers were of the opinion that if the indigenous African languages were not fully developed there was no way in which they could use the mother tongue as the language of education (Simango, 2009). Similarly, critics of mother tongue education are said to cite the fact that these African indigenous languages are not yet developed, and as a result the severe lack of appropriate educational materials tends to have a negative impact on the implementation of the LIEP (Alidou et al., 2006). When an African language possesses more resources like in the case of KiSwahili of Tanzania, the attitudes towards that particular African language are positive (Adegbija, 1994). As suggested by the findings in this study, lack of developed educational materials tends to affect the image of indigenous African languages as the language of education (Nkomo, 2008; Muthivhi, 2008).

In order for African languages to be held in high regard, it is necessary to promote their prestige through assigning them greater communicative roles and functions (Adegbija, 1994; Alidou et al., 2006; Fernando et al., 2010), a factor which was not evident in the findings of this study. Lack of material resources in the mother tongue for use by primary school teachers was cited as one of the major reasons for shunning the mother tongue policy. Consequently, teachers raised the concern that the use of the mother language as the medium of instruction was not viable since there were no textbooks, no reference books and no syllabi in the mother language for teaching all other subjects except English. The same observation was made by Nkomo (2008), with reference to

the use of Shona and Ndebele, which were seen as not ready to be used as languages of education because of lack of requisite terminology.

Primary school teachers in this study were therefore not prepared to embrace the current LIEP, citing translation challenges due to lack of training and unavailability of literary terms glossaries for standardised names. Singled out by participants were lack of mathematical and science terms to use when teaching in the mother tongue, an issue which called for urgent attention in teaching and learning in primary schools (Gondo, Nyota and Mapara, 2005; Mufanechiya and Mufanechiya, 2011). Considering that Chimhundu (2005) has already produced a medical dictionary in ChiShona, there is the possibility for science-related subjects to be translated into the mother language (Mugweni et al., 2012). The teachers in my study stated categorically that they were not able and not willing to translate the existing documents written in English, a factor which may be a possible barrier to the implementation of the current LIEP. Similar findings were made by Alidou et al. (2006), when they observed that teachers in bilingual and multilingual schools are forced to translate materials which are meant for instruction in the foreign language. In Mashiya's (2011) study, teachers in KwaZulu-Natal stated that they preferred to teach in English as it was difficult to translate curriculum documents into the mother language. Findings in my study show that teachers did not see the logic behind using the mother tongue as the language of education when there was no common terminology, and when examining was done in English at Grade Seven level.

The question that arises is: "How will learners translate what they learnt in the mother language into English during an examination?" According to findings in this study, the answer to this question is that, for the LIEP to be seriously considered then tests and examinations in primary schools should be written in the mother language. Thus, study findings point to the fact that as long as educational materials were not developed well enough to allow learners to be tested through them, Zimbabwean indigenous languages would remain in a diminished status, thereby contributing as a barrier towards implementing a mother tongue policy in primary schools (Fernando et al., 2010).

Another factor related to lack of adequate materials was that the Government was viewed as not having the capacity to finance the reprinting of materials from English to the mother language. This finding is not new since research indicates that in other African countries, Governments do not contemplate getting involved in translating materials because they think that it will be an endeavour too expensive to achieve (Alidou et al., 2006). In the case of South Africa, Desai (2012) suggests that:

> ---the state will have to develop resources in these (African) languages, resources such as teachers trained to teach the African mother tongue, textbooks, reading material and terminology lists. African languages were likely to be seen as viable choices as languages of learning and teaching if they have some currency in domains other than the private (p. 58).

With reference to Zimbabwe, the same constraints were observed by Ndawi and Maravanyika (2011) who pointed out that the Government did not indulge in the exercise of reprinting educational materials for fear that it was an insurmountable task. According to study findings, failure by the state to supply primary schools with relevant educational materials may be explained in terms of lack of political will or lack of financial resources, a factor which may be attributed to the colonial mentality which restricted policy-makers from raising the status of African languages to languages of education (Chimhundu, 1997; 2010).

Findings indicate that teachers declared that implementation of the LIEP was unrealistic as it would involve the mammoth task of translating information from English to the learners' home language, skills which they said they currently did not possess. According to Jansen (2009), when teachers view the tasks involved in curriculum change as too demanding, they simply do not implement the proposed policy change. The lack of policy dissemination strategies and follow-up activities to guide teachers, coupled with failure to produce new materials in line with the 2006 LIEP, may have made teachers in this study doubt the quality of the policy which they regarded as unviable. When policy-makers and politicians focus on the 'what' of the desired change while neglecting the 'how' by failing to provide the necessary support to guide teachers, the result is implementation failure which may be blamed on the part of policy-makers (Rogan and Grayson, 2003:1171).

6.4 Persistent English hegemony

Findings of this study suggest that the role of English as a language for wider communication came out prominently. English was regarded as playing a significant role of unifying people from different linguistic backgrounds inside and outside the country. According to literature, this colonial concept of one-nation-one-language is a myth experienced by many ex-colonial countries in Africa (Owino, 2002) (See also item 3.3.1.1: Chapter 3). It is believed that a nation needs a single unifying language (Hornberger, 2002; Benson, 2005). The second language, which plays this integration role, is usually held in high esteem and value by ex-colonial subjects (Moodley, 2000; Nkomo, 2008; Mustapha, 2011). Teachers, school heads and schools' inspectors in this study strongly believed in the exceptional role of English as a language of wider communication. Hence, this high regard for English may have led to negative attitudes towards their own language which was seen as unable to perform that crucial role, a factor which may negatively impact on the use of the mother language in education.

The attitudinal misconception which was highlighted in this study was the belief that only English should be used as the language of education. This finding is not unique to my study as researches conducted in Nigeria revealed that there is apathy to the policy on the use of the mother language in education particularly from the educated elite and parents (Salami, 2008; Mustapha, 2011). Education authorities in African countries think that by using an indigenous language for the purpose of education, learners would be disadvantaged since it is believed that some science and mathematics concepts cannot be translated and subsequently taught in the mother language. Similarly, researches conducted in other African countries in the Central African Republic, Kenya, South Africa and Tanzania also indicated that the key stakeholders hold uninformed attitudes towards African indigenous languages, a factor which may become a major barrier to the implementation of a mother language policy (Banda, 2000; Benson, 2005; UNESCO Bangkok, 2008; Koch et al., 2009; Dalvit et al., 2009; Fernando et al., 2010). Likewise, the requirements of the 2006 LIEP were seen by participants in this study as opposed to societal expectations, particularly the values of parents. Therefore, the teachers' beliefs

in the myth that ChiShona cannot be used as a language of education may be regarded as a possible stumbling block in the implementation of the current LIEP.

The myth on the belief of 'maximum exposure', (Item 3.3.1.4: Chapter 3) as reflected in the findings of this study, probably explains why some teachers were against the implementation of a mother tongue policy up to the end of the primary school. It was believed that when the mother tongue is used in education, learners would not acquire the English language which was necessary as the language of education in secondary schools. Benson (2005), who cites studies by Cummins (1999, 2000), Ramirez et al. (1991) and Thomas and Collier (2002), affirms that research evidence to date indicates that the opposite is true. According to Benson (2005):

> The more highly developed the first language skills, the better the results in the second language, because language and cognition in the second build on the first (p. 8).

It can be inferred that, like other stakeholders in African education, primary school teachers, school heads and schools inspectors in this study may have lacked the requisite knowledge that a good foundation in the first language would actually facilitate the learning of a second language and assist learners to gain a high level of competence in the first language (Cummins, 2001; UNESCO Bangkok, 2008). The above findings were confirmed by the success of the Additive late-exit Bi-Lingual Education (ABLE) Project in South Africa (Koch et al., 2009). Furthermore, teachers in this study exhibited serious knowledge deficiencies on the role of the mother tongue in education since they failed to appreciate its importance by indicating their unwillingness to use it even if materials were reprinted in the indigenous languages, a move which can be explained in terms of English hegemony which may have resulted from colonial influence.

Similar findings are cited by Orman (2008) with regard to African black parents in ex-colonial countries who believe in the myth that if their children learn in English, that is the only way that they can master English effectively. Just like those African parents who do not appreciate the role of the mother language in education (Brock-Utne, 2007),

teachers in this study believed that mother tongue usage would prevent the development of academic proficiency in the second language English. Thus, teachers in my study wrongly argued against mother tongue usage in education probably because they were not aware of the principle which is declared by Alidou et al. (2006) that:

> --- a switch from mother tongue education to second language medium only is, contrary to popular wisdom, not necessary, nor the best way to ensure the highest level of proficiency in the second language (p. 15).

Therefore, the fact that teachers in this study had no knowledge of the crucial role played by the mother language in assisting the development of the second language may possibly explain why they were unwilling to implement the LIEP even if materials were translated into the local languages.

Still on maximum exposure, researches conducted in Zambia (Chishimba Nkoshi, 1999), Kenya (Muthwii, 2004), South Africa (Dalvit et al., 2009) and Nigeria (Mustapha, 2011) all revealed that stakeholders in education believed in the myth that the longer the children are exposed to English and the earlier they exit from an African language to English as the medium of instruction, the better. Similarly, my study findings were that teachers, school heads and schools' inspectors believed that the earlier children begin to learn in English the better their chances of mastering English would be, leading to good performance at secondary level and subsequently assumed better life chances. It was interesting to note that teachers, school heads and schools inspectors in this study were not at all concerned about the cognitive advantages which are possible only when pupils learn in their mother language. Rather, they were more worried about teaching in English as a way of preparing learners for their secondary education.

The argument for maximum exposure was that parents wanted their children to climb the employment ladder. Just like parents, teachers, school heads and schools' inspectors believed in early transition from the mother language to English. Participants hoped that learning in English would assist learners to pass Grade Seven examinations which are written in English, get good 'O' Level results, enter institutions of higher learning where English is a requirement and eventually get good jobs. Contrary to these

teachers' beliefs in the myth that learners who are taught in English perform better, were the findings Roy-Campbell (2001) came up with in Zimbabwe, that although English was used as the language of instruction, most students were not proficient in English and their performance in content subjects was not up to standard. In other words, if the LIEP was to be effectively implemented, since it advocates for late-exit transitional bilingual education, learners would master concepts better (Brock-Utne, 2007; Linton and Jimenez, 2009; Makoni et al., 2010; Desai, 2012). Thus, findings show that teachers in this study had limited knowledge on the fact that the late-exit transitional bilingual education is more likely to lead to better academic success (Alidou et al., 2006). I therefore argue that due to lack of adequate knowledge, the negative attitudes of teachers towards the use of the mother language up to the end of the primary school may be a factor that acts as a barrier to the implementation of the current LIEP.

Prominent in my study findings was the major role played by English as the only language for all examinations, from the primary school up to university. As a result, teachers felt it was not logical to teach in the mother language in primary schools where there were no resources whatsoever, and then learners would write their end of primary school examinations in English. The major question would be: 'How would learners who access the curriculum in the mother language be able to answer questions in English on the examination day?' Another related question would be: 'Will these learners be able to pass all the subjects which are written in English at 'O' Level?' I inferred these questions from the statements which kept emerging in the study results. It is my submission that if teachers do not get answers to these questions, then this factor may contribute towards resistance to the current LIEP.

Owing to its superiority, the central issue raised by informants in this study was that English played a momentous role as an international language, hence, learners were presumed to be of the view that they would get good jobs in the international community upon completion of their studies. Learners in this study were alleged to have fallen in love with English right from the pre-school (ECD) stage. I argue that since teachers in this study were aware of the learners' language choices, that factor could contribute

towards implementation failure pertaining to the current LIEP. The same findings were established in South Africa, where black African and coloured students indicated that they preferred to learn in English for the purpose of international 'mobility' (Moodley, 2000; Prinsloo, 2011). However, despite their assumed high hopes to be part of the international community, learners in my study were likely to get sub-standard varieties of English since the teachers admitted that they also were not competent enough in the second language. Similar findings were yielded by Holmarsdottir (2003) in South Africa, where it was observed that teachers who are speakers of African languages made grammatical and spelling errors when they taught in English. In Zimbabwe, Makoni et al. (2006) reported that primary school teachers in their study were found not to be competent enough to teach in English.

In describing the positive attitudes towards European languages, Adegbija (1994) asserts that such attitudes were created when those with the knowledge of English were promoted to higher positions which were instrumental to their gaining material rewards. Likewise, findings of my study indicated that qualified teachers who did not have English language at 'O' Level could neither be promoted to headship positions nor enter universities for professional development. Consequently, teachers in this study demonstrated that colonial experiences were still entrenched in their minds as they still regard English as the language of power and prestige, while the mother language is considered to be of low status, a factor which may act as a possible barrier to the current policy on the language of education. In that regard, Chimhundu (2010) emphasises that the negative attitudes against African languages and culture continue to be fostered in the postcolonial era by an indigenous elitist minority to keep the majority disempowered. The result is that Africans have come to strongly believe that European languages are superior because these are the only languages that are used in higher education and other positions of power. Teachers in this study indicated that they were afraid of experimenting with the current LIEP since they believed that only English was capable of expressing modern scientific and technological terms. For the successful implementation of the LIEP in Zimbabwe, Peresuh and Masuku (2002) point

out that it is crucial for teachers to have positive attitudes towards the mother language as a language of education.

It may be a challenge for teachers to readily accept a mother tongue policy because a language policy cannot be purely determined on pedagogical grounds as it is influenced by such factors as historical, political, economic and cultural issues (Owino, 2002; Mwamwenda, 2004). Due to the factors cited above, speakers of African languages are said to be facing a dilemma in the sense that an ex-colonial language is viewed as a 'supra language' of status, hence directed social planning cannot 'level the playing field' (Prinsloo, 2011:2). Similarly, teachers in my study appeared to face the same dilemma because they considered English to be a prestigious language which learners cannot do without as it is difficult, if not impossible, for them to be successful in life without the subject English. Thus, colonial effects were evident in my study findings as teachers, school heads, schools inspectors, parents and even learners all wanted to be associated with English because of its history as the language of education and employment, whereas African languages have been underrated for too long due to colonialism.

The marketing problem facing the mother language, therefore, may be considered as a factor that contributed towards implementation failure of the current LIEP. Study findings indicate that all the three categories of informants had positive attitudes towards English, whose perceived functions were seen as superior in higher education, in communication, for all examinations and for economic purposes. This finding was similar to the major concern raised by African communities pertaining to the extent to which learning in the mother tongue would benefit individuals in terms of accessing resources and employment as well as global mobility (Kamwangamalu, 2004). The perceived role of ex-colonial languages is further illustrated by Adegbija (1994), who argues that European languages are positively evaluated because of:

> ---what they can give, what they stand for, where they can take you to, and what they can make you become in life (p. 46).

Accordingly, a review of mother tongue education in Uganda revealed that teachers and parents were found to be of the belief that it was only through learning in English that the learners would pass their end of primary examinations and enter post-primary institutions so as to secure good jobs (Walusimbi cited in Adegbija, 1994). In South Africa, Mashiya (2011: 25) found that foundation phase teachers did not want to teach in the mother language as that would "prevent children from getting good jobs and from travelling and working abroad". In consequence, by teaching in English, teachers were convinced that they were creating better opportunities for children since English was viewed as the language of power. Likewise, teachers in my study saw no relevance in the LIEP of 2006 which they viewed as being of no market value since it calls on mother tongue usage in education (Nkomo, 2008). Therefore, because of persistent English hegemony, that fact may explain why teachers, school heads and schools' inspectors in this study resisted a mother tongue policy, thereby fulfilling what Phillipson (1996 in Moyo, 2001) referred to as the most persistent and powerful symbol of oppression that has stood the test of time in former British colonies.

The findings show that the two schools' inspectors in this study could tolerate code-switching in the infant grades, but they emphatically refused to support a policy which allowed the use of the mother tongue up to the end of the primary school. There are two possible explanations as to why schools inspectors did not support the current LIEP. The first explanation is that schools' inspectors were concerned that if learners were taught in the mother tongue, they may not be in a position to access the curriculum whose materials are in English and they would have a perceived subsequent disadvantage when learners answer examination questions for Grade Seven in English. The reason for their fear may have been caused by the fact that these schools inspectors were not aware of the requirements of the 2006 LIEP, and had not been staff developed on the importance of using the first language in the education of primary school learners (Alidou et al., 2006; Baker, 2006; Brock-Utne and Skattum, 2009). The second explanation might be that these schools' inspectors could have lacked faith in the mother language which they viewed as not capable of becoming a language of

education probably because it was not used during their own education (Ndawi and Maravanyika, 2011).

Just like schools' inspectors, school heads in this study also persisted on the use of English as the sole language of education. The study findings show that the school heads played a key role in enforcing the use of an outdated policy as they were found to be very strict on the implementation of the English only policy at their schools, contrary to the requirements of the current LIEP. Results also indicated that teachers were not given any opportunity by the school heads to discuss issues linked to the LIEP. Rather, findings showed that school heads conducted staff development programmes on the teaching of aspects of the second language such as comprehension and composition writing in English, a move which can be attributed to persistent English hegemony. In a study conducted by Hall and Hord (cited in Fullan, 1991), such school heads who continuously monitored policy implementation in order to reinforce it through interaction with staff, successfully achieved the intended objectives. The opposite was the case in this study where, instead of playing the role of assisting teachers' efforts to implement the change (Anderson, 2002), such support was not forthcoming from school heads when it came to the implementation of a mother tongue policy. Thus, failure by school heads to support teachers in this study may be one of the factors that acts as a barrier to effective implementation of the current LIEP.

The choice of English by teachers and other stakeholders in education may be genuinely on the grounds of the superior role of English in enabling someone to be enrolled in tertiary institutions and to get a good job. In this regard, Hungwe (2007) concluded that in Zimbabwe, skills in the English language are regarded as a crucial requirement for global mobility. For this reason, since teachers were aware of and strongly believed in the instrumental role of English, just like parents, it may be a big challenge for them to teach in the mother language. Another possible explanation could be that teachers might want to please the parents whom they know that they prefer English to other languages in the education of their children. When they are aware that the parents and the community at large disapprove of mother tongue usage in

education, this factor may negatively affect teachers' practices, thereby contributing towards failure to implement the 2006 LIEP. So, the persistence of pre-colonial language policies in Zimbabwe may be due to insistence by parents for teachers to use English (Peresuh and Masuku, 2002; Makoni et al., 2006). The parents who express anger towards the use of African languages for their children's education are said to possess elite language attitudes (Robinson, 1996; Orman, 2008). According to Rassool et al. (2006), shifting the beliefs of such parents is a major obstacle in the implementation of the mother tongue policy.

That teachers are regarded as belonging to the elite category (Adegbija, 1994) was confirmed in my study findings where teachers strongly rejected the use of the mother tongue in education in primary schools, citing the unique function played by English. The same findings were made in a research conducted in Malawi by Kaphesi (1999) where most teachers were pessimistic about the use of the mother language in the teaching of mathematics in the primary schools. Likewise, in Nigeria it was found that teachers and education inspectors had negative attitudes which prevented the implementation of the mother tongue policy (Salami, 2008). The elite have a strong belief in English as expressed by Alexander (2004) who asserts that:

> No other language in their estimation is or will be able to challenge the position or utility of English as a means of communication and therefore as an instrument for the production and exchange of commodities. The elites are captive to the notion that there is no alternative to English--- (p. 120).

Thus, educators who belong to the elite category can be active agents in the interpretation and implementation of a bilingual education policy, as revealed in the studies conducted by Johnson (2010), thereby disadvantaging learners from learning in their mother language. Teachers in this study were so much embroiled in their beliefs in the instrumental value of English to an extent that they did not consider the significant role of the home language in education. Yet, literature from recent studies is clear on the incontestable role of the mother language as a key factor on the cognitive development of learners, particularly at primary school level (Schtz, 2004; Alidou et al., 2006; Brock-Utne, 2007; Qorro, 2009; Vygotsky in Donald et al., 2010; Desai, 2012).

Vygotsky (cited in Sprinthall et al., 2006) placed emphasis on comprehension (Item 2.9: Chapter 2). In this study, teachers admitted that there was no comprehension in lessons, as learners did not understand concepts which were presented in English. So, the learners' second language could not be counted as a tool for learning (Desai, 2012). As the results show that learners could not understand if the second language was used, I argue that they therefore learnt through memorization as they had no confidence to engage in discussion, debate or to be involved in problem-solving activities using English (Holmarsdottir, 2003). Holmarsdottir (2003) found in a study conducted in South Africa that when a foreign language was used, learners learnt through memorization and could hardly answer questions which required explanation until the teachers reverted to the mother language. In a related study by Valdes (1998 cited in Baker, 2006), it was also established that learners who were not conversant in English as a second language found it impossible to question, apply critical thinking and collaboration, although they had the cognitive capacity available through their first language.

The same scenario as cited above in Holmarsdottir (2003) and Baker (2006) obtained in my study, where teachers were obliged to code-switch to the home language for learners to comprehend concepts which they could not master when the lesson was conducted in English. Teachers in this study confirmed that primary school learners, who were based in rural areas, lacked requisite proficiency in English to allow them to tackle analytical skills which are a prerequisite in the teaching and learning discourse (Paxton, 2009; Taylor, 2009). My submission is that learners were disadvantaged as they only possessed everyday language as opposed to the analytical language which is necessary in the school system (Cummings cited in Baker, 2006; Bernstein 1990 cited in Taylor, 2009; Orman, 2008; Alidou, 2009). Thus, lack of knowledge by teachers, on the need to use the mother language for the purpose of developing analytical skills, may be a possible factor that contributes towards implementation failure.

With further reference to persistent English hegemony, Zvobgo (1994 cited in Moyo, 2001) indicates that Zimbabweans favoured English because during the colonial period it helped the natives to get some form of employment in the kitchens and gardens of the white men. The same sentiments were raised by teachers in this study, where they revealed the belief that even during the current era of postcolonialism, as long as individuals could effectively communicate in English, they would still earn a decent living. English was seen by teachers in this study as mainly being capable of creating opportunities for further education and a profitable future, where those who learn in English could join a superior rank of global elites. Such a finding, no doubt, demonstrates that the colonial mentality on the superiority of English is still anchored in the thinking of the participants in this study, thereby making it almost impossible for them to accept the current LIEP.

6.5 Negative attitudes towards the mother tongue

Although findings in this study pointed to unavailability of educational materials as one of the major barriers to policy implementation, it was interesting to note that almost all the teachers were not prepared to teach in the mother language even if all the textbooks and syllabuses were translated into African indigenous languages. The question which may arise is: "Why are teachers unwilling to teach in the mother tongue even if all the educational materials are translated into the mother language?" This finding can be explained in terms of negative attitudes towards the mother language which was considered to be of no value to the education of a child and the subsequent future world of employment. Studies conducted in Africa confirmed that teachers and education authorities who themselves were educated through a European language were found not to have faith in any other language as the language of education, a position held by the elite category of those individuals who were influenced by colonial thinking (Item 3.7: Chapter 3). The elite, a category to which teachers are believed to belong, has strong negative attitudes towards the mother language. Adegbija (1994 citing Baker, 1992), underscores the importance of knowledge of language attitudes, with particular reference to Sub-Saharan Africa by stating that:

Attempting language shift by language planning, language policy making and the provision of human and material resources can all come to nothing if attitudes are not favourable to change. Language engineering can flourish or fail according to the attitudes of the community (p. 49).

Therefore, the power of attitudes is clearly demonstrated in the above citation, for example with regard to the success or failure of a policy on the language of education for Zimbabwe, particularly when teachers are not willing to implement a mother tongue policy. In this study, after having explored the attitudes of primary school teachers, the findings revealed that they had negative thoughts, beliefs and feelings towards the mother language, hence they were not ready to take up the mother tongue policy as a plan of action even if the Government had re-printed all the educational materials into indigenous languages. Suffice it to say that teachers in this study went through a British type of education from primary, secondary and subsequent teacher training institutions. In consequence, because the negative beliefs and attitudes of these teachers did not get prior attention when the policy was proposed, that factor may explain why teachers were unwilling to implement the current LIEP which encourages mother tongue usage.

Teachers in this study were all convinced that learners face challenges when English is used as the language of education and that they understand better when the mother language is used to explain difficult and abstract concepts. This finding is similar to other research findings from other African countries where learners were found to be more psychologically secure and emotionally comfortable when their mother language was used in education than a strange language (Adegbija, 1994; Moyo, 2001; Roy-Campbell, 2001; Brock-Utne, 2007; Salami, 2008; UNESCO Bangkok, 2008; The ABLE Project cited in Koch et al., 2009; Ademowo, 2010). However, what was surprising in the results was that despite their conviction that learners understand better when they are taught in the mother language, teachers in this study expressed that they would prefer to use English, a move which may be explained in terms of the low status of indigenous languages and which may possibly hinder effective implementation of the current policy on the language of education.

For my study, it was vital to find out from teachers about the attitudes of parents and the community at large in order to establish the extent to which these beliefs may actually impact on teachers' practices. Parents in this study, who are the major stakeholders in education, were alleged to have high hopes for their offspring. It was assumed that any attempt by school administrators to enforce the LIEP of 2006 was likely to incur the wrath of parents and guardians who would rather withdraw their children and send them to English medium schools than let them learn in the mother language (Mustapha, 2011). This finding is supported by Nkomo (2008), who reports that in Zimbabwe, indigenous languages are viewed as less capable of adequately dealing with economic development, international trade, and science and technology issues. Similarly, teachers and school heads in this study claimed that parents preferred an English-only policy right from pre-school, allegedly due to the low status of the mother language which did not have economic benefits.

The depth of negative attitudes towards the mother language has made some authorities wonder whether schools would take up the policy if all the textbooks were translated. This view is amply demonstrated by Foley (2008) who proclaims that:

> Even assuming that at some point in the future the African languages have been effectively developed, that the curriculum has been efficiently translated, and that a full quota of properly trained teachers is available, there is still the question of whether schools will adopt the policy and implement it thoroughly (p. 9).

The concern raised above by Foley was confirmed in my study where teachers and school heads clearly declared their unwillingness to implement a mother tongue policy in primary schools even if all the materials were translated into the indigenous languages of Zimbabwe. If teachers regard the mother language as inferior and an inadequate tool for the purpose of formal education and success in life, then they may ignore the policy which requires them to use the home language up to the end of the primary school.

The following question which one might ask, 'Do historical forces have any impact on language attitudes?' was well answered in this study. The findings indicate that participants had negative beliefs and attitudes towards the mother language and these appeared to be highly rooted in the colonial and related postcolonial experiences. This

was evident in the way the study informants highlighted the momentous role of English as the language of examinations, higher education, promotion, employment and for communicating with those from different linguistic backgrounds inside and outside the country.

Inadvertently, teachers, school heads and schools inspectors in this study therefore all acknowledged that colonialism had negatively influenced the postcolonial subjects who believed that English was a language of power. Study findings revealed that participants saw it as a contradiction when, on one hand English was made a requirement for all those entering tertiary institutions and at the same time asking teachers to teach using the mother language which was not recognized in examinations, employment and for promotion purposes. As long as the status of the mother language remains low, it is my contention that the negative attitudes of teachers and those of school administrators may be a factor that hinders primary school teachers from implementing the policy on the language of education.

6.6 Teachers' concerns and fears

Teachers play a crucial role in implementing change. Therefore in this study their individual concerns and fears were sought for the purpose of planning intervention strategies as suggested by the CBAM (Item 5.7: Chapter 2). The assessment of teacher concerns, attitudes, feelings and motivations was crucial since these factors have a powerful influence on the implementation of a change policy (Anderson, 2002; Bitan-Friedlander et al., 2004; Sweeney, 2008; Hollingshead, 2009). When evaluated against the CBAM, teachers in this study were in the early self concerns phase of Awareness, Informational and Personal stages. Therefore, teachers had higher self concerns as they expressed lack of awareness with regards to the provisions of the LIEP and that they sought information to get more knowledge. They experienced strong anxieties pertaining to their lack of capability to meet the demands of implementing the 2006 LIEP. They were also worried about the appropriateness of the LIEP in the education of primary school learners given the current low status of the mother language, and what that would cost them in the light of objections from schools inspectors, school heads

and parents. Clearly, teachers in this study had unanswered concerns and fears pertaining to how learners would attack questions in Grade Seven examinations which are written in English, if all the subjects are taught in the mother language.

That some teachers would be worried about their personal difficulties in implementing change and how to incorporate it in their daily practice was also a finding by Bitan-Friedlander et al. (2004) on teacher responses to implementation of change (Item 2.6: Chapter 2). Weighed alongside the categories that Bitan-Friedlander et al. (2004) came up with, teachers in my study can all be classified under the 'Worried' type. They appear to belong to this category because they all expressed personal difficulties in implementing reforms pertaining to the LIEP, citing low self-confidence due to lack of training and inadequate resources. Similarly, when also measured against Hollingshead's (2009) findings on the types of implementers, the category under which teachers in my study may be placed is the first type termed the 'Resistor'. In this category, Hollingshead found that the teacher is worried about how to implement the policy change and prefers to do things in his or her own way, and hence may decline to participate in the innovation. Likewise, teachers in this study were not prepared to take up the mother tongue policy, but to use their own discretion to code-switch to the mother language when learners failed to grasp difficult concepts taught in English.

Results in this study specified that teachers experienced feelings of low self-efficacy since they reported that they were incapacitated by lack of training to enable them to teach in the mother language. The findings by Matoti et al. (2011) were that teachers required capacity to allow them to handle challenging situations, hence the need to understand teachers' beliefs about their own effectiveness, known as teacher efficacy (Item 2.7: Chapter 2). Adeyemo and Onongha (2010:354) express the view that self-efficacy assists in two major ways. The first is that self-efficacy beliefs influence task choice. The second is that self-efficacy determines effort, persistence, resilience and achievement. The above view is clarified by Bhatt (2007:71), who explains people's behaviour in terms of self-efficacy by saying that the trend is that people take joy in and pursue activities which they believe they have the requisite skills. In Bhatt's view,

individuals tend to abandon those tasks which they feel require more than they are capable of achieving. Teachers in this study believed that they did not have the capability to implement the mother tongue policy under the prevailing circumstances at their respective schools. They had not seen anyone successfully implementing a mother tongue policy, and they had not collaborated with colleagues to encourage each other as a professional community, (Hargreaves, 2005; Sergiovanni, 2005) on how to implement a mother tongue policy. Consequently, since they believed that they did not have requisite knowledge and skills to implement change, that factor may have contributed towards their resisting the change due to low self-efficacy (Bitan-Friedlander et al., 2004; Mwamwenda, 2004; Darling-Hammond, 2005; Adeyemo and Onongha, 2010; Matoti et al., 2011).

As they felt disempowered to implement the 2006 LIEP, teachers in this study expressed a strong desire to undergo training to enable them to handle this curriculum change issue. In a study conducted by Hargreaves (2005) on the role of emotions in the execution of policy change, it was found that when teachers felt insufficiently skilled on how to put into practice the proposed policy, that had a bearing on the implementation aspect. The same findings were made in another study by James and Jones (2008), where anxiety was found to lead to high levels of resistance due to lack of training, among other sources of anxiety, thereby blocking the implementation of change. Teachers in this study indicated that they did not receive emotional support from parents, school heads and schools' inspectors on the use of the mother language in the education of primary school learners, thereby causing anxiety in their practice. I reason that if concerns and fears experienced by primary school teachers in Zimbabwe are not taken into consideration, that factor may explain why the mother language policy continues to be ignored (Collarbone, 2009).

6.7 Strategies for promoting mother tongue usage
The other strand drawn from the collected data in this study was that informants proposed the sensitisation of stakeholders and subsequent professional development of

teachers, school heads and schools inspectors as the most effective way of combating the barriers to the implementation of the LIEP. The other ways suggested in promoting the status of the mother language were the provision of educational materials and making the mother language a requirement on the job market. The following question arises: 'What strategies can be employed to make teachers knowledgeable about the vital role played by the mother language in the education of primary school learners?' Such a question could then be addressed by offering relevant professional development courses or modules in teacher education institutions which should be complemented by other forms of staff development offered by the MoESAC as suggested by study participants. It was evident in the study findings that in order for the LIEP to be effectively implemented, practising teachers had to undergo retraining through various professional development programmes which include in-service as one of the strategies of upgrading teachers (Fullan, 1998; Rogan and Grayson, 2003; Bitan-Friedlander et al., 2004). Christopher Day (1999) defines professional development as:

> The process by which, alone and with others, teachers review, renew and extend their commitment as change agents to the moral purposes of teaching--- (p. 4).

Darling-Hammond (2005) also considers in-service training as a requirement before teachers are expected to be engaged in tackling new methods of teaching (Items 3.8.2; 3.8.2.1; 3.8.2.2: Chapter 3). The empowerment of teachers through professional development is in line with the current trends in teacher education where pre-service and in-service teachers ought to be made aware of bilingual education in order to achieve balanced bilingualism (Mwamwenda, 2004; Alidou et al., 2006; Baker, 2006; Donald et al., 2010; Fernando et al., 2010; Prinsloo, 2011). (See also more details on items 2.10.6 to 2.10.9: Chapter two). Training was recommended by participants in this study as the major way through which barriers can be reduced to allow for the implementation of the late-exit model of transitional bilingualism (Item 2.10.4: Chapter 2), in line with the demands of the current LIEP. In other words, findings point towards the important task to be undertaken by teacher education institutions in equipping their students with the requisite knowledge and skills which make them gain confidence on how to implement the bilingual policy upon completion of their studies. Research

conducted in most European and North American contexts indicated that teacher education institutions did not pay attention to the challenges of bilingual education (Cummins, 2005). The same findings were yielded in Africa where research has proved that teacher education institutions still prepare their students to teach in ex-colonial languages in schools. Similarly, such lack of teacher preparedness was also evident in Malawi (IEQ Research Project, 2000) and in South Africa (Rassool et al., 2006). This means that teachers graduate from teacher education institutions without much knowledge about the significant role of the mother tongue in education. As a result, they would find it a big challenge to implement a mother tongue policy upon completion of their pre-service or in-service programmes. For that reason, Roy-Campbell (2001) implores teacher education programmes to come up with innovative ways of helping learners to value their mother language as well as developing proficiency in English, which appears to be the goal of the current LIEP for Zimbabwean primary schools. All teachers in this study confirmed that they never got any form of training in methodological skills in the usage of the mother language as the medium of instruction, hence they suggested the inclusion of relevant modules for both pre-service and in-service programmes at teacher education institutions. I argue that negative attitudes may result from lack of adequate training in respect of the cognitive benefits of education in the mother tongue. When teachers are not well versed in the pedagogical benefits of teaching and learning in the first language, then they cannot be expected to enthusiastically introduce it in their practice. As reflected in my study findings, teachers cannot have the expertise and confidence to implement a mother tongue policy, particularly in the absence of relevant educational material resources.

For the mother tongue policy to succeed in Zimbabwe, Nkomo (2008) aptly points out that the Zimbabwean LIEP should not be restricted to the classroom practice without considering what happens in the lecture rooms where teachers are produced. This implies that Nkomo regards teacher education programmes in Zimbabwe as crucial in preparing teachers in the use of the first language as the language of teaching and learning in primary schools, in tandem with the expectations of the current LIEP. Now that teachers in this study confirmed that they were not exposed to any approaches on

how to implement a bilingual education programme during their initial teacher training and even at in-service level for those who had obtained degrees, my argument is that they may lack knowledge and skills to teach in the mother tongue as a change strategy, a factor which may contribute to implementation failure (Fullan, 1998; Benson, 2005; Cummins, 2005; Baker, 2006; Foley, 2008; Jansen, 2009).

Due to the fact that teachers in this study indicated that they needed to be staff developed, it means that their knowledge, beliefs and attitudes may not have been considered when the LIEP was introduced for them to implement it (McLaughlin, 1998; Bitan-Friedlander, 2004; Benson, 2005; Sergiovanni, 2005; Foley, 2008; Jansen, 2009). The same sentiments are echoed by Foley (2008:8) who avers that in addition to the training of student teachers in the use of African languages for teaching and learning, it would also be necessary to upgrade the competence levels of those teachers who are already in practice. It was the participants' contention that their needs had to be met, as failure to do so was viewed as tantamount to implementation failure. In other words, if practising primary school teachers do not get in-service training on methodological techniques in the usage of the mother tongue as the language of teaching and learning, it may be regarded as a factor that hinders effective implementation of the bilingual policy. The question here is: 'If the minds of teachers are still colonised, will professional development programmes succeed in changing their attitudes?'

Achieving the above stated task may not be automatic due to deeply rooted attitudes inherent in individuals and institutions as revealed in this study. However, literature has shown that in-service training of bilingual education teachers has been successful in Bolivia (Albo and Anaya 2003 cited in Benson, 2005), Namibia (Stroud 2002 cited in Benson, 2005) and in South Africa under the PRAESA (Project for the Study of Alternative Education in South Africa) at the University of Cape Town (Rassool et al., 2006; Alidou, 2009). At the University of KwaZulu-Natal, three modules are offered as a way of preparing Post Graduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) students to be able to teach in isiZulu in Foundation Phase classes (Grade R-3) upon completion of their programme (Mashiya, 2010, 2011; Van Laren and Goba, 2013). Therefore, through pre-

service and in-service training, I argue that it may be a way of enhancing teacher competencies in mother tongue usage in education while at the same time attempting to create positive attitudes to those teachers who would otherwise look down upon the home language due to colonial influence.

Besides the involvement of teacher education institutions in the training of bilingual education teachers, the other form of intervention strategy that was suggested by study participants was the production of educational materials (Item 3.10: Chapter 3). Results of this study demonstrated that teacher education institutions were regarded as appropriately placed to spearhead production of educational resource materials. Literature makes reference to the Rivers Readers' Project in Nigeria where materials of reasonable quality were developed even in situations where resources were scarce. Therefore, it was suggested that before any attempt is made to enforce the use of the current LIEP, there is need to allocate resources for teachers and learners since the current scenario leaves the teachers desperate due to lack of requisite terminology (Foley, 2008; Nkomo, 2008). Failure to produce relevant educational materials for use in primary schools may thus lead to the resistance of the bilingual education policy as reflected in my study findings.

6.8 Conclusion of chapter

In this chapter, I discussed the possible explanations for the study findings as well as implications of the study. Two strands came out in this case study with regards to the barriers experienced by rural primary school teachers in implementing a late-exit bilingual education policy which allows learners to access the curriculum in their mother language up to Grade Seven. The first thread that runs through this case study was that the five major barriers to policy implementation all appeared to be related to attitudes associated with postcolonial thinking. As a result, the beliefs and perceptions of teachers, school heads and schools' inspectors were negatively influencing the implementation of a mother tongue policy. What was disturbing was that even if educational materials were translated into the mother language, teachers indicated that they would still not be prepared to take up the mother tongue policy, a position which clearly revealed negative attitudes towards use of the mother language in education.

According to study informants, the reason for such attitudes were that English had become part of the culture for the people of Zimbabwe, as colonialism and its aftermath had taught them to look down upon their mother language which did not offer any instrumental benefits. Therefore, the discussion in this chapter has illustrated how the factors that contribute to implementation failure are all linked to a postcolonial standpoint in one way or another.

The other strand discussed in this chapter had to do with the strategies suggested by the study informants on how to minimize the barriers to the implementation to the LIEP. It emerged that in addition to policy dissemination strategies and the production of educational resource materials, teachers indicated that they were in need of thorough professional development strategies to assist them to create positive attitudes towards the use of the mother language in education. The suggested objective for serious professional development activities was due to the fact that attitudes which have been embedded in people for over one hundred years due to colonialism are difficult to eradicate. It was thus argued that for the implementation of the mother tongue policy to be successful, it was critical to address the concerns of teachers. It may be concluded that inherent negative attitudes acquired due to colonialism and its 'hangover' contribute as effective barriers to the implementation of a policy which calls on mother tongue usage in the education of primary school pupils in Masvingo District. In the next chapter, I provide a summary and conclusions drawn from the study, as well as recommendations and suggested areas for further study.

CHAPTER 7: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, the findings of this study were discussed, where the major goal was to discover the factors that contribute as barriers to effective implementation of the 2006 language-in-education policy for primary schools. The main purpose of this chapter is to present a summary of the study, the conclusions, the recommendations and the areas for further studies.

7.2 Summary

The main purpose of my study was to explore the factors that hinder teachers from effectively implementing the policy on the language of education which is meant to be currently in use in Zimbabwean primary schools. Zimbabwe is one of the countries which are striving to achieve additive bilingualism through the use of the mother language during the primary years of schooling. As a result, a policy was put in place under the Education Act of 1987, whereby learners were allowed to access the curriculum in their home language during the first three years of the primary school. The policy was amended in 2006 to enable the mother tongue to be the language of education up to the end of the primary school. However, since the inception of this 2006 policy, which is the focus of my study, it remains glaringly unimplemented in primary schools (Magwa, 2008; Nkomo, 2008; Chimhundu, 2010). Therefore the study investigated the everyday experiences of rural primary school teachers in the implementation of the LIEP in Masvingo District of education, with a view to examining the nature of barriers to policy implementation.

This study was motivated by the desire to understand why the LIEP, which is meant for the benefit of primary school pupils through learning in their mother tongue, continues to be violated. My study is unique because its findings are based on primary data from teachers, school heads and schools' inspectors who happen to be the custodians of the policy on the language of education. A number of African countries have policies that allow learners to learn in the mother tongue in primary education (Alidou et al., 2006;

Mutasa, 2006; Mtenje, 2008; Chimhundu, 2010). However, a review of literature on the implementation of the LIEP indicates that most researches focus on challenges that learners face when learning through a foreign language (Brock-Utne, 2007; Brock-Utne and Skattum, 2009; Desai, 2012). Few studies, if any, have been conducted in Zimbabwe specifically to examine why primary school teachers do not implement the policy on the language of education. My study has thus taken a new dimension and has broken new ground by exploring how teachers conceptualize and respond to the LIEP and the nature of barriers that they experience with regard to the implementation of the current LIEP in primary schools. The study will also assist by revealing how the attitudes and beliefs of school heads and schools inspectors as purveyors of the language-in-education policy can influence how teachers respond to the implementation of the policy on the language of education. In order to achieve my goal in establishing the nature of barriers experienced by teachers in implementing the LIEP, the views of teachers, school heads and schools inspectors were therefore sought, along with the perceived views of parents and learners as expressed by teachers and school heads. The views of teachers were gathered through semi-structured open-ended questionnaires and focus group discussions, while school heads and schools' inspectors responded to individual participant interviews. The data gathered from the three schools and the two district offices were compared and the literature on related studies was used to analyse how the study informants were influenced by their beliefs, attitudes, social and cultural inclinations towards mother tongue usage in education.

The literature reviewed as discussed in chapters two and three indicated that by simply enacting education policies without involving teachers, a gap may be created between policy and practice (Fullan, 1991; McLaughlin, 1998; Jansen, 2009). Therefore, my study was premised on the notion that policy formulation and the actual classroom practice by teachers are two distinct processes which, if not well managed, may result in implementation failure (Brynard, 2005). Accordingly, the literature reviewed covered aspects such as the approaches to policy implementation as well as external and internal factors which affect policy implementation (Items 2.4.2 and 2.4.3: Chapter 2).

The CBAM was explored and it was evident from the literature that when teachers are overwhelmed or feeling unsuccessful, policy implementation cannot be successful until their concerns are addressed (Item 2.5: Chapter 2). Related to the CBAM are teachers' beliefs about their own capabilities, known as self-efficacy, which have a tremendous influence on the behaviour, perceptions and self-confidence of teachers to effectively perform a task (Items 2.7; 2.7.1 and 2.7.2: Chapter 2). Therefore, the self-efficacy theory in relation to policy implementation was explored in the literature (Borich and Tombari, 1997; Adeyemo and Onongha, 2010; Matoti et al., 2011) to ascertain which of the sources of self-efficacy may affect the implementation process. The literature further makes it clear that teacher emotions play a critical role in policy implementation. Hence, failure to take these into consideration may create resistance to policy implementation (Hargreaves, 2005; James and Jones, 2008; Collarbone, 2009). Therefore, it is argued in literature that failure to understand and appreciate the concerns of teachers with regard to the LIEP can lead to their failure to embrace the curriculum change.

The role of language in cognitive development was also explored in the literature (Item 2.9: Chapter 2). It was revealed in literature that according to Vygotsky's theory, language is a crucial tool in teaching and learning, and that there is need to create confidence in learners through the use of the mother language in education (Schutz, 2004; Sprintall et al., 2006; Bhatt, 2007; Donald et al., 2010). Through the use of a familiar language, learners would be able to freely express themselves when analyzing the taught concepts. Accordingly, it was affirmed in literature that when teachers do not understand and appreciate the analytical nature of the school language, as opposed to everyday language, they may not implement the mother tongue policy due to lack of such knowledge (Baker, 2006; Orman, 2008; Alidou, 2009; Paxton, 2009; Taylor, 2009).

Since my study is based on a late-exit bilingual education model which encourages mother tongue usage up to the end of the primary school, various forms of relevant bilingual education programmes were explored (Items 2.10.2 up to 2.10.8: Chapter 2). Due to knowledge deficiency on the pedagogic advantages of employing additive bilingualism as prescribed by the current LIEP, teachers may implement subtractive

forms which regard the mother language as of no value to the learners (Mwamwenda, 2004; Cummins, 2005; Alidou et al., 2006; Baker, 2006; Linton and Jimenez, 2009; Fernando et al., 2010; Prinsloo, 2011).

A critical examination of related literature was also made pertaining to specific factors that act as barriers to the use of the mother tongue as the language of education. One of the major factors brought up in literature is that if there is absence of a strong political will or commitment on the part of policy-makers, it becomes a state-related barrier to the implementation of a mother tongue policy in African countries in general (Bamgbose, 1991; Banda, 2000; Blommaert, 2006; Mtenje, 2008; Valdiviezo, 2009; Ghazali, 2010) and Zimbabwe in particular (Chimhundu, 1997; Magwa, 2008; Nkomo, 2008; Makanda, 2009). (Details are presented in items 3.2; 3.2.1 to 3.2.5: Chapter three).

It has been asserted in literature that language attitudes play a dominant role in determining the success or failure of a policy on the language of education (Item 3.3: Chapter three). The language attitudes are seen as emanating from several language myths which research has found to be more false than true (Dalvit et al., 2009). Those language myths, which exalt European languages and denigrate African languages tend to guide the thinking of teachers and other stakeholders in education, thereby contributing as a category of barriers towards the implementation of a policy which recommends mother tongue usage in education (Adegbija, 1994; Hornbeger, 2002; Wolff, 2002; Benson, 2005; Alidou et al., 2006; Orman, 2008; Salami, 2008; UNESCO Bangkok, 2008; Brock-Utne and Skattum, 2009; Mustapha, 2011).

With regards to the superior status of English, it is assumed in literature that Africans from countries with a colonial history look up to the ex-colonial language for social, economic and political power and prestige. For the reason that they do not empower individuals to access high paying jobs, power, wealth and further academic opportunities, African languages are thus viewed as being of no 'market' value (Kamwangamalu, 2004, 2009). Hence, the positive attitudes towards English, which appear to be driven by the instrumental value of this language, tend to contribute as a barrier towards implementation of a mother tongue policy in education (Items 3.4 and

3.6: Chapter three: Ridge, 2004; Makoni et al., 2006; Hungwe, 2007; Foley, 2008; Coetzee-van Rooy, 2009; Prinsloo, 2011).

Literature further asserts that the negative attitudes towards the use of the mother language in education are exacerbated by the behaviour and beliefs of the elites, which is a category of postcolonial subjects. The elite group, which literature declares that teachers and other stakeholders happen to belong, would rather be associated with Western society and values than African languages and culture (Item 3.7: Chapter three: Adegbija, 1994; Alexander, 2004; Hornbeger and Vaish, 2009; Johnson, 2010).

With regards to intervention strategies, teacher training through pre-service and in-service programmes was viewed as the most relevant method of preparing teachers to use African languages as media of instruction in bilingual contexts. Such professional development strategies can be undertaken on the job, in teachers' colleges and in teacher education departments in universities (Fullan, 1998; Bitan-Friedlander et al., 2004; Darling-Hammond, 2005; Sergiovanni, 2005; Baker, 2006; Alidou, 2009; Van Laren and Goba, 2013). Another intervention strategy suggested in literature is the development of educational materials, a move which can be made easier by translating textbooks and other teaching and learning materials into relevant African languages. It was argued in literature that scholars involved in developing African languages into genuine academic and scientific discourses are expected to work collaboratively with other intellectuals in a given speech community, in order to earn peoples' respect and hence positive attitudes towards them as languages of education (Adegbija, 1994; Benson, 2005; Alidou et al., 2006; Foley, 2008; Muthivhi, 2008; Nkomo, 2008; Simango, 2009; Fernando et al., 2010; Mashiya, 2011; Desai, 2012).

In terms of methodology, this research is a qualitative study which is premised on the postcolonial theory paradigm driven by an emancipatory objective (Item 4.2 and 4.3: Chapter four). A case study of teachers from three rural primary schools, their school heads and two schools inspectors from Masvingo District of Education was conducted. Data was collected through the use of semi-structured open-ended questionnaires, focus group discussions and individual interviews. My choice of these instruments was

influenced by the postcolonial epistemological perspective which encourages participants to speak out what affects their lives and allows them to come up with possible solutions to their problems. The research instruments that I used enabled me to get rich thick data from teachers, school heads and schools inspectors' narratives pertaining to the implementation of the current policy on the language of education in primary schools. In the process, all my research questions and the corresponding objectives were addressed. I analysed the data and arrived at conclusions inductively, a summary of which is presented below.

7.3 Conclusions and Recommendations

The conclusions were drawn from the related literature reviewed in Chapter two and Chapter three, and the empirical data presented in Chapters five and six. It was in the context of these conclusions that recommendations to address the factors that hinder effective policy implementation of the LIEP were made. This research established that there were many factors which inhibited the implementation of the 2006 LIEP which encourages mother tongue usage in primary schools. Data from my study identified five major categories of barriers which include inadequate policy dialogue, lack of support, persistent English hegemony, negative attitudes towards the mother language and teacher concerns and fears as inhibitors to the implementation of the current policy on the language of education.

7.3.1 Inadequate policy dialogue as a barrier to policy implementation

7.3.1.1 Conclusions

Analysis of data has shown that teachers, school heads and schools' inspectors were not knowledgeable of the existence of the 2006 LIEP, which proposes that teachers are free to use the mother language in the education of primary school pupils. There were no circulars, no clear policy guidelines and no follow-up activities as mechanism put in place by the MoESAC to make teachers aware of the demands of the current LIEP and how to implement it. Consequently, when nobody is clear about what needs to be done

as a result of failure to put in place mechanisms to prepare teachers or to make the vital follow-up activities, implementation becomes unfeasible. Such lack of Government intervention to come up with relevant policy dissemination strategies may have contributed towards failure by teachers, school heads and schools' inspectors to determine the reason for policy change, making it difficult, if not impossible to implement a policy which implementers were not aware of. Due to lack of knowledge on the stipulations of the current policy, it may have resulted in the implementation of an outdated and hence inappropriate policy whereby teachers struggled to use English as the language of education from Grade One, only to code-switch to the first language in all the grades as an individual technique to make learners understand difficult concepts. Teachers believed that English was the sole language of education because they had not experienced any policy changes through any form of professional development. In other words, teachers had not been exposed to any form of strategy to educate them on the reason for the shift from the English-only policy to the use of the mother language in education up to Grade Seven. As they were not aware of the benefits of using the mother tongue, they could therefore not promote a language policy which calls for mother tongue use in education.

7.3.1.2 Recommendations

In the light of the conclusions drawn above that there was no dialogue between policy makers and policy implementers, it is recommended that effort has to be made to devote serious attention to policy advocacy and the employment of effective dissemination mechanisms in the form of circulars, policy guidelines and various staff development strategies in a bid to make teachers aware of the expectations of policy-makers. In order to allow teachers to feel involved in the implementation of the LIEP, policy-makers should seek ideas from them as policy implementers, as a way of making teachers appreciate the pedagogical advantages for the shift from an English-only policy to the use of the mother language in the education of primary school learners. Such an approach would enable educators to appreciate the significance of using the first language and how to implement such a policy.

Popularizing the mother tongue policy can be done through Government sponsored staff development workshops for educators at district, cluster and school levels to make them aware of the policy requirements and to equip them with the requisite skills to implement a bilingual education policy. Through these policy dissemination mechanisms, this may allow teachers to promote balanced bilingualism in their schools and to reduce the bias towards the mother language which results from a colonial mentality. Such sensitisation should include teachers, school heads, schools' inspectors, colleges and university lecturers in teacher education and parents.

7.3.2 Lack of support

7.3.2.1 Conclusions

It emerged from the study findings that primary schools were not supplied with any form of material resources necessary to sustain the implementation of the current LIEP. The Government had prescribed the use of the mother language without developing essential educational materials to support the mother tongue policy, a position which participants attributed to lack of political will. It surfaced in the study that participants were of the view that the Government had no capacity to reprint materials into the local languages due to financial constraints. Since the materials in the form of textbooks, teachers' guides and syllabuses were all written in English, teachers found it a big challenge to translate information into the mother language during lesson delivery, thereby contributing to the perpetual diminished status of the local languages. Coupled with lack of support in the form of educational materials, was also lack of social and moral support from school heads and schools' inspectors to allow teachers to use the mother language in the education of primary school pupils. This was evidenced by these administrators' insistence on the use of English as the only language of education, to the extent of discouraging code-switching thereby thwarting any efforts by primary school teachers to implement a mother tongue policy.

7.3.2.2 Recommendations

Teachers in this study pointed to lack of relevant educational materials as a serious drawback to the implementation of the LIEP. This implies that before efforts are made to enforce the use of the mother tongue, educational materials should be availed to all primary schools for use by teachers and learners. As reprinting of materials was viewed as an expensive endeavour, the Government could source donor funding from Non-Governmental Organizations such as UNICEF which has already donated textbooks in English, in order to translate them particularly for rural primary school learners. Translation of materials for the use by teachers and learners and making them available to all schools could help enhance the implementation of the LIEP and may assist in creating positive attitudes on the part of those people who might view African indigenous languages negatively due to lack of requisite terminology.

Universities which award diplomas and degrees in primary education should thus spearhead the production of educational materials in all the primary school subjects, the possibility of which has already been demonstrated by the production of a medical dictionary (Chimhundu, 2005).

7.3.3 Persistent English hegemony as a barrier

7.3.3.1 Conclusions: Educators' beliefs

The superiority of English came out prominently as the language of textbooks, examinations, further education, future employment and promotion to posts of responsibility. Related to the benefits of English as the language of power were beliefs in many language myths, which are uninformed beliefs on the effects of the first language in education. As a result, school heads and schools' inspectors strictly insisted on the use of English as the only language of education. Furthermore, due to beliefs and positive attitudes associated with the English language, it was difficult for teachers, school heads and schools' inspectors to embrace a LIEP which recommends mother tongue use in education. It emerged that teachers were not prepared to use the mother language in education because they did not see the logic of teaching in the home

language when educational materials were all in English, and all examinations were written in English at Grade Seven level, which led them to believe that only English should be used as the language of education. Therefore, when teachers do not see the need for policy change, and when they strongly believe in English hegemony, they may ignore or resist the mother tongue policy in education.

7.3.3.2 Recommendations

Since teachers did not have adequate knowledge on the fundamental role played by the mother tongue in education particularly at primary school level, they should receive training in that respect. Accordingly, universities that offer programmes in primary education both at pre-service and in-service levels should design and offer courses (modules) that deal with the pedagogic role of the mother language in a bilingual education context and how to implement such a policy at primary school level. Universities which were seen as the hub of research should therefore be involved in a more serious manner by way of investigating further on how to address the issue of attitudes as these were found to be the major barrier to the implementation of a mother tongue policy. The South African experience with the Project for the Study of Alternative Education in South Africa (PRAESA) at the University of Cape Town as well as the University of KwaZulu-Natal could serve as centres where Zimbabwean universities can 'look and learn' in order to conduct similar experiments, the success of which may convince stakeholders in education on the worth of the mother language on pedagogical grounds.

To complement the efforts of teacher education institutions, the MoESAC should be involved in the retraining of all practising teachers, as a way of making them active participants in policy implementation, through seminars and workshops at district and cluster levels. At individual school levels, a collaborative system should be established and strengthened whereby teachers can interact with each other to discuss their experiences and share their concerns on issues related to the implementation of the late-exit bilingual education policy, instead of being passive recipients.

School heads in this study preferred the use of English as the only language of education. Likewise, schools' inspectors were also against the idea of implementing the 2006 LIEP. Therefore, for the purpose of changing attitudes, there is need to involve these administrators in the professional development programmes where the benefits of using the mother language for pedagogical reasons are explained. Workshops could be conducted at provincial level for schools' inspectors, and at district level for school heads. These education authorities could be further used for training teachers and for continually monitoring policy implementation. When they become aware of the didactic advantages associated with education in the mother language, education authorities would then be able to support and monitor more seriously, a policy whose benefits they would be aware of.

7.3.3.3 Conclusions: Parental attitudes

Parents, who are major stakeholders in education, were alleged to believe in language myths which are associated with English hegemony in the education of their children. Opportunities for higher education and future employment in good jobs were viewed by parents as highly dependent on the English language. Just like their parents, primary school learners were perceived as being highly in favour of English as the language of education. Therefore, when the parents and learners hold English in high regard due to its instrumental value, that factor may negatively impact on the successful implementation of the LIEP.

7.3.3.4 Recommendations

Since parents hold uninformed beliefs on the use of English in the education of primary school pupils, they should be informed about the current research findings the world over, on the pedagogical benefits of learning in the mother language. It would be paramount, therefore, to include parents in the sensitisation exercise which should be deliberately conducted as an advocacy measure meant to popularize the LIEP. Dissemination of knowledge on the significant role of the mother language could be done by schools inspectors who happen to be currently working with parents through

School Development Committees. When the parents and the entire community get convinced about the implication of teaching and learning in the first language at primary school level, they can make informed decisions pertaining to the choice of language for the education of their children. Therefore, before the Government enforces the use of the mother language in line with the requirements of the current policy, it is prudent that they hold awareness campaigns for the benefit of parents and learners, in order to avoid conflict between the school and societal expectations. If parents are enlightened on the academic role played by the mother tongue, they may not resist the policy change in cases where universities may want to conduct experiments pertaining to teaching and learning in the first language in primary schools.

7.3.4 Negative attitudes as contributory factors to implementation failure

7.3.4.1 Conclusions

The negative attitudes of teachers became apparent when they stated that they did not want to take up the mother tongue policy even if all materials were translated into the indigenous African languages. Such behaviour was believed to be linked to a colonial mentality, which was singled out as one of the major contributory factors towards failure to implement a mother tongue LIEP. Negative attitudes towards the mother language appeared to be mainly sparked by the status of African languages which remained low; therefore learning in the mother tongue was regarded as tantamount to lowering of standards. Use of the mother language in education was also shunned because it was considered as of no value since Grade Seven examinations were written in English, and English was also demanded as a requirement for entry into tertiary institutions and in the future world of employment. Accordingly, teachers, school heads, schools' inspectors and parents did not want the mother language to be used as the medium of instruction because they felt that the home language did not have the capacity of becoming the language of education.

7.3.4.2 Recommendations

For the status of the mother language to be raised, firstly, Grade Seven examinations should be set and written in the mother language. Secondly, an African language should be supported by an economic advantage such as making it a requirement for entry into tertiary institutions along with English and other subjects so that stakeholders may view it as an instrument for upward social mobility.

7.3.5 Teachers' concerns and fears as barriers to policy implementation

7.3.5.1 Conclusions

Teachers in this study were mainly concerned about low self-confidence in implementing the LIEP due to lack of relevant training to equip them with skills on how to implement the 2006 LIEP. Consequently, they felt disempowered to translate materials written in English into the mother language and to conduct lessons in a language they were not trained to use when teaching. Teachers also expressed the fear that if they used the mother tongue, standards of education would decline culminating in the production of graduates who would not compete in the global community where English is regarded as the language of prestige. Interestingly for cultural reasons, teachers indicated that they could not use some terms in the mother tongue as it was considered taboo to talk about sexuality issues with learners. As a result, teachers had no confidence to teach in the mother language, hence, they preferred the use of English for such scientific terms which had to do with the reproductive system.

7.3.4.2 Recommendations

Teacher concerns can be addressed through training and retraining for two major objectives. The first objective is to create positive attitudes by enlightening bilingual education teachers on the pedagogic benefits of mother tongue usage in education, particularly the late-exit model for primary schools. Secondly, such training would equip teachers with the requisite knowledge and skills on how to conduct lessons in the mother tongue while using appropriate language. When materials are rewritten in the

mother language, the cultural factor could be considered so that more acceptable terminology is used, on matters to do with sexuality.

It can be concluded that although some of the recommendations given above may not sound new, they, however, still remain relevant considering that the LIEP has not been implemented since its inception in the 1987 Education Act when initially, it was meant for the first three grades, while the 2006 amendment which allows education in the mother language up to Grade Seven again remains a policy on paper. There may not be a simple and immediate solution to the implementation of a mother tongue policy in education, but there is, however, need to explore every avenue, to create opportunities and support for the mother tongue policy to be implemented in primary schools. The good news is that in literature, there is a growing body of knowledge that supports the use of the mother tongue in education, raising the question why the cognitive advantages of the mother language should remain untapped for the benefit of rural primary school pupils in Zimbabwe. While learning in the mother tongue is considered a basic human right (Mtenje, 2008; Makoni, 2012), learners in my study remain disadvantaged as a result of factors which inhibit use of children's home language in education in primary school classrooms.

7.4 Areas of further study
In relation to the findings of my study, I recommend further studies on the following issues that emerged but did not get adequate attention:

- A longitudinal study in the form of an experiment to determine the level of educational success at the end of Grade Seven, for those learners taught in the mother language as compared with those taught in the second language.

- A similar study to mine in design but using:

a) Teacher education personnel in the form of university and college lecturers, to investigate their views on the implementation of the current LIEP. This would be

important to assess their beliefs and attitudes since they are expected to lead by example in preparing pre-service and in-service teachers on how to implement a mother tongue policy in primary schools.

b) Education authorities at the Head Office of the MoESAC and Provincial Education Directors to unravel the stage at which the 2006 LIEP failed to take off the ground and the reasons why strategies for advocacy and dissemination of the policy were not put in place.

- A similar study to mine, where one interrogates data from parents with that from primary school learners on their own views pertaining to education in the mother language.

- A study about how language myths are sustained in societies, and how campaigns can be effectively conducted to convince stakeholders in education on the pedagogical benefits of mother tongue usage, in accordance with current international research findings.

- A study on how to develop educational materials in various subjects in the primary school curriculum, particularly Mathematics and Science, in order to come up with the appropriate register for use by teachers in their efforts to allow the learners to access education in a familiar language.

7.5 Conclusion of chapter

This chapter has provided a summary of the existing literature on causes of implementation failure and how to minimize that challenge, the methodology employed in the study and the empirical data on the current study findings. Conclusions with respect to the five major barriers, according to my study findings, were summarized and related intervention strategies given. While implementation failure was regarded as having been caused by inadequate policy dialogue, lack of support, language attitudes and teachers' low self-efficacy, professional development was seen as the best method of creating positive attitudes towards the mother language and how to implement that LIEP in primary schools. Therefore, it can be concluded that inherent language attitudes associated with postcolonial thinking, mainly contribute to failure by teachers to

effectively implement the 2006 LIEP in primary school classrooms. Accordingly, the recommendations that are presented in this study are aimed at empowering teachers to overcome the influence of colonialism which continues to guide and shape their beliefs and perceptions towards education in the mother language (Ngefac, 2010). Such change in language beliefs may take time to develop since it involves attitudes which might be difficult to eradicate. I am aware that it is going to be a slow process but it is worth it to explore and eventually achieve the desired outcomes. It is therefore my hope that the suggested recommendations would assist in closing the gap that exists between the intentions of the current LIEP and the actual classroom practice by rural primary school teachers in Zimbabwe.

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APPENDIX 1

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR RURAL PRIMARY SCHOOL TEACHERS

This questionnaire is part of my Doctoral study at the University of South Africa (UNISA), College of Education. Your honest views are sought on the implementation of the language-in-education policy at rural primary schools. The responses will be treated with utmost confidentiality in keeping with the research ethics. Please answer the questions as fully as possible. Thank you very much for your willingness to participate in this study.

SECTION A: BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Please tick (�v) in the appropriate space.

1. What is your gender?

Male	
Female	

2. What was your age last birthday?

Under 30		30-39	
40-49		50-59	
60 and above			

3. What is your highest Professional Qualification?

CE		B. Ed	
T3		M. Ed	
T4			

Any other, please specify --

4. For how long have you been teaching?

0-5 years		6-10 years	
11-15 years		16-20 years	
21-25 years		26 years and over	

5. Which Grade do you teach?

One		Two	
Three		Four	
Five		Six	
Seven			

SECTION B: AWARENESS AND INTERPRETATION OF POLICY

6. Which language do you use as the medium of instruction for teaching all the primary school subjects? ....
Please explain why...
....
....
....

7. What is your understanding of the nature and requirements of the 2006 language-in-education policy currently in use?
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8. In your opinion, are the goals of the language-in-education policy for primary schools clear to you? ....
....
....
....

9. How were you involved in the adoption of the current language-in-education policy of 2006, which encourages mother tongue usage in learning and teaching up to Grade 7?...
....
....
....

10. How much support do you receive from the Ministry of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture in terms of (a) materials and (b) staff development on the implementation of the current language-in-education policy?
(a)...
....
....

....

(b)..

....

....

....

11. How are teachers in rural primary schools made aware of the language-in-education circulars from the Ministry of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture?

....

....

....

....

12. What are your experiences with changes in the Zimbabwean policy on the language of education in the primary schools? ....

....

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....

SECTION C: LANGUAGE-IN-EDUCATION POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

13. As an individual, how do you implement the language-in-education policy?

....

....

....

....

14. How does the school Head monitor the implementation of the policy on the language of instruction at your school? ....

....

....

....

15. How supportive is your school Head on the use of ChiShona as the language of teaching and learning? ....

....

....

....

16. What impact does the language of instruction have on the academic success or failure of a primary school learner?

....

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....

17. What are your major concerns or fears in the implementation of a policy which recommends mother tongue usage in primary schools?

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18. According to your own judgement, do you think you are confident enough to teach in ChiShona up to Grade Seven? Please say more about how you feel.

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19. In your view, why is the Government of Zimbabwe not willing to enforce the implementation of the language-in-education policy which encourages use of the mother tongue in primary schools?

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20. What do you think are the factors which hinder teachers from teaching all subjects in ChiShona up to the end of the primary school?

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21. Which challenges do you face when teaching in English as the medium of instruction? ....

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22. What do you think are the advantages of using English as the language of education in primary schools? ....

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23. Given a choice, which language would you prefer to be the medium of instruction in rural primary schools? Please give reasons.

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....

SECTION D: OPINIONS ON THE MOTHER TONGUE AND EDUCATION

24. In your view, how relevant is a policy which recommends mother tongue usage in primary schools in Zimbabwe?

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....

25. Of what importance is the use of ChiShona as the language of education to (a) you as the teacher and (b) rural primary school children?

(a)..
....
....
(b)..
....
....

26. What beliefs do parents hold with regard to the role of the mother tongue in the education of primary school children?

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....
....

27. What do you think would be the reaction of your pupils if you teach all the subjects in ChiShona except during the English lessons?

....
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....
....

28. What are your views regarding the use of ChiShona as the only language of teaching and learning in the primary school?

....
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....
....

29. In your opinion, what are the reasons why teachers are not committed to the use of ChiShona as the language of education up to Grade Seven?

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....

30. If all textbooks in the primary school were translated into the mother tongue, would you be willing to teach using ChiShona as the only language of education in the primary school?...

....
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....
....

SECTION E: SUGGESTIONS ON INTERVENTION STRATEGIES

31. What suggestions can you give on how teachers can break the barriers which prevent them from implementing a policy which encourages mother tongue usage in rural primary schools? ....

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32. What are your recommendations with regard to the role that must be played by teacher education institutions (universities and teachers' colleges) on language-in-education policy implementation? ....

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....

33. What intervention strategies can be employed by the Ministry of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture to allow mother tongue usage in the education of rural primary school children?

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....

34. What other measures can be put in place at school level to ensure effective implementation of the language-in-education policy? ....

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....

Thank you very much for taking the time to complete this questionnaire.

APPENDIX 2

FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONS FOR TEACHERS

1. What are the requirements of the 2006 language-in-education policy currently in use in Zimbabwean primary schools? Of what importance is this policy to the teacher and the primary school children?

2. How do you interpret and implement the current language-in-education policy? Do you think you are adequately trained to implement the policy?

3. What follow-up activities were put in place by the Ministry of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture on the implementation of the 2006 policy currently in use?

4. Do you think rural primary school learners would benefit from learning in the mother tongue? Please tell me how.

5. Which language do you use most when teaching? What are the advantages?

6. What do you think is the role of the school Head in the implementation of the language-in-education policy?

7. How is English viewed by parents and the local community? How does that affect your teaching?

8. What challenges do you and learners face when English is used as the medium of instruction?

9. What challenges are you likely to face if you were to use ChiShona as the sole language of instruction?

10. In your opinion, is it possible to use ChiShona as the only language of instruction up to Grade Seven? Please tell me more.

11. Do you think the language-in-education policy has any relevance in rural primary schools in this country?

12. How do you rate the availability of educational resources to support the implementation of the language-in education policy?

13. To what extent do you think teacher understanding of the policy contributes to its success or failure?

14. What is your level of confidence towards implementing the language-in-education policy of 2006 currently in use?

15. Overall, what would you say are the major factors that hinder teachers from effectively implementing the language-in-education policy?

16. What intervention strategies do you think can be employed to ensure effective implementation of the language-in-education policy at primary school level?

Thank you very much for taking time to participate in this focus group discussion

APPENDIX 3

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR RURAL PRIMARY SCHOOL HEADS

Gender: ....

Length of stay at the school: ....

Previous professional experience: ....

1. What is your understanding of the provisions of the 2006 language-in-education policy currently in use?

2. What knowledge do your teachers have on the requirements of the current language-in-education policy?

3. As a school Administrator, do you think you have adequate knowledge on the requirements of the 2006 language-in-education policy?

4. Do you think your teachers are adequately trained to implement the policy?

5. How does your school interpret and implement the current language-in-education policy?

6. How supportive is the Ministry of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture in the use of the mother tongue in teaching up to Grade Seven?

7. What do you think are the attitudes of parents and learners towards the use of ChiShona as the language of education up to the end of the primary school?

8. What is your view on the role of the mother tongue on the learning of rural primary school children?

9. Which language does your school prefer as the language of instruction? What are the advantages?

10. How can the implementation of the language-in-education policy be made more effective?

11. What opportunities do your teachers have pertaining to discussing issues on the language of instruction at your school?

12. If all primary school textbooks were to be translated into the mother tongue, would you and teachers at this school be prepared to use ChiShona as the sole language of instruction up to Grade Seven?

13. Do you have adequate resources to support the policy on the use of the mother tongue up to Grade 7?

14. What are your views about the factors that may act as barriers to effective implementation of the language-in-education policy?

Thank you very much for taking time to respond to this interview

APPENDIX 4

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR SCHOOLS' INSPECTORS

Gender: -----------------------------

Length of stay at District Office: ---

Previous professional experience: ---

1. What do you think are the major goals of the 2006 language-in-education policy currently in use?

2. What is your view on the use of the mother tongue in teaching and learning in rural primary schools?

3. Are your school Heads/Principals and teachers knowledgeable of the provisions of the 2006 language-in-education policy?

4. What do you think contributes towards failure to achieve the objectives of the 2006 language-in-education policy?

5. In your opinion, why are rural primary school teachers not willing to implement the current language-in-education policy?

6. Do you think the mother tongue can be effectively used as the sole language of education up to the end of the primary school?

7. What guidelines were put in place by the Ministry of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture (MoESAC) for teachers to follow in the implementation of the 2006 language-in-education policy?

8. In your view, what challenges do you think the Zimbabwe Government faces in its efforts to ensure effective implementation of the language-in-education policy?

9. As a MoESAC Official, what do you think are the concerns and challenges of rural primary school teachers with regard to a policy which allows them to teach in ChiShona up to Grade7?

10. How does your office help school Heads to implement the language-in-education policy in rural primary schools?

11. In your opinion, what can be regarded as factors that act as major barriers to the implementation of the language-in-education policy?

12. Give suggestions on how to improve the implementation of the 2006 language-in-education policy.

Thank you very much for taking time to respond to this interview

APPENDIX 5

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Principal Investigator: Gamuchirai Tsitsi Ndamba

Topic of study: A critical review of policy on language-in-education for Africa: A case of Zimbabwe.

Brief Introduction: This informed consent explains about being a research subject in a study. Therefore, it is important for you to read it carefully and then decide if you wish to be a volunteer participant. The study is in partial fulfilment of my doctoral thesis as required by the College of Education, University of South Africa (UNISA).

Purpose: The purpose of this study is to identify and analyse factors that act as barriers to the implementation of the language-in-education policy by rural primary school teachers in Zimbabwe. It is hoped that the study will raise awareness among teachers on the importance of using the first language in teaching.

Participant selection: Selection will be based on experience with the language of education for Zimbabwe by qualified teachers practising in rural primary schools. Three primary schools will be purposefully selected to be involved in the study.

Duration: the participants will be asked to respond to interview questions orally for approximately two hours. If subjects wish to continue with the interview, their request will be accommodated.

Procedure: The study participants will be required to respond to face-to-face interview questions where data will be recorded using an audio-recorder.

Possible Risks: there will be no risks involved. However, some participants may feel uncomfortable to sit for two hours. There will be a break and participants are free to have some drinks which will be provided.

Benefits to Participants: There will be no benefit in monetary terms or otherwise for individuals participating in this study. Some participants may derive satisfaction in being part of educational research which seeks to promote the understanding of factors which stifle implementation of the language-in-education policy in primary schools.

Confidentiality: Numbers and Pseudonyms will be used to maintain the participant's right to privacy. Records and tapes will be kept safely by the researcher and will be destroyed upon completion of the thesis. The data reported in the final write up of the thesis may be presented at professional gatherings and published in educational journals without naming participants.

Participant's rights: Participants have the right to ask questions related to the research and their participation in the study. Contact Gamuchirai Tsitsi Ndamba at 00263 777128992; Email ndambagt@gmail.com**OR** the researcher's promoter Professor MM van Wyk at 0027124296201; Email vwykmm@unisa.ac.za

Voluntary Participation: Your participation in this study is voluntary. You are free to withdraw at any time without penalty.

Participant confirmation and signature: Your signature certifies that you have read what your participation involves and you agree to participate freely and voluntarily.

Signature of (Volunteer) Participant: ....

Date: ....

Signature of Investigator: ....

Date: ....

APPENDIX 6

REQUEST TO CONDUCT A RESEARCH STUDY

Great Zimbabwe University

P.O. Box 1235

Masvingo

Zimbabwe

25 October 2012

RE: REQUEST TO CONDUCT A RESEARCH STUDY

I am requesting for approval to conduct an educational research study in Masvingo Province, Zimbabwe. I am a doctoral student at the University of South Africa (UNISA). The research study is for my doctoral thesis, a partial fulfilment of the Doctor of Education (Didactics) requirements. This request is in compliance with the UNISA College of Education Research Ethics policy.

The topic of the research will be: A critical review of policy on language-in-education in Africa: the case of Zimbabwe.

The study will explore the factors that act as barriers to effective implementation of the 1987 Education Act (amended in 2006) at rural primary schools. The study will require lesson observation. Questionnaires will be administered and focus group interviews conducted with teachers. Individual face-to-face interviews will be held with school heads and District Education Officers.

I sincerely appreciate your help. Please indicate your decision in writing at your earliest convenience.

Yours Sincerely

GT Ndamba (Mrs)

APPENDIX 7

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

MRS G.T. NDAMBA
2 MAHOGANY RD
RHODENE
MASVINGO

RE: PERMISSION TO CARRY OUT RESEARCH

Reference is made to your application to carry out research in the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture institutions on the title:

A CRITICAL REVIEW OF POLICY ON LANGUAGE - IN EDUCATION IN AFRICA : THE CASE OF ZIMBABWE

Permission is hereby granted. However, you are required to approach the Provincial Education Director responsible for the schools you want to involve in your research for assistance and permission to enter schools.

You are also required to provide a copy of your final report to the Ministry since it is instrumental in the development of education in Zimbabwe.

PLANNING

01 NOV 2012

CAUSEWAY

T. Gweme

FOR: SECRETARY FOR EDUCATION, SPORT, ARTS AND CULTURE

Appendix 8

Research Ethics Clearance Certificate

Research Ethics Clearance Certificate

This is to certify that the application for ethical clearance submitted by

GT Ndamba [49020153]

for a D Ed study entitled

A critical review of policy on language-in-education for Africa: a case of Zimbabwe

has met the ethical requirements as specified by the University of South Africa College of Education Research Ethics Committee. This certificate is valid for two years from the date of issue.

Prof CS le Roux   18 April 2013
CEDU REC (Chairperson)
lrouxcs@unisa.ac.za
Reference number: 2013 APR/49020153/CSLR