Exploring the Influence of Zimbabwean Teachers' and Learners' Attitudes Towards English on Language Use in Primary Classrooms

Thesis

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Exploring the influence of Zimbabwean teachers' and learners' attitudes towards English on language use in primary classrooms

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Abstract

This study uses a postcolonial sociocultural theoretical framework to investigate the influence of teachers' and learners' attitudes towards the national language-in-education policy of using English as medium of instruction on language use in primary classrooms in Zimbabwe. The Zimbabwe national language-in-education policy requires use of learners' mother tongue as medium of instruction in the first three years of primary education (grades 1-3) with English being taught as a subject. From grade four onwards, English becomes the medium of instruction although the majority of learners at primary school level have limited competence in the language.

Methodology

Within the overall postcolonial sociocultural framework, the study utilises an interpretive methodology to explore primary teachers' and learners' attitudes towards English. Interviews and lesson observations are used to collect data from fourteen teachers and thirty six learners from five schools in the Harare Region of Zimbabwe.

Findings

Findings are derived from a thematic analysis of interview and observation data. The study establishes that:

- While most teachers share the same home language as the learners they teach, because of language-in-education policy, they may/do not feel that they can call upon their knowledge of these learners' home language to support them with their learning.

- Teachers and learners are in favour of using English as medium of instruction because they perceive that parents are in favour of using English.

- Teachers and learners do not consider Shona a suitable vehicle for teaching and learning because tests are administered in English and Shona is perceived to lack the necessary technical terms needed to express concepts tested in examinations. In addition teachers and learners are reluctant to use Shona as medium of instruction because learners have limited competence in the variety of Shona used in schools.

- Although there is widespread support for English-only policies for communication in classrooms there is minimal adherence to the policies by both teachers and learners in all schools, and

- Code-switching by teachers and learners occurs frequently in classes despite official opposition.

Conclusions, contributions and recommendations

The study concludes by suggesting grounds for re-thinking the language-in-education policy framework in Zimbabwe in order to allow for the complementary use of English and learners' mother tongue at primary school level so that learning opportunities for learners with limited competence in English are maximised. The study makes a contribution to theory by showing that postcolonial sociocultural theory can be used successfully to explore how the historical context can help to unravel some of the contradictions that manifest themselves in contexts where English is used as medium of instruction alongside other languages.

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Acronyms used in this Study

ALLEX PROJECT = African Languages Lexical Project

AU = African Union

BERA = British Educational Research Association

CASAS = Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society

EFA = Education for All

EO = Education Officer

ESL = English as a Second Language

MDG = Millennium Development Goal

MoI = Medium of Instruction

OAU = Organization of African Unity

PanSALB = Pan South African Language Board

PEBIMO = Projeto de Escolarizac‚aˇo Bilingue em Moc,ambique or Bilingual

Schooling Project in Mozambique

UNESCO = United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNICEF = United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

ZIMSEC = Zimbabwe Schools' Examinations Council

1 Rationale and Focus for the study

1.1 Introduction

This study analyses the link between teachers' and learners' attitudes towards English as the language of instruction and language use in primary school classrooms in Zimbabwe. It draws on ideas and concepts explored in areas of language and literacy as well as teaching English to speakers of other languages world wide. In this research English is taken to refer to both spoken and written language valuable for learning in classrooms (Wallace, 2006).

Although there has been a global push for Education for All (EFA) by 2015 (Salami, 2008), that push has not gained the expected momentum in developing countries and Africa in particular because access to meaningful education has been hampered by language-in-education policies that have left many primary school learners being educated in languages they have limited competence in. Pinnock (2009:8) points out that "large scale analysis of participation in education is showing that whether or not a child is taught in their first language, or mother tongue, often has a strong effect on whether or not a child attends school, particularly in rural areas". Therefore, although there are many factors affecting learners' access to quality education, the language in which education is delivered plays a major role in determining the quality of education they receive because language is "the key to communication and understanding in the classroom" (Benson, 2004:2). Gacheche (2010) argues that the language of instruction used in an education system occupies a central role in

efforts to access and deliver education because the selected language may enhance or impede the quality of education offered. Using the language learners already know as medium of instruction is important because "children learn best in a language that they use most often and at home, particularly when they are surrounded by just one language in their daily life outside school. This may well be because they build their understanding of the world based on linking new concepts into what is already familiar to them" (Pinnock, 2009:13). For example, "learners who understand the language they are instructed in are more likely to engage meaningfully with content, question what they do not understand and even enjoy the challenge of new things" (Gacheche, 2010:).

But while we know from research that children learn best in their mother tongue, other factors play a role in the choice for medium instruction, including attitudes towards language. The importance of attitudes towards language in the choice for medium of instruction has prompted the focus of this study, which explores the influence of teachers' and learners' attitudes towards English on language use in Zimbabwean primary classes.

Saidat (2010) argues that interest in research into language attitudes has become popular because of increased interest in relating language use to human thinking and achievement in learning. The link between proficiency in the language of instruction and achievement in learning is particularly important in postcolonial contexts such as Zimbabwe because studies in other postcolonial contexts, such as South Africa and Botswana, have shown that parents, teachers and even learners favour use of former colonisers' language as medium of instruction despite teachers' and learners' limited competence in the language (Arthur, 1994; Probyn,

2005). Since Zimbabwe is also a former colony, Arthur and Probyn's findings justify an investigation into the influence of Zimbabwean teachers' and learners' attitudes towards English on language use in primary classrooms. Investigating the influence of teachers' and learners' attitudes towards English in Zimbabwe carries language attitudes research a step forward because most studies into language attitudes have tended to focus on attitudes to English in ESL courses rather than to English in contexts where the language is used as the medium of instruction (Shameem, 2004). This study investigates the influence of teachers' and learners' attitudes towards English on language use in multilingual postcolonial classrooms where these attitudes can have serious implications on children's learning and, as a result, the country's development potential.

In postcolonial contexts attitudes towards English usually become manifest in language-in education policies. While some studies have investigated implementation of language policies through education in some contexts (e.g. Silver and Skuja-Steele, 2005), in Zimbabwe few studies have considered attitudes towards language-in-education policies from teachers' and learners' perspectives. Paciotto (2009) highlights this point arguing that investigation of language attitudes has paid scarce attention to learners' voices. This study is therefore intended to give voice to both teachers and learners by exploring how language-in-education policies at the macro and local level influence their attitudes towards English and how they use language at classroom level.

Varghese (2008:289) claims there are many studies that explore the disconnect between national language policy and language-in-education policy "but there have yet to be those that look at how language policies become adopted by individual teachers through a process of their personal and professional socialisation" coloured by their language attitudes. This gap needs to be filled because teachers' language attitudes and how they use language in classrooms are crucial in understanding their attitudes towards the medium of instruction which in this case is English. Teachers' attitudes towards English might influence their learners' attitudes towards English as well as teachers' own deployment of pedagogical strategies (Paciotto, 2009:462). Mordaunt (1991) makes a similar argument, pointing out that studying teachers' attitudes towards the language of instruction is important because these attitudes are likely to filter down to learners.

While understanding teachers' attitudes is important, insight into learners' attitudes is equally important because they are an important component of motivation to learn and use a language (Coady, 2005). An understanding of learners' attitudes towards English in Zimbabwe would help teachers and curriculum planners positively exploit learners' language attitudes in teaching/learning environments.

In view of previous research, I consider Zimbabwean teachers' and learners' attitudes towards English as critical because teachers are central agents of language policy implementation and learners are the focus of learning processes in classrooms. This research is necessary as no studies have focused directly on the influence of teachers' and learners' attitudes towards English as the medium of instruction on language use in primary classrooms. Shumba and

Manyati's (2000:43) study of Environmental Science lessons showed that although teachers tried to use active participatory methodologies "pupils' involvement remained limited due to lack of proficiency in English". When the mother tongue was used for interaction in class, learners gave longer responses and communicated more productively. Shumba and Manyati's study shows that problems caused by limited proficiency in English affect teaching and learning effectiveness in many areas of the primary curriculum, not only in Zimbabwe but in many postcolonial countries where learners are taught in a language they have limited competence in. While the findings from Shumba and Manyati's study provide invaluable insight into learning in a foreign language, the study does not pay attention to attitudes that lie behind patterns of language use observed in lessons.

Another relevant Zimbabwean study is Nyawaranda's (2000) interpretive study of two secondary school teachers teaching English through Shona. The use of the mother tongue to teach English that Nyawaranda reports on corroborates Bunyi's (2005) ethnographic case study of patterns of language use in a Kenyan primary school as well as Martins' (2005) case study of two rural Malaysian primary schools. All three studies investigated opportunities for learning created by patterns of language use in classrooms. Results of all three studies showed that use of the mother tongue helps learners understand aspects of English, particularly lexical items. While all the studies investigated patterns of language use in classrooms, they did not investigate whether attitudes towards English as the language of instruction had an influence on patterns of language use in classrooms they observed. This is the gap this study seeks to fill.

My interest in teachers' and learners' attitudes towards English as medium of instruction stems from experiences as a teacher and teacher educator in Zimbabwe as well as my experiences in England teaching English to learners who speak another language in their home settings while accessing the National Curriculum through English. In Zimbabwe I was concerned by the high failure rate across examinable subjects among primary school learners (In Zimbabwe primary school learners are examined through English). My concern is shared by other researchers such as Clegg and Afitska (2011) who bemoan the fact that in Sub-Saharan Africa education conducted through a European language is associated with low school achievement because teachers and learners may often not be fluent enough to use the language as a medium of instruction. Clegg and Afitska's concern is shared by Kyeyune (2003:173) who complains that there is a "growing concern in Africa that poor standards of English among teachers and pupils are leading to an unsatisfactory quality of educational performance". Benson (2004), Halliday (2007) and Wedin (2009) also argue that use of English as medium of instruction has a negative impact on educational outcomes as teachers and learners have not mastered English at a sufficient level to use it effectively for teaching and learning. Heugh (2000) has even warned that it is a serious mistake to believe that teaching and learning can take place effectively when learners being taught have limited competence in the language of instruction. Learners with limited competence in the language of instruction can develop negative attitudes not only towards the language of instruction but to the whole learning process. As a consequence "their self-confidence as learners and their interest in what they are learning may decline, leading to lack of motivation, school failure and early leaving school" (Ball, 2011:6).

My interest in investigating the link between attitudes towards English and language use in primary classrooms was further heightened by studies that indicate that Zimbabwean parents favour use of English as medium of instruction (Cleghorn and Prochner, 1997; Arthur, 2001; Chick, 2007). Although parents' attitudes towards English are not the main focus of this study, the study explores whether perceptions of parents' attitudes towards English in any way influences teachers' and learners' use of language in classrooms. In a situation where parents have positive attitudes towards English one would expect learners to develop positive attitudes towards English and use it more frequently in class. However, low achievement levels across subjects do not seem to indicate that parents' desire to have their children taught through English translates into increased use of English by teachers and learners (Thondhlana, 2002). Two possible explanations have been given for the poor performance levels. Reporting on a South African study Chick (2007) hypothesised that teachers and learners might collude in preserving their dignity by concealing the fact that minimal learning takes place when English is used for teaching and learning. While Chick's hypothesis might help explain the low levels of achievement it does not explain whether teachers' and learners' attitudes contribute to particular ways of using language in classrooms. The other explanation for poor performance can be gleaned from Paciotto's (2009) exploratory qualitative study which showed that teachers' and learners' attitudes towards spoken and written Slovene dictated patterns of language use in primary classes in the Italian-Slovenian border region. Findings from Paciotto's study seem to suggest that particular ways of using language can be linked to teachers' and learners attitudes towards the language in question. This study, therefore, investigates whether teachers' and learners' attitudes towards English in Zimbabwe influences language use in primary classrooms.

1.2 The Research Context

This study was conducted in Zimbabwe, a multicultural and multilingual country with a constitution that officially recognises sixteen different languages and directs that:

(3) The State and all institutions and agencies of government at every level must—

(a) ensure that all officially recognised languages are treated equitably; and

(b) take into account the language preferences of people affected by governmental measures or communications.

(4) The State must promote and advance the use of all languages used in Zimbabwe, including sign language, and must create conditions for the development of those languages (Zimbabwe Constitution, 2013:22).

While the constitution recognises sixteen languages it does not designate any of them as official languages, unlike the 1994 South African constitution that designated 11 languages as official languages.

The provisions of the constitution with regard to the need for the state to promote and advance use of all languages in Zimbabwe suggests the need for the development of national language policies as well as language-in-education policies that ensure parity in accessing Zimbabwe's languages. However, through the Education Act, the state seems to have created a hierarchy of

languages at the top of which sits English followed by Shona and Ndebele. English is used in most spheres of life including education, the judiciary, trade and commerce as well as international trade and communication while Shona and Ndebele are used for socialization among most Zimbabweans.

Although the present constitution does not explicitly say so, English is perceived to be Zimbabwe's official language because it is the language of government record, business, law and administration, as well as the language for regional and international trade and communication (Chiwome and Thondlana, 1989). Currently there is no national language policy to encourage and harmonize language development so that the functional domains allocated to English can be spread to the other languages or even to Shona and Ndebele (Chiwome and Thondlana, 1989). The domination of the language landscape by English since colonial times has remained unchallenged and seems to be supported by the current language-in-education policy framework (see section 2.3).

Ndhlovu (2006) argues that the dominance of the two indigenous languages, Shona and Ndebele, can be traced to colonial times when Professor Doke was commissioned in 1929 by the government of Southern Rhodesia (present-day Zimbabwe) to research the language varieties spoken by indigenous Zimbabweans. Doke's work

"which was premised on the quest for standardised, monolithic and homogeneous linguistic categories, marked the genesis of language politics in Zimbabwe. The Dokean legacy left an indelible mark on the terrain of language treatment and language policy formulation in postcolonial Zimbabwe" (Ndhlovu, 2006:305).

As a result, although the constitution recognises fifteen indigenous languages, only Shona and Ndebele are widely used in 'higher' domains such as education.

In this study teachers' and learners' attitudes towards English are compared to their attitudes towards Shona or Ndebele because these are the two languages spoken by large population groups in Zimbabwe (see Figure 1) and they are the ones also used as medium of instruction in the first three years of the primary school cycle depending on the majority population group within the vicinity of the school.

Figure 1: Language Map for Zimbabwe
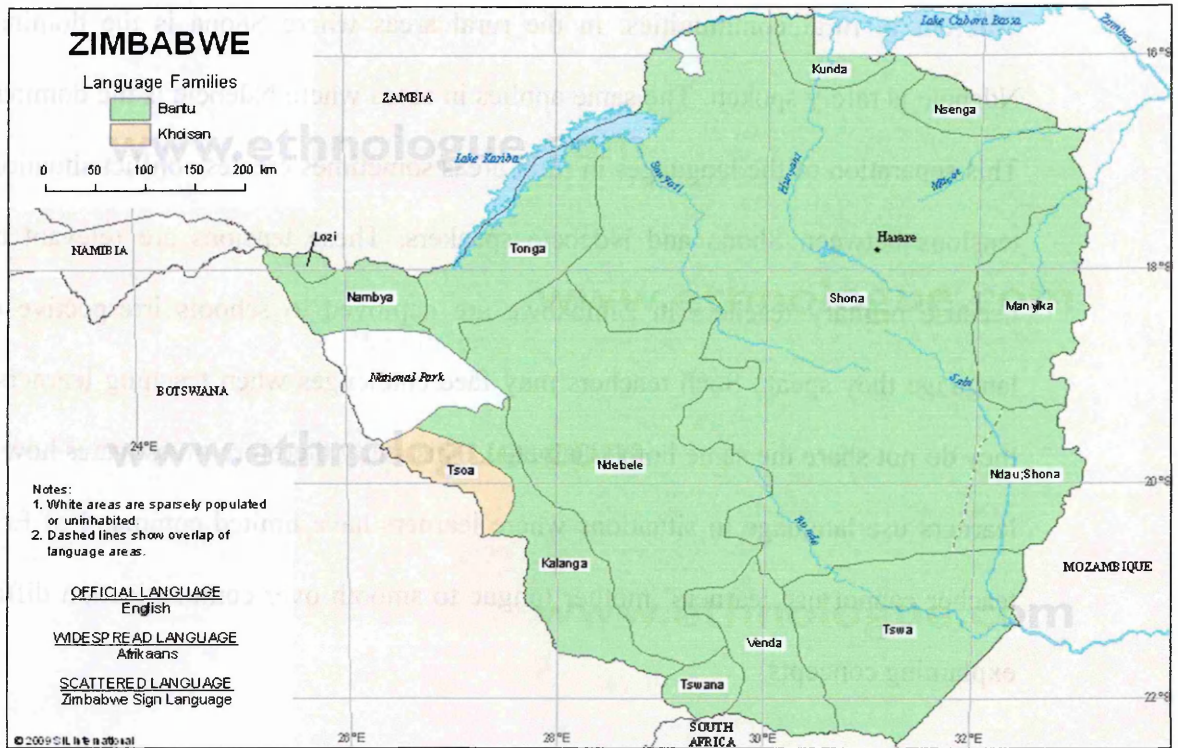
While Shona and Ndebele are both classified as Bantu languages, they have different phonetic and orthographic features that render them mutually unintelligible (Makoni et al, 2006). Figure 1 shows that Shona is spoken by most of the indigenous population in the central, northern and eastern part of the country including speakers of other languages recognised by the Constitution. Ndebele is spoken by the indigenous population in the south and west of the country. Although the two languages are mutually unintelligible, recent population movements into urban areas and professional postings to different parts of the country have led to word borrowing and the emergence of urban vernaculars that incorporate features of both languages (Mashiri, 2003).

Although in urban areas people mix Shona and Ndebele when communicating, the situation is different in rural communities. In the rural areas where Shona is the dominant language Ndebele is rarely spoken. The same applies in areas where Ndebele is the dominant language. This separation of the languages in rural areas sometimes creates conflict situations leading to tensions between Shona and Ndebele speakers. These tensions are relevant to this study because primary teachers in Zimbabwe are deployed to schools irrespective of the home language they speak. Such teachers may face challenges when teaching learners with whom they do not share the same home language. This study therefore investigates how teachers and learners use language in situations where learners have limited command of English yet the teacher cannot use learners' mother tongue to smooth over communication difficulties when explaining concepts.

Difference in languages spoken by teachers and learners are likely to have a negative impact on the quality of education learners receive. The question of differences in quality of primary education has been raised before in Zimbabwe. Nyagura (1991) pointed out that the type of school learners attended determined the quality of education they received. Nyagura's study identified three levels of quality of primary education depending on school type attended. Group A schools received the best education while Group B schools received average quality education and Group C rural schools received poor quality education. The quality of education may result in part from language issues: Teachers and learners who do not have a common language to facilitate communication are forced to use English even though learners have limited competence in it.

The challenges posed by language difficulties need to be examined taking into account the current state of education in Zimbabwe. Former Minister of Education, Coltart (2011) argues that Zimbabwe's education is facing a crisis despite the fact that government, with support from development partners and other key stakeholders, invested heavily in education following independence in 1980. Coltart observes that by 1990 Zimbabwe had met the original Education for All (EFA) target of universal primary access and was able to report among the highest literacy rates in Africa. Primary schools and learner numbers increased from 2,410 and 820,266 in 1979 to 5,560 and 2,455,516 in 2006. Coltart argues that between 1980 and 1990 the country attained a near-universal access to basic education while at the same time maintaining high levels of quality and equity but today (2014) the education system is in crisis. As indicated in 1.1 national pass rates at primary school level have continued to plummet. The decline in attainment levels might be attributed to many factors such as the collapse of the education infrastructure, the flight of trained teachers to other countries, lack of budgetary support for education but a strong argument can be made that a vague language-in-education policy framework that forces learners to learn in a language they have limited command in is partly to blame.

1.3. Research questions

To investigate whether teachers' and learners' attitudes towards English influences language use in Zimbabwean primary classes the following four questions have been formulated.

1. Do differences between home and school language practices influence teachers' and learners' use of language in classrooms; and if so how?

2. How do language-in-education policies influence teachers' and learners' attitudes towards English?

3. Does knowledge of parents' attitudes towards English as medium of instruction influences teachers' and learners' use of language in classrooms; and if so how?

4. How do teachers' and learners' attitudes towards code-switching influence language use in classrooms?

1.4. Conceptual framework for the study

In this section I discuss the choices made in order to explore the questions above. I have had to choose an underpinning theoretical framework for this study from an array of possible frameworks. I could have chosen a positivist framework, which posits a single, objective and uniform reality independent of the researcher, to investigate teachers' and learners' attitudes to English and their influence on language use in Zimbabwean primary classes. Such a choice would have been in line with Cross's (2009) observation that language policy and planning in

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its broad sense has for a long time been underpinned by rationalist and positivist assumptions of how to conceive of, and subsequently deal with, language problems, planning, and change.

I shied away from the positivist framework because, as Cross (2009) observes, in the past two decades there has been growing interest in developing a more theoretically robust framework for understanding language issues in ways that recognise the political and ideological dimensions of language and language use. The shift towards utilisation of theoretical frameworks that recognise the influence of countries' colonial past on formulation and implementation of language policies is significant in contexts like Zimbabwe where ideologies about language have a strong influence on language choice for higher domains such as government record, education and economic development. These ideologies that exert an influence on language choice for education and other domains are attributable to colonial experiences (Ndhlovu, 2008). Therefore adoption of theoretical frameworks that recognise the impact of countries' colonial past reflects "developments within the field of linguistics that understand language from the perspective of Vygotskian sociocultural theory, especially in relation to the role of language and other cultural artefacts in mediating human activity and social practice" (Cross, 2009:23). Cross's observations are mirrored in Pickford's (2008:49) suggestion that "classroom activity structures are mediated by sociocultural meanings, and that no act of teaching is free of the influence of cultural models or separate from a broader social order" because "both learners and teachers bring their multiple identities and home-community languages and sociolinguistic practices into the classroom." Pickford's observation is important for this study because in part the study seeks to answer the question: Does

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language background influence teachers' and learners' use of language in classrooms; and if so how?

Cross (2010:434) argues that embracing social reality increases awareness of the situated and socially distributed nature of language use and highlights the need to better understand complexities of the contexts within which language use takes place in general terms. Opoku-Amankwa and Hammond (2011) are more specific and argue that the sociocultural approach views the language of communication in the classroom as an important factor for the achievement of learning goals. Moreover, attitudes towards language of instruction need to be considered as one of the complexities of the context of the classroom that needs to be investigated in the process of unravelling patterns of language use in primary classes. These attitudes are best investigated utilising a theory of language that views language and learning as social phenomena (Lillis, 2006: xv). Thorne (2005:393) proposes the adoption of sociocultural theory as a framework through which attitudes can be investigated systematically without isolating it from social context or human agency. Such an approach is necessary as it recognises that in sociocultural settings where language-in-education policies allow the use of English alongside indigenous languages, teachers and learners bring their home-community sociolinguistic practices into the classroom, as well as their attitudes towards these practices (Saxena, 2009).

While I embrace Thorne's proposal that sociocultural theory is an appropriate theoretical framework for studying language attitudes, the tenets of sociocultural theory need to be applied taking into account the peculiarities of the context being studied. For example,

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Zimbabwe is a multilingual and multicultural country and part of this heritage is attributable to its colonial past. Therefore, using a sociocultural lens to investigate the influence of language attitudes on language use in primary classrooms needs to take into account Zimbabwe's post-colonial situation. For this reason in this study I situate sociocultural theory in Zimbabwe's postcolonial context so that I can use it to "construct relevant knowledge in the context of our history and social practice" (Canagarajah, 2005:13). I thus use what I have called 'a postcolonial sociocultural framework' to explore the link between teachers' and learners' attitudes towards English as the language of instruction and language use in primary school classrooms. In this study I use sociocultural theory from a postcolonial theory angle since postcolonial theory shapes our social and intellectual practice (Canagarajah, 2005). In addition, conjoining sociocultural and postcolonial theories is justified on the grounds that both adopt an epistemological position that reflects a shift from focusing on the individual to embracing the symbiotic relationship between the individual and society.

In postcolonial contexts, deliberate policy decisions about the use of different languages in the social and educational spheres have to be made in order to achieve a "transformative shift from Eurocentric hegemony to a consideration of society as being pluralistic" (Lavoie, 2008:663). The resultant transformations may evoke different attitudes towards languages or the people that use them. An appropriate way to study the influence of the attitudinal differences is to take into account aspects of language viewed through a postcolonial sociocultural framework/perspective. In addition to making it easier to determine how individual language choices may reflect broader society's attitudes towards the language in question utilising a postcolonial sociocultural perspective helped me to understand the

complexities of the research context (Zimbabwe). For example, a postcolonial sociocultural perspective helps shed light on the complex and sometimes contradictory, attitudes towards language use in Zimbabwean classrooms and why teachers, learners, parents and policy makers persistently opt for language-in-education policies that make it difficult for learners to learn and teachers to teach. A postcolonial sociocultural theoretical framework also helps to shed light on why there are such paradoxes between what people say and what they do.

Using a postcolonial sociocultural perspective calls into question the conceptions of language conventionally used in policy. Languages are not discrete entities, yet language-in-education policies in place in most postcolonial countries force us to think about them in this way (Pennycook and Makoni, 2005).

Finally I would argue that the postcolonial sociocultural perspective helps understand the challenges teachers and learners grapple with as they make choices on the language to use in classrooms. When teachers' and learners' classroom language use is investigated, such investigation has to take into account national policy directives, parents' attitudes towards the languages used for teaching and learning and the testing practices used to determine learners' learning progress. Choice of language impacts directly on how learners and teachers interact in the teaching-learning process. For learners, not participating meaningfully in lessons because of inappropriate language use can seriously hinder the extent to which they can learn

I would like to end this section by pointing out that my deployment of the concept postcolonial-sociocultural theory shows my acceptance of the link between what goes on in the classroom and the broader society. I therefore cannot escape recognising that the postcolonial context in which my research is situated influences what goes on in classrooms and tensions and contradictions in language-in-education policies in Zimbabwe are likely to shape people's attitudes towards English and indigenous languages. Pennycook (2001:89) makes a similar point when he argues that focusing on individual cognition while ignoring social factors leads us to view language classrooms as closed boxes separated from the rest of society. The postcolonial-sociocultural perspective adopted in this study thus allows for an investigation of the impact of language attitudes on classroom language use that acknowledges that the classroom is a social space related to broader society and therefore the language attitudes that colour policy formulation and implementation are also likely to be at play within classrooms. Such a perspective is in line with calls for "research which is more qualitative and examines processes of language teaching and learning in social context" (E844 Study Guide, 2004:24).

2 Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

While the section on the conceptual framework for this study mapped out principles that underpin this study, this section explores the state of the field surrounding the questions being investigated. The literature review defines and analyses language attitudes as the central concept driving this investigation. After that, the context of language-in-education policy in Sub-Saharan Africa and Zimbabwe is examined in order to tease out aspects that might impinge on the development of teachers' and learners' attitudes towards English in primary classrooms in Zimbabwe. The section concludes with a summary of research analyses of classroom language use in multilingual contexts that use English as medium of instruction.

2.2. Defining language attitudes and their interaction with language use in primary classrooms

Although there is agreement that language attitudes are major determinants of linguistic behaviour (Adekunle, 1995:58) the main difficulty in explaining their impact on language use in classrooms is that language attitudes are notoriously difficult to document, prove, pin down or define precisely (Shameem, 2004) because of lay and specialist connotations (Cross, 2005) attached to them. Despite difficulties in achieving consensus, this section attempts to provide a working definition for the concept language attitudes as used in this study.

Choi (2003) defines language attitudes as an individual or collective expression towards a language. The expression involves responding to certain aspects of language and linguistic use. In this study language attitudes are taken to be the way teachers and learners respond to use of English and Shona/Ndebele as media of instruction in Zimbabwean primary schools. Teachers and learners trigger responses which manifest themselves in patterns of language use in class. By language use is meant the "the act of communicating in verbal or written form in one or more languages; it refers to behaviour or actions that can be determined by elements of linguistic attitude" (Choi, 2003:82). Language attitudes and language use have mutual influence on each other in that language attitudes influence teachers' and learners' use of a language while the way they use language influences their attitudes towards the language. While proposing the symbiotic relationship between language attitudes and language use I acknowledge that the relationship between these two elements is not simple; some researchers (Hornberger, 1988; King, 2000; Lyon and Ellis, 1991) have found inconsistencies between attitude and conduct, especially in situations in which there are two or more languages in contact as is the case in postcolonial Zimbabwe.

A number of studies illustrate complexities involved in defining language attitudes. In his study of ESL teaching using an indigenous language in Zimbabwe, Nyawaranda (2000) initially states that he is investigating teachers' beliefs about using an indigenous language in the process of teaching English but later states that "our final definition of belief then... is that it is an attitude" thus conflating attitudes and beliefs. Similarly Rapatahana (2012) cites Phillipson's personal communication that equates beliefs with attitudes.

Baker (1992:29) sums up the complexities involved in precisely defining language attitudes when he notes that "language attitude is an umbrella term under which resides a variety of specific attitudes". He lists some of them as:

- Attitude to language variation, dialect and speech style,

- Attitude to learning a new language,

- Attitude to a specific minority language,

- Attitude to language groups, communities and minorities,

- Attitudes to language lessons,

- Attitudes to the uses of a specific language,

- Attitudes of parents to language learning, and

- Attitude to language preference (Baker, 1992:29)

The last three attitudes in Baker's list are relevant to answering questions for this study but the list itself also highlights difficulties of being precise about what is being investigated when investigating the influence of language attitudes on language use in primary classrooms.

One way of lessening the confusion about defining language attitudes has been to link definitions of language attitudes to actions. In this regard Bokhorst-Heng and Caleon (2009) and Coady (2005) have given a more expanded definition of language attitudes by pointing out three components of attitude, namely cognition, affect and behaviour. Coady (2005:43) argues that the cognitive element of an attitude concerns perceptions, concepts, and beliefs regarding the attitude object. For instance Probyn (2009) reports that South African rural teachers,

parents and learners believe that proficiency in English leads to better jobs and upward social mobility (see also Seargeant and Erling, 2011 about beliefs of English as a language for international development). Such beliefs and perceptions, it could be argued, represent the cognitive element of an attitude and contribute to positive attitudes towards English (Ting, 2003; Bokhorst-Heng and Caleon 2009).

The second aspect of language attitudes is the affective component which consists of feelings toward the object of the attitude, such as the English language itself (Aziakpono and Bekker 2010). Teachers and learners may like using English as medium of instruction or dislike it or feel anxiety over learning the language. Muthwii (2004) reports that her study of primary children in Kenya showed that they had negative attitudes toward mother tongue instruction and preferred English because they believed using English would help them pass examinations which were set and written in English. The children therefore could have developed negative attitudes towards mother tongue instruction because they were anxious to pass examinations and knew that, like their counterparts in South Africa, passing examinations would be the beginning of the journey up the social ladder.

The third component-- behaviour--relates to actions that individuals are willing to take toward an object or event under certain circumstances. If teachers and learners use English a lot in classroom interaction one might assume they have positive attitudes towards the language. Choi (2003:82) argues that "one element that is linked to attitude is behaviour and more specifically, linguistic use". Choi argues that linguistic use is behaviour or actions that can be determined by elements of linguistic attitude. Therefore teachers' and learners' use or non-use

of a particular language during teaching-learning sessions might be a reliable indicator of their attitudes towards the language although it has to be acknowledged that non-use of the language may be due to limited competence in the language in question.

So far difficulties associated with pinning down language attitudes have been discussed in general terms but there is need to discuss them focusing on Zimbabwe. Discussion of language attitudes in Zimbabwe highlights contradictions surrounding attitudes towards English in postcolonial contexts. While some studies (Arthur, 1994; Muthwii, 2004 and Probyn, 2009) show that parents, teachers and learners prefer use of English as medium of instruction, Alidou et al (2006:40) argue that "planning and implementing language and language-in-education policies for post-colonial Africa has met in the past, and still meets today, with a fair amount of negative attitudes on the part of most stakeholders towards:

1. the feasibility of utilising more than one language in education,

2. the value of the African indigenous languages for quality education, and

3. the value of utilising the former colonial language as medium of instruction in education"

The three areas singled out by Alidou et al (2006) are relevant to this study because Zimbabwe has a language-in-education policy that allows use of more than one language in the education system. The policy seems to privilege English over local languages and therefore investigating the influence of teachers' and learners' attitudes to English on language use in primary classroom becomes a way of interrogating the value of utilising the former colonial language as medium of instruction in education in Zimbabwe. While the current study does not consider the feasibility of using more than one language as problematic, it investigates teacher's and

learners' attitudes to English and how their attitudes might shape how they use language in classrooms and view the role of Zimbabwean languages as media of instruction. The question of the viability of using indigenous languages as media of instruction is considered against the backdrop of continued use of the former colonial language as medium of instruction.

The negative attitudes referred to by Alidou et al could account for the fact that there has been limited progress in changing language-in-education polices in Africa and Alidou et al (2006:18) attributes the lack of progress in changing policies to the "well documented attraction of English language education throughout the African continent and beyond and the consequent popular pressure on governments to introduce English ever earlier into the curriculum". Williams (2011) and Tembe and Norton (2011) also argue that negative attitudes that impede progress towards changing language-in-education policies are largely evident among postcolonial elites who fear that official recognition of indigenous languages might empower common people and threaten their power and privileges. As a result most postcolonial countries in Africa have made little headway in developing language-in-education policies that are in line with learners' facility in using English as the language for learning. For example, Tembe and Norton (2011) argue that although Uganda has been independent since 1962 it has been struggling to develop and implement effective multilingual policies in its schools. Probyn (2005) also argues that although the South African constitution has given parity to English, Afrikaans and nine indigenous languages since 1996, English remains the dominant language. In this context, Busch (2010:284) adds that "constitutional recognition of language rights, however, has yet to be translated into a coherent language-in-education policy".

In Zimbabwe the constitution is vague on the issue of languages, merely stating that every person has the right to use the language of their choice and "the State must promote and advance the use of all languages used in Zimbabwe, including sign language, and must create conditions for the development of those languages" (Zimbabwe Constitution 2013,1.6). Lack of specificity in the constitution accounts for the vagueness evident in the Education Act and represents the unwillingness of postcolonial governments to take bold policy decisions about the language in which children are educated. The ambivalence about the relationship between English and indigenous languages evident in the Constitution and the Education Act is at the heart of any investigation into the impact of attitudes towards English as medium of instruction at primary school level on language use in classrooms because "the choice of language and the use to which language is put is central to a people's definition of themselves" (Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 1986:4).

2.3. Analysis of Language-in-Education Policy Frameworks in Sub-Saharan Africa and Zimbabwe

The language attitudes defined and outlined in the preceding section are shaped by many factors, among them language-in-education policies. But the thrust of language-in-education policies is also shaped by other factors such as the colonial past of most African states. In this section the relationship between the postcolonial context and language-in-education policies in Sub-Saharan Africa is explored in order to put into context language attitudes that teachers and learners bring to the classroom. Conditions prevailing in the broad postcolonial context in

Africa cascade down to individual countries where language in education policies at the national level have a direct impact on what transpires at the local level of the classroom.

Language-in-education policy, particularly the use of indigenous languages as media of instruction has plagued postcolonial African governments for some time because the overwhelming majority of African children are still educated through the medium of a foreign language (Graham, 2010; Hameso, 1997; Rassool and Edwards, 2010). At the heart of the debate has been the role of African languages in relation to ex-colonial languages, especially in higher domains such as education. Williams (2011) argues that ex-colonial languages have been retained as media of instruction in postcolonial Sub-Saharan Africa at a high cost in terms of educational achievement because many learners reach the fourth year or fifth year of their education still unable to read classroom materials on which their education depends. In an effort to address this challenge, most African countries have adopted language-in-education policies that, in theory, seek not only to elevate African languages to the status of official languages so as to bring them to equality with ex-colonial languages, but also to promote their use in the education system as medium of instruction (Kamwangamalu, 2010).To this end, African countries have been "struggling to find an effective strategy that allows them to move from an education system inherited from the colonial period to a more transformative and culturally relevant education that takes into consideration African values and languages, people's socio-cultural and linguistic background as well as their educational needs" (Alidou et al, 2006:10). Alidou et al argue that such a strategy needs to be characterised by use of an appropriate medium of instruction hence increasing calls for giving greater prominence to indigenous languages in the delivery of education in order to:

- Promote the development of indigenous languages

- Improve the educational performance of learners

- Mitigate the inequalities which are aggravated by the use of foreign languages as languages for teaching and learning. (Ferguson, 2006:179)

To achieve these goals the Organization of African Unity adopted the Language Plan of Action for Africa (OAU 1986) which required member states:

- to liberate the African peoples from undue reliance on utilization of non-indigenous languages as dominant, official languages of the state in favour of the gradual takeover of appropriate and carefully selected indigenous languages in this domain.

- to ensure that African languages by appropriate legal provision and practical promotions assume their rightful role as the means of official communication in public affairs of each Member State in replacement of European languages which have hitherto played this role.

Kamwangamalu (2010:4) observes that the OAU initiative was followed by the Asmara (Eritrea) Declaration on African Languages and Literatures (2000) which read:

1. All African children have the unalienable right to attend school and learn their mother tongues at all levels of education;

2. The effective and rapid development of science and technology in Africa depends on the use of African languages;

3. African languages are vital for the development of democracy based on equality and social justice;

4. African languages are essential for the decolonization of African minds and for the African Renaissance.

While the AU's Language Plan of Action for Africa was a laudable initiative its operationalization was in doubt from the beginning because it did not mention development of language-in-education policies that would support elevation of indigenous languages to be media of instruction in education systems and the Asmara Declaration's call for African children to attend school and learn their mother tongues at all levels of education did not equate with making them media of instruction. Learners can learn their language as a subject and not use it in the construction of knowledge. Recommendations of the African Union and the Asmara Declaration are relevant to the question of language attitudes not because of the clarity of advice they provide but because of their failure to provide specific guidelines for formulating language-in-education policies. These two initiatives have had limited impact because their exhortations have not been translated into concrete policies.

Africa-wide language policy visions and aspirations as captured in the Language Plan of Action for Africa and the Asmara Declaration were meant to develop positive attitudes towards indigenous languages. However many decades have passed since most African countries attained independence and despite sustained efforts to provide guidance on the matter by the African Union, debates about which languages to use as media of instruction in education still rage on. The debates reflect different attitudes towards foreign languages and add weight to the need to investigate the impact of these different attitudes on language use in primary classrooms. Ndhlovu (2008) argues that it has not been easy to find solutions to language policy debates because the matter has become bogged down in quests for postcolonial integration, nation-building, reconciliation, socio-political tolerance and cultural

cohesion. As a result "there is scarcely any other sociocultural topic you can start discussing with Africans that leads to such heated debates and stirs up so many emotions as the language of instruction in African schools" (Brock-Utne, 2005:173). These debates reflect and have been stirred by different attitudes towards languages used as media of instruction (Evans, 2009) and justify investigating whether Zimbabwean primary teachers' and learners' attitudes towards English have an influence on how they use language in classrooms. The use of a sociocultural postcolonial framework helps us to understand more clearly the varying attitudes to English in this context.

Several things could account for different attitudes towards English as the language of instruction in the education system. Kamwangamalu (2010:3) observes that soon after liberating themselves from colonialism, a dichotomy was set up in which African countries felt that they were facing two choices concerning medium of instruction in education: decolonization of education and use of indigenous languages on the one hand and national development and the use of the postcolonial languages on the other. While there could have been other options, national development and decolonisation of education seemed to occupy centre stage in many newly independent countries. Both decolonisation and development have keen advocates and it has not always been easy to find common ground between them when it comes to selecting the language of instruction in education particularly at primary school level. To accommodate the competing demands of decolonisation and development post-colonial governments have largely utilised language planning frameworks comprising four language planning ideologies: linguistic pluralism, linguistic assimilation, internationalisation,

and vernacularisation (Kamwendo, 2006: 58). Infused into this model is another model that has entailed governments choosing between:

- **total endo-glossic** strategies (mother tongue/national language MoI throughout the whole system, i.e. primary, secondary and tertiary cycles)

- **total exoglossic** strategies (straight for English strategies without giving any room to mother tongues or indigenous languages that learners are already familiar with by the time they enter school)

- **combined endo- and exo-glossic** strategies (either (a) a full primary cycle with Shona/Ndebele language plus English as the official language, or (b) early exit models from mother tongue MoI into English MoI after grade three) (Alidou et al, 2006:39).

Since independence Zimbabwe has been experimenting with the combined endo and exo glossic model that embraces linguistic pluralism. The country has shied away from imposing indigenous languages as the sole media of instruction but the current language-in-education policy framework shows that the country has not moved away from the internationalist ideology, hence the central role played by English as the medium of instruction. Ndhlovu (2006) argues that using English as medium of instruction shows that Zimbabwe has not harmonised the competing demands of decolonising education on the one hand and national development on the other. Omoniyi's (2007) analysis of choices governments have to make when developing language-in-education policies paints a bleak picture. He argues that language-in-education policies in most postcolonial Sub-Saharan African nations show a preference for former colonial languages as media of instruction, often presented as providing the magic escape from threats to the nation state posed by multiple cultures and political

divisions. Kamwangamalu (2010) concludes that retention of colonial languages as languages of instruction is a convenient excuse given by the emergent African elite who prefer the status quo.

The African élite publicly argue for the promotion of indigenous languages as media of instruction while sending their own offspring to schools where the medium of instruction is a former colonial language (Makoni et al, 2006). Omoniyi posits that in order to protect their interests the elite have established a hierarchy of languages at the top of which the colonial languages sit. Use of such languages becomes a symbol of prestige, and a higher competence in them is perceived to entitle speakers to a claim to power (Robinson, 1996:5). In fact Myers-Scotton (1990) cited in Williams (2011) has coined the phrase 'élite closure' to describe the process whereby a small dominant establishment in African countries ensures that they have access to high standards of English while the majority of the population have to make do with ineffective education systems. In Zimbabwe schools attended by the children of the ruling élite insist on the use of English while on school premises at all times (Nyawaranda, 2000:27). Such insistence on using English in many schools has influence on the aspiring elite, who perhaps perceive English as a means to move up the socioeconomic ladder. The desire to move up the socioeconomic ladder might account for mixed and sometime contradictory attitudes expressed towards former colonial languages.

Despite protestations to the contrary by governments, in Anglophone Africa, English remains privileged as medium of instruction although large populations within the nation-state either do not have it in their repertoire or possess only rudimentary competence in it (Robinson,

1996). Researchers (Evans, 2009; Ferguson; 2006; Adegbija, 1994; Bamgbose, 1998) have argued that in postcolonial Africa pedagogical considerations have often been less influential than political, economic and demographic factors in shaping language-in-education policies leading to marginalisation of indigenous languages. The argument being made here is aptly summarised by Phillipson (2012: xxi) who concluded that "English serves the interests of post-colonial elites as a language of inclusion for the few and of exclusion for the many".

Discussion of the use of English as medium of instruction suggests that language-in-education policy decisions in postcolonial Africa have not been based on learners' educational needs despite UNESCO's (1953) long standing recommendation that learners stood to benefit most if they were taught in their first language. UNESCO's recommendations have been supported by researchers like Ramirez et al, 1991; Kaphesi, 2003; Peresuh and Masuku, 2002; Halliday, 2007; Trudell, 2007; Setati and Adler, 2000 and Cummins, 2000). Thus, use of English as medium of instruction is not only in direct contradiction to intentions of the AU Language Plan for Africa but also to research evidence suggesting that primary school children perform better when taught using their first language rather than a foreign language (UNESCO, 1953; and Mfum-Mensah, 2005). This is substantiated by Benson's (2004) PEBIMO project in Mozambique which utilised two different Bantu languages in transitional programmes for lower primary schooling, thus offering an alternative to exclusive instruction in Portuguese. Evaluations of the project showed that learners had benefited from using indigenous languages for learning. Similarly the Yoruba project in Nigeria and use of Kiswahili in Kenya and Tanzania demonstrate successful use of indigenous languages as media of instruction at primary school level (Rubagunya, 1991). In addition to these success stories, Ferguson (2006)

argues that it does not make sense to use English as medium of instruction in many postcolonial contexts because learners, particularly in rural areas, have limited contact with English outside school. In support of his argument Ferguson cites Williams and Cooke (2002:307) who reported that in many primary schools in Zambia, Zimbabwe, Zanzibar, Mauritius and Namibia learners have severely limited competence in English to be able to use it to learn other subjects on the primary school curriculum. Despite this wealth of evidence, use of indigenous languages as media of instruction has remained an unfulfilled ambition suggesting that ambivalent attitudes towards foreign languages as media of instruction derive from stances taken by the ruling leadership in postcolonial Africa and these stances influence attitudes towards both indigenous and foreign languages. In the following section I show how these Africa wide contradictions are played out in the Zimbabwean context.

2.4. Language and Education in Zimbabwe

The primary school cycle in Zimbabwe runs from grade 1 to grade 7. The grades1-3 segment is classified as infant while grades 4-7 are junior primary classes. The age range for learners who attend primary school is six to thirteen years but there are occasions when older children are found in the primary cycle because learners are permitted to repeat a grade level if parents and the school agree that the learner has not made sufficient progress and might benefit from repeating. The starting age for primary learners is significant because at the age of six learners are expected to have a sound mastery of the mother tongue to be able to use it for learning.

While the Zimbabwean Constitution (2013) recognises sixteen different languages the Zimbabwe Education Act (1987 amended 2005) directs that English be taught alongside learners' home language (Shona or Ndebele) from the first grade depending on the language spoken by the surrounding community. The Act further directs that English, Shona or Ndebele may be used as medium of instruction in the first three years of the primary school learning cycle again depending upon which language is more commonly spoken and better understood by the learners. Learners' home language is defined as the language commonly used for everyday interaction outside school by learners and members of the community in which the learners live. Learners' home language is contrasted with school language which is the language teachers and learners use for teaching-learning purposes. In Zimbabwe school language is English and most schools require learners to use English to access all areas of the national curriculum.

2.4.1. The Zimbabwe Education Act and language use in classrooms

The point of departure for assessing the influence of Zimbabwe's language-in-education policies on language use in primary school classrooms is an examination of the provisions of the Education Act. The Education Act stipulates that:

> *Subject to 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. (Zimbabwe Education Act

Part XII Section 62).

The Act further specifies that:

> *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 upon which language is more commonly*
>
> *spoken and better understood by the pupils.* (Zimbabwe Education
>
> Act Part XII Section 62)

The provisions of the Education Act specified here envisage a transitional bilingual education programme whereby the learner's first language, mother tongue, or the language of his or her immediate environment is used in the initial stages of schooling before switching to English as a medium of instruction at later stages (Salami, 2008). As Salami points out the Act's directives suggest that the mother-tongue or the local indigenous language is expected to be used for instruction in all subjects, except English, from pre-primary (3–5 years of age) and primary years 1 to 3 and later English takes over from Year 4 to 7 while the mother tongue is taught as a subject. However given the way the policy guidelines are worded it is possible for English to be the medium of instruction from the start because implementation of the provisions of the Act seems to rely on the willingness of schools and teachers to follow the Education Act's directives. The Education Act is vague because use of mother-tongue and exit date or transition to English needed to be spelt out unambiguously to avoid haphazard

implementation of the policy directives. Ndhlovu (2006:305) argues that although the Act accords official language status to Shona and Ndebele, English continues to enjoy a distinct advantage. Makoni et al (2006:407) further argue that "the continued importance attached to English even in post-independent Zimbabwe reflects a disconcerting continuity with pre-colonial language policies in which...English continues to play a significant role". Hungwe (2007) criticises the Education Act as "strikingly consistent with the Phelps-Stokes recommendations in the emphasis on an early transition to English" at the expense of indigenous languages. He concludes that the Education Act has provided for, but does not require use of indigenous languages in the first three grades of primary school, largely because it fails to pay attention to the development and sustenance of structures and programmes meant to support language-in-education policy. Hungwe's views are echoed by Mnkandla (2000:89) who describes the Education Act as "permissive rather than mandatory". Peresuh and Masuku (2002) are even more critical of the designation of English as medium of instruction after grade four arguing that the prescription is in spite of the fact that most primary schools are rural and located in speech communities where all pupils speak the same home language. The vague wording in the Education Act points to lack of clarity about the distinction between teaching a language as a subject and using it as medium of instruction. Part XII, Section 62, sub-section 1 of the Act refers to teaching Shona, Ndebele and English but not their use as media of instruction while sub-section 2 refers to the use of the languages as medium of instruction. The Education Act does not make it easy for teachers to unpack the difference between teaching languages as subjects and using them as media of instruction. Kashoki (2003) argues that Zimbabwe appears content to state the provisions of the Education Act, as they relate to language-in-education policy, in rather general terms. This situation

contrasts markedly with the South African context where the Education Act goes into greater detail about the individual's right to choose their own language for learning and teaching within an overall framework that requires the education system to promote multilingualism.

The policy framework underpinning use of English or Shona/Ndebele in Zimbabwe is porous. In such an unclear policy framework teachers are likely to act on the basis of their own beliefs which may not be in the interests of learners. There is also lack of consistency in teacher practices. For example, Mnkandla's (2000) study showed that there is no uniformity in the way teachers and head teachers interpret language policy directives derived from the Education Act which she describes as woolly thus giving each school the leeway to implement the policy as it sees fit.

This section has explored the impact of the Zimbabwean Education Act on policy implementation and language use in primary classes at a general level. The following section focuses on the impact of testing practices in Zimbabwe on teachers and learners attitudes to English and how they use language during teaching and learning.

2.4.2 The influence of testing practices on language use

In addition to the unclear policy framework in which teachers operate, Zimbabwe's assessment practices embolden teachers to use English only as medium of instruction. Even though teachers are expected to use Shona as medium of instruction during the first three years of primary education they are expected to assess the same learners' progress in English.

Assessment plays a major, complex role in any teaching context but more so in a context where learners do not have sufficient competence in the language used to assess their progress. McNamara (2011) argues that data from assessment results can be useful in exposing language-in-education policy issues. In Zimbabwe, tests are administered at the national level in English and results are presented in terms of national achievement, the achievement of individual schools, and ultimately the achievement of individual class teachers. Teachers therefore probably do not see any reason why they should use indigenous languages to teach when their effectiveness as teachers is measured by how well learners perform in examinations administered in English. Learners too might lack the motivation to use indigenous languages because they are assessed through English. Both teachers' and learners' preference for English is understandable given that inability to master the language poses the biggest barrier to achievement. Kempert et al (2011) argue that research findings suggest that the encoding and retrieval of content taught in school are closely connected to the language of instruction. Students with a low command of the instructional language may thus face the risk of insufficient mental representation of information presented at school, which may eventually result in poor performance in different subjects. Therefore both teachers and learners see English as the language of choice for learning purposes.

The testing regime in Zimbabwe is based on a monolingual view of language for learning which requires test takers to demonstrate their proficiency in areas of the curriculum in English. The main drawback for such a view is that language is viewed as a closed and finite system that does not enable other languages to "smuggle in." Such a view is in stark contrast to the current understanding of multilingual competencies for which various languages and

aspects "bleed" into one another in creative ways manifested in code-switching (Shohamy, 2006) hence new emphasis translanguaging in which two or more languages are used alongside each other for the benefit of learners (Creese and Blackledge, 2010) . The monolingual view of language does not allow the simultaneous use of different language functions such as reading in one and speaking in another in the process of academic functioning. If Zimbabwe's testing regime is grounded in a monolingual view of language, it becomes necessary to find out the influence of testing practices on language use in primary classes.

2.5. Language use in primary classrooms: mapping the field.

In the preceding section doubts have been raised about the efficacy of Zimbabwe's language-in-education policy. In this section I discuss language use in classrooms from the sociocultural perspective that learners are social actors with varied experience with language and therefore might have different attitudes towards languages they use for learning. Therefore in a postcolonial context like Zimbabwe selecting a language as medium of instruction has to take account of the variation in literacy practices amongst learners and give value to their different backgrounds (Street, 2003) and be based on principles that acknowledge that learners' mother tongue or a language of the immediate community that learners already speak should be the medium of instruction from the beginning of the primary learning cycle and that such language should be used for teaching and learning for as long as possible in the educational cycle (UNESCO, 2003).

However Bamgbose (2006) argues that in postcolonial contexts these principles are not always adhered to because indigenous languages can be totally ignored or only be used for oral explanations while learners are taught in English throughout. At best indigenous languages are used for introducing children to literacy and get gradually phased out in favour of a foreign language such as English. Such practices are "contrary to arguments that emphasise that use of learners' mother tongue enables learners to better think in their own language by providing a link between home language practices and the school, and facilitating development of language and literacy skills that form the basis for learning the second language (English)" (Graham, 2010:310). Graham's arguments for using learners' mother tongue are in line with UNESCO's (2003:30) argument that "using learners' mother tongue improves the quality of education in linguistically diverse communities and should be extended to as late a stage in education as possible". However learners' mother tongue in classrooms and as medium of instruction is not so straightforward because of teachers' and learners' attitudes towards learners' mother tongue in classrooms. This is well demonstrated by Cincotta-Segi (2011) whose ethnographic study in the Lao PD shows how teachers' and learners' differing attitudes towards the mother tongue can complicate matters in postcolonial classrooms.

The first teacher in Cincotta-Segi's study used the official language of instruction for all teaching and only used students' mother tongue for management of pupil behaviour. When she asked questions and learners responded in their mother tongue she ignored their responses until they used the official language of instruction. Martin-Jones (1995) cites Guthrie (1984) who noted a similar practice during a study of a monolingual teacher teaching bilingual Chinese learners. The teacher did not tolerate children's use of Chinese even when the

children's Chinese utterances had a direct bearing on the content of the lesson being taught. The teacher's reaction to children's use of their L1 seems to be based on the assumption that the target language should be used exclusively for instructional purposes without recourse to learners' first language (Cummins, 2007). Cummins points out that such an assumption is erroneous because it is based on "monolingual instructional principles that are largely unsupported by empirical evidence and inconsistent with current understandings of how people learn" (Cummins, 2007:222). Cummins in fact argues that current research evidence points to the wisdom of using children's L1 to complement and enhance their proficiency in the L2 because the L1 provides scaffolding that learners need in order to build up the L2 (Cook, 2001).

Using learners' first language together with the language of instruction in which they have limited competence would point to positive attitudes toward the two languages because "language values are transmitted through communicative choices" (Martin-Jones, 1995:93). The way in which using learners'L1 supports learning is shown by the way the second teachers in Cincotta-Segi's study used Lao and learners' L1.

The second teacher in Cincotta-Segi's study showed preference for using the official language of instruction but unlike the first teacher after introducing content in Lao, frequently switched into learners' mother tongue to explain new and complex ideas or in any situation where a learner was not responding to Lao instructions or elicitations. The uses to which the teacher put the learners' mother tongue in this study are similar to those identified by Guthrie cited in Martin-Jones (1995). Guthrie noted that the bilingual teacher switched to learners' L1 in order

to, among other things, clarify concepts, outline procedures and give directions and check for understanding. Such use of the L1 would indicate acknowledgement that the L1 can be used as a resource with bilingual learners. "Treating the LI as a classroom resource opens up several ways to use it, such as for teachers to convey meaning, explain grammar, and organize the class, and for students to use as part of their collaborative learning and individual strategy use" (Cook, 2001:402).

Comparison of the two teachers' attitudes towards learners' mother tongue shows that the first teacher's response to use of the mother tongue restricted pupil-pupil talk and also limited the amount of teacher-pupil talk while the second teacher maximised learning opportunities by allowing learners to use the indigenous language. The second teacher also helped learners grasp difficult language points through use of dialogic teaching. These teachers' use or non-use of the learners' mother tongue shows how teacher's attitudes towards the language of instruction can influence pedagogical strategies they use to bring about learning.

In a South African study Thomson and Stakhnevich (2010:271) observed that teachers had different attitudes towards using learners' mother tongue despite evidence suggesting that in contexts where the majority of learners do not have English as their mother tongue, a recourse to, and engagement with, the mother tongue become unavoidable pedagogical necessities. Thomson and Stakhnevich report differences among teachers on whether to code switch during lessons. During the first lesson learners were instructed not to use isiZulu and as a result all workshop participants agreed there was limited learner participation. In the second lesson learners were allowed to write stories using both English and isiZulu. Participants

agreed the lesson was livelier leading Thomson and Stakhnevich to conclude that the pedagogic value of a bilingual model of learning was established. Allowing learners to use both English and isiZulu during writing activities points to the crucial role that code-switching can play in bilingual classrooms and gives credence to Robyn's (2009) criticism of language policies of many schools in African language-speaking communities as being based more on attitudes and aspirations (of teachers, parents, and learners) than on the pedagogical realities of multilingualism. I consider code-switching to be an important tool that teachers can use to facilitate learning in postcolonial contexts and therefore I analyse the nature and uses of code-switching in classrooms in bilingual postcolonial settings in the next section.

2.5.1. Defining code-switching

Then and Ting (2011:299) argue that "a classroom is a space where students from different linguistic backgrounds meet, communicate in two (or more) different languages and try to make sense of what they understand and know, and what they are doing." Learners are continually engaged in instructional conversation among themselves as well as with their teachers. The conversation may take place in languages other than the language of instruction although for various reasons teachers may try to keep the different languages separate. The alternate use of the language of instruction and learners' first language is what is referred to as code-switching in this study.

Chimbganda and Mogkwathi (2012) argue that code-switching can be defined from a structural or functional perspective. They define code-switching as the alternate use of at least

two languages during interaction, one of which is the target language used as medium of instruction and the other is the home language of the learners. Along similar lines Liebscher and Dailey-O'cain (2005:235) define code-switching as "systematic alternating use of two languages or language varieties within a single conversation or utterance". Defining code-switching from the structural perspective leads to formulation of research questions that focus on identifying and establishing grammatical rules for codes-witching (van der Meij and Zhao, 2010) and the first step in such a research is nearly always an attempt to classify the various forms in which code-switches appear. The present study does not focus on the structural definition of code-switching but is concerned with discourse-related functions of code-switching which organize conversation by contributing to the interactional meaning of a particular utterance, and participant-related functions, which are switches corresponding to the preferences of the individual who performs the switching or those of co-participants in the conversation. Highlighting code-switching's contribution to meaning creation makes it possible to define it from a sociolinguistic standpoint, which focuses on the 'why' and 'how' part, that is, the functional aspect which tries to identify the reasons for, and effects of, code-switching (Chimbganda and Mogkwathi, 2012; van der Meij and Zhao 2010). Code-switching can then be defined as a communicative resource which enables teachers and students to fulfil a wide range of social and educational objectives in the classroom. Taking cue from this notion, code-switching in this study is taken to mean "a communicative strategy of redeploying the linguistic resources available to bilingual speakers in a particular situation in order to enhance meaning and understanding of the subject matter" (Chimbganda and Mogkwathi, 2012:23). If code-switching is beneficial why then is it frowned upon by teachers and school authorities? Ferguson (2003:38) argues that "code-switching in the classroom

across a range of curricular subjects is a widespread phenomenon in multilingual, language contact settings in Africa and, indeed, world-wide; yet it is not infrequently regarded unfavourably by educational policy-makers". Policy makers' unfavourable attitude towards code-switching may in part be due to lack of appreciation of what code-switching is and the functions it serves in the education of children in bilingual/multilingual settings. However negative attitudes towards code-switching can be viewed as manifestation of contradictions about language use in postcolonial settings. Policy makers claim to promote use of indigenous in educating young learners yet their actions betray a hankering for the colonial past where the coloniser's language was the language of record and dominated the educational arena.

2.5.2 Functions of code-switching in classroom contexts

Code-switching fulfils both social and academic functions in classrooms (Uys and Dulm, 2011). Uys and Dulm (2011:67) identify the following five functions of code-switching in classrooms:

(i) Explaining and clarifying subject content;

(ii) Assisting learners in understanding and interpreting material;

(iii) As a tool of teaching in confirming understanding and encouraging participation;

(iv) In classroom management, such as maintaining learners' attention and reprimanding disruptive behaviour; and

(v) For social functions, such as humour and as a marker of bilingual identity.

The code-switching functions identified by Uys and Dulm's closely resemble those identified by Guthrie (1982) cited in Fennema-Bloom (2010). Guthrie lists the following functions of code-switching:

1) Translation,

2) Inclusion (we-code),

3) Procedures and directions,

4) Clarifications; and

5) Checks for comprehension.

Fennema-Bloom adapted Guthrie's categories and identified code-switching functions summarised in Table 1.

Table 1 Pedagogic functions of code-switching

Function	Description	Intent
Instructional for Content Acquisition	Content instruction is moving along between the two codes.	To progress through the content where one language mode or the other may be employed, depending on the targeted vocabulary, use of instructional material, set up of the instructional intent or activity.
Reformulation	Content is reformulated or translated with no new information and no new instruction	To check understanding and make content comprehensible by asking for or offering concurrent translations of text or speech.
Instructional for	Content instruction is usually disrupted	To develop meta-linguistic abilities

Language Acquisition	or postponed in order to draw attention to linguistic development.	(semantic, syntactic, phonemic, morphological) primarily in English and beyond the normal scope of the content subject instruction.
Facilitation	Switching is a classroom management/ facilitation device.	To facilitate classroom management switches as a way of including more English into the daily routines, as an evaluation device, and/or used to create in/out group solidarity and participation.
Habitual	Switching is a product of the teachers' individual discourse patterns as bilingual speakers.	This category has no direct pedagogic aim. The switch tends to be an idiosyncratic habit of the teacher and has no direct instructional intent.

Adapted from Fennema-Bloom (2010)

Fennema-Bloom's categories of code-switching functions indicate ways in which code-switching may influence language use in primary classes and provide areas of focus during observation of lessons. They also incorporate Uys and Dulm's argument that code-switching is (i) a sign of bilingual competence; (ii) a potentially useful classroom tool, aiding learner understanding of both subject content and teacher intention; and (iii) a device which provides speakers with both communicative and social power. Fennema-Bloom's categories of functions also provide clear focus of code-switching instances. According to Probyn (2005),

code-switching occurs as teachers, while aware that their learners need English proficiency to access subject materials and participate in assessments, are constrained by the learners' lack of English proficiency, and so resort to code-switching to adequately communicate content. It is the reality of the pedagogical context which dictates teacher practices in such situations. It is therefore important to find out how code-switching influences language use in contexts where both teachers and learners speak another language other than the language of instruction. To determine the extent to which code-switching impacts on language use in primary classes it is necessary to go beyond listing the functions of code-switching to considering the influence of codes-witching on teaching-learning and classroom behaviour (Wei and Martin, 2009). Therefore, in the next few paragraphs I examine how code-switching can influence language use by exploring two ways in which code-switching might be viewed in Zimbabwean classrooms.

Saxena (2009) suggests two ways of looking at code-switching in classroom contexts. The first perspective considers indigenous languages as the linguistic other that causes problems and is a hindrance to pupils' progress. The second perspective reverses the roles and considers English as the linguistic other. These two perspectives are considered in order to highlight their influence on language use in primary classes.

2.5.3. Code-switching practices: L1 as the "linguistic other" in the classroom

In Sub-Saharan Africa taking learners' L1 as the linguistic other is illustrated by the conclusion of the Botswana 1993 National Education Commission (cited in Chimbganda

and Mogkwathi, 2012) which concluded that learners code-switch in class because they are exposed to English at a relatively late stage having received their early education in the mother tongue. The commission took the view that introducing English to learners late delays their acquisition of English which is the medium of instruction for the entire education system. Chimbganda and Mogkwathi (2012) argue that the commission's conclusions appear to have been influenced by applications of communicative language teaching techniques which suggest that communicating completely in the target language is the sure way of ensuring that learners gain sufficient mastery of the language (Ustunel and Seedhouse, 2005). Proponents of this view argue that code-switching adulterates the acquisition of the second language (English) and in multilingual classrooms can create problems if there is no common language for all learners and if the teacher is not competent enough in the mother tongue of the learners. The question of teachers' competence or lack of competence in the mother tongue of learners is relevant to the Zimbabwean context because there are many instances where teachers teach learners with a different mother tongue from that of the teacher because deployment of teachers in Zimbabwe does not take into account the home language spoken by the teacher. As a result there are situations when teachers are unable to use learners' mother tongue and resort to using English as medium of instruction. In such situations it becomes difficult to implement the directive that learners in grades 1-3 should be taught using their mother tongue. Proponents of the L1 as the linguistic other would argue that in such a situation English saves the day.

While proponents for taking the learners' L1 as the linguistic other may have persuasive arguments, the main weakness of their approach is that they appear to be influenced by the

view that an exoglossic language is inherently superior to the native languages and therefore must be imposed on the indigenous speech communities (Chimbganda and Mogkwathi, 2012). They fail to appreciate that both teachers and learners perceive the classroom as a compound bilingual space in which codes-witching is desirable and functional (van der Meij and Zhao 2010) and that "people with access to different languages are perfectly capable of using these at the same time when this is appropriate, and perfectly capable of using only one at a time when the situation requires this" (Jørgensen, 2005:394). Chimbganda and Mogkwathi (2012:22) argue that it is normal for code-switching to occur in classes because "the reality is that the existence of two or more languages does not necessarily mean that they are distinct and separate in their function. Quite often, they are intertwined to the extent that they form a mutually supportive role by exploiting the students' LI in order to increase their understanding of the L2". Despite support for code-switching expressed here teachers tend to impose an English only policy in classes. Saxena reports how in practice teachers enforce the English only policy that views the learners' L1 as the linguistic other. In Cincotta-Segi's study referred to in section 2.5, at the start of lessons learners are reminded of the no L1 rule and during the course of the lesson if learners give responses in the L1 the teacher reminds them of the no L1 rule, rejects the answer or ignores the response. The teacher's response strategies are intended to force learners to respond in English. However teachers like the one in the reported study fail to realise that learners find the marginalisation of their L1 confusing. The confusion derives from the fact that learners' L1 is venerated in different forms and practices symbolic of their cultural and traditional identity (Saxena, 2009). Therefore learners may respond to the imposition of English only in one of two ways. They may withdraw their participation in the lesson by remaining silent or they may challenge the policy by continuing to respond in the L1

and using the L1 when talking among themselves during group tasks. The resistance shown by the learners in their discourse in the classroom can be described as non-cooperation intended to assert the legitimacy of the L1. Teachers' enforcement of English only policies and learners' resistance to such policies "reflects the postcolonial dilemma of internationalisation represented by teachers and localisation demonstrated by learners that many Sub-Saharan countries find themselves facing (Saxena, 2009).

2.5.4. Code-switching practices: "English" as the "linguistic other" in the classroom

Not all teachers are in favour of imposing English only policies. There are those that take the position that code-switching is not only desirable but unavoidable (Mart, 2013) given that most of the learners in primary classes have not attained a level of proficiency in English that enables them to use it as a vehicle for learning all subjects. Such teachers' classrooms are characterised by frequent code-switching in defiance of policy instructions (Uys and Dulm, 2011). They make use of their knowledge of learners' L1, utilising code-switching as a resource and encouraging learners in their classes to do likewise (Saxena, 2009). Saxena's (2009) study of literacy events in classes that allowed code-switching in Brunei showed that when both the teacher and learners used code-switching during lessons learners were more active contrary to what happens in English only classes where lessons tended to be teacher dominated. Saxena points out that in English only classes teachers' elicitations tend to be met with silence or mummers while in classes where code-switching is permitted there is fluidity in conversation that allows learners to make initiation moves and share their ideas and opinions in class more openly and freely. Code-switching is also helpful because it provides

opportunities for the cultivation of learners' mother tongue through its use for teaching and learning (Creese and Blackledge, 2010).

2.6 Conclusion

The literature review has highlighted difficulties associated with undertaking language attitudes research because of inconsistencies between attitudes and conduct, especially in situations in which there are two or more languages in contact as is the case in postcolonial Zimbabwe. Language attitudes are difficult to pin down in postcolonial contexts like Sub-Saharan Africa, including Zimbabwe, because while national policy intentions to elevate the status of indigenous languages in education have been on the cards since independence, on the ground little progress has been achieved. Despite policy change initiatives by the AU most countries have vague language-in-education policy frameworks that privilege former colonisers' language (English) over indigenous languages as medium of instruction.

Analysis of the policy context in Zimbabwe has shown that English continues to enjoy a privileged position as medium of instruction from the third year of primary schooling despite research evidence showing that learners' limited competence in English poses the greatest barrier to accessing and delivering quality education at primary school level in postcolonial contexts. The provisions of the Zimbabwean Education Act have been singled out for criticism because of their vagueness that leaves them open to different interpretations by schools and teachers. In addition to a vague policy framework, testing practices that force learners to be examined in English embolden teachers to adopt English only policies although the Education

Act stipulates that Shona/Ndebele or other indigenous languages should be used as medium of instruction for the first three years of primary schooling before transitioning to use of English as medium of instruction from grade four onwards.

The literature review chapter concludes by mapping out the field of language use in postcolonial primary classrooms. Research evidence suggests that selecting a language as medium of instruction has to take account of the variation in literacy practices amongst learners and give value to their different languages. Although language-in-education policies dictate use of English as medium of instruction from the fourth grade, in practice code-switching (or what some are now calling translanguaging, (e.g. Garcia and Sylvan, 2011) is used by teachers and learners to enhance grasp of concepts. Even though code switching benefits learners, it is viewed negatively by the official establishment that regards indigenous languages as the linguistic other that causes learning problems.

While the literature review has mapped the field of language attitudes research, highlighting contradictions that characterise postcolonial contexts like Zimbabwe, the next chapter focuses on the methodological choices I made in order to investigate the influence of teachers' and learners' attitudes towards English on language use in Zimbabwe.

3 Methodology

3.1. Choice of Research Strategy

This chapter discusses reasons behind the choice of research strategy for this study. Discussion of the choice of research strategy for this study reflects epistemological, ontological and methodological debates in teacher education, language education and language attitudes research (Ortega, 2005a). One thrust of this debate is moving the field away from positivist research, which posits a single, objective and uniform reality, towards interpretive research which focuses on the particular, seeking to expand understanding of phenomena (Spector-Mersel, 2010). The increased utilisation of the interpretive strategy has in turn led to recognition of the importance of context and history in conducting language attitude and language policy research. This methodological turn that seeks to provide realistic frameworks for informing language education research in contexts like Zimbabwe is particularly well suited to a study rooted in sociocultural and postcolonial theories.

In this study, I have shied away from utilising positivist research perspectives because they have failed to put language attitudes research into larger social contexts that shape those attitudes (Dyers and Abongdia, 2010). As Bartram (2006:56) observes, "when examining the possible starting points for investigating language attitudes, one quickly notices that much of the research traditionally carried out in the field has been from a positivist perspective because

language attitudes are generally taken to be stable constructs, best 'measured' using large-scale standardised testing mechanisms". Bartram's argument is that the desire to achieve a generalizable picture of attitudinal 'truth' has often been the driving force behind statistical enquiries.

Criticisms have been levelled at language attitudes research utilising the positivist approach. Adegbija (1994) argues that deficiency has been a major characteristic of positivist language attitudes research in Africa because most studies seemed impressionistic in approach and sampling techniques as well as instrument development. To illustrate this he cites Kembo-Sure's (1991) study in Kenya that relied on participants agreeing or disagreeing with particular attitude statements. Adegbija argues that language attitudes are too complex to be determined by merely agreeing or disagreeing with statements which are worded in such a way that respondents tend to give responses they believe researchers would like to hear. To strengthen positivist research Adegbija recommends an acknowledgement that language attitudes are socially derived and therefore should take into account contextual, environmental effects and individual attributes that can influence development of attitudes towards a language. Adegbija's arguments are particularly relevant in postcolonial contexts like Zimbabwe where the former colonisers' language continues to be used as medium of instruction. In such a context language research cannot ignore the fact that people's historical past shapes and influences attitudes towards both the indigenous languages and the former colonisers' language. Adopting a sociocultural postcolonial lens therefore helps to investigate whether Zimbabwe's colonial past has an influence on the type of language policies in place and whether these policies in turn influence how language is used in primary classrooms.

Other criticism has been levelled against language attitudes research projects that utilised standardised measures and statistical analysis (Crookes & Schmidt, 1991). Crookes and Schmidt considered results of research into language attitudes using standardised measures and statistical analysis as being mixed and difficult to interpret. Their criticism echoed Dörnyei's (2003) conclusion that positivist social-psychological research on language attitudes over the last 40 years has been uneven and inconsistent. In this study, I have tried to avoid these criticisms by paying closer attention to what transpires in the social environment and classrooms.

A further productive route for improving the usefulness of language attitudes research is the adoption of an interpretive strategy that involves exploring the language attitudes of teachers and learners from their experiences of using English and Shona/Ndebele as medium of instruction. The interpretive research strategy developed out of descriptive phenomenology and focuses on describing, understanding and interpreting participants' experiences in order to determine the meaning or essence of the phenomenon being investigated. The interpretive strategy is ideal for this study because "the main aim of language attitudes studies should not be to predict attitudinal patterns and produce quantifiable generalisations or establish the statistical significance of variables, but rather to describe and understand the language attitude patterns among participants" (Bartram, 2006:56). Bartram's advice resonates with Howe and Moses' (1999:32) argument that "beliefs, attitudes, customs, and identities are created and exist only within social relationships, relationships in which language use looms large". Keeping this in mind, I selected a methodology that helped me seek out and listen carefully to

teachers' and learners' accounts of their experiences with language use in primary classrooms. This way I could identify what teachers and learners were saying and also seek to uncover why they did what they did. It also allowed me to follow Cross's (2010) direction of developing more theoretically robust frameworks that better recognise the political and ideological dimensions of language and language use.

3.2. Ethical considerations for this study

My discussion of ethical considerations for this study is informed by the view that there is a symbiotic relationship between ethics, epistemology, ontology and choice of methods. The symbiotic relationship is captured in the British Educational Research Association's (BERA) (2011) advice that all educational research should be conducted within an ethic of respect for: the Person, Knowledge, Democratic Values, the Quality of Educational Research and Academic Freedom is evidence of the inextricable link between ethics, epistemology, ontology and research methods. However, frequently in language attitudes research similar to this study, little mention has been made of ethics apart from discussing the classical issues of informed consent, anonymity and confidentiality (Allwright, 2005). While the welfare of research participants is a critical element in research, there is need to broaden the ethical lens when discussing language attitudes research.

The aims and objectives of the research study need to be viewed from an ethical point of view. Ortega (2005a:427) advocates for the adoption of an ethical lens that "interrogates our ends and purposes in the light of concerns surrounding questions about the uses and users of our

work". This position implies that while it is important to focus on research participants' welfare, purposes served by research being conducted also need consideration from an ethical angle because research has to be judged by its social utility. In this study while the welfare of teachers and learners as research participants was considered important, the benefits accruing from the study for teachers, learners, language policy planners and other stakeholders were considered just as important .The position taken for this study is that only by keeping ethical issues interwoven with purposes of research can the researcher produce evidence that serves communities he/she works in.

Putting ethical considerations at the forefront helps the researcher to maintain a balance between his/her goals and those of other participants in the study because "schools are complex places, with participants who have different roles and responsibilities and a wide range of goals, needs, and interests that are not necessarily compatible with those of the researcher" (Spada, 2005:328). Research should be inspired by considerations of societal needs and engage with genuine concern questions of "for whom" and "for what" (Valdes, 2005:410) rather than merely benefiting the researcher.

3.2.1. Ethics and negotiating access

BERA (2011) advises that "educational researchers should operate within an ethic of respect for any persons involved in the research they are undertaking. Individuals should be treated fairly, sensitively, with dignity, and within an ethic of respect and freedom from prejudice regardless of age, gender, sexuality, race, ethnicity, class, nationality, cultural identity,

partnership status, faith, disability, political belief or any other significant difference". To comply with BERA's injunction I made sure participants took part in the research on the basis of voluntary informed consent. Before they took part in the study participants were provided with the Ethics Protocol for the study (see Appendix A). The Ethics Protocol listed the aims of the study and what participation in the study entailed.

Before beginning this research I applied for permission from the Secretary for Education, Sports and Culture in Zimbabwe who acts as the gate keeper (Silverman, 2006) for schools. That permission allowed me to approach the Education Regional Directorate for clearance to visit schools. Clearance from the Regional Education Directorate allowed me to talk to head teachers who in turn allowed me to talk to teachers. Getting clearance from the Regional Directorate gave me the opportunity to know something about the schools I wanted to study as well as the terms on which I was allowed to study the selected schools. The importance of understanding the terms upon which access was granted became clear during pilot study when I got to a school to negotiate access to teachers and pupils. The school head insisted that I provide written evidence of how I would comply with the requirement that my study would not disturb the smooth running of classes studied.

Negotiating access is less problematic with regards to teachers but the same cannot be said about access to children. While in other contexts I might have been required to negotiate access to school children by writing to parents, in Zimbabwe the school head and teachers act in loco parentis and no individual parental consent is required for students to participate in research. Although there is no documentary evidence, the practice in Zimbabwe is that the

school is expected to act in the best interests of learners and therefore once the school head has authorised the researcher to enter the school there is no need to seek parents' permission.

When access was granted each participant was taken through an informed consent process prior to the research beginning (Fuller et al, 2008). As indicated earlier all research participants were availed with a copy o the research protocol for this study. In addition, teachers and pupils taking part in the study were guaranteed confidentiality and anonymity. Pseudonyms have been used to identify participating schools, teachers and learners in the research report. Extra precaution has been taken to guarantee confidentiality and anonymity for learners. Learners are normally not comfortable talking in front of their teachers. Therefore teachers who taught learners who participated in the study were not present during interviews with learners. Apart from ensuring confidentiality, excluding teachers during interviews with learners enabled the learners to talk freely about their attitudes towards English and using English as medium of instruction.

3.2.2 Ethics and Data Collection from learners

When interviewing learners special ethical issues arise which need to be taken into account. One such ethical consideration is the asymmetrical relationship between the researcher and learners. Eder and Fingerson (2001) identify power dynamics between researchers and learners as an issue to be addressed when using the interview strategy. They argue that in most societies children are socially disempowered and generally perceived as the researched rather than researchers. One strategy to resolve this is to use reciprocity (Eder and Fingerson, 2001).

The notion of reciprocity goes beyond concern with children's rights and addresses concerns about the researcher gaining information without giving something back. This concern can be addressed by giving something in return for information given. For example, making learners feel they have gained greater understanding of their own attitudes towards English and how this impacts on language use in classrooms is an important benefit for children who participated in this study. It is hoped such understanding promotes self-reflection which helps learners develop language attitudes that facilitate effective use of language in classrooms.

3.3. The Study Sample

The focus of qualitative research differs from that of positivist research in that positivist research seeks to make claims about a population on the basis of a sample of that population (Polkinghorne, 2005). Thus, it requires a random or representative selection of data sources. On the other hand qualitative research focuses on describing, understanding, and clarifying human experience and this requires collection of a series of intense, full, and saturated descriptions of the experience under investigation (Polkinghorne, 2005:139). Participants for this study were therefore selected not because they are representative of the population but because they provide a comprehensive picture of teachers' and learners' attitudes towards English. As a result purposive sampling was used to select participants for this study. The exemplars selected were considered capable of demonstrating the interaction between attitudes towards English and patterns of language use in primary classrooms. This view is in line with Appleton's (1995) observation that it is essential that the researcher selects participants that can articulate their thoughts and experiences and thus enhance the researcher's understanding

of the concept being investigated. Use of purposive sampling was also influenced by Patton's (2002) injunction that selecting information rich cases makes one learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purposes of a study.

3.3.1 Types of schools in Zimbabwe

Five schools from four sections of the Harare Region were selected for this study using Polkinghorne's (2005) notion of maximum variation sampling. The five schools that participated in this study are Chemhanza, Dimbwa, Jemedza, Njanja and Rusvingo primary schools. The purpose of drawing participating schools from diverse backgrounds was to capture a broad spectrum of the Zimbabwean population's groupings.

How these schools represent a broad spectrum of Zimbabwean society can be made clearer through giving a brief background of the kinds of primary schools in Zimbabwe. Before independence in 1980 schools were divided into two groups. The first group was referred to as Group A schools and catered for the children of Whites, Asians and Coloureds (Mixed race). The second group of schools were Group B schools which catered for African children. The medium of instruction in the European and Asian schools, which fell under group A schools, was English while in African primary schools the mother tongue was used as medium of instruction for the first three years of primary school before transitioning to English as medium of instruction from grade four onwards. English was therefore kept away from people, and only used in more elite schools. So denying people English might be seen as a means of denying them agency and equality

In 1979 a new Education Act was devised to promote a degree of school integration and reduce polarisation between racial groups. Legally the Act led to a partial integration of European and African education but the segregative and discriminatory system that disadvantaged the indigenous population was maintained and resurfaced in a new form (Shizha and Kariwo, 2011). Three types of schools were created: government schools, community schools and private schools. Shizha and Kariwo (2011) argue that to complicate matters further government schools were further split into Groups A, B and C.

After independence in 1980, classifying schools on the basis of race was abolished but reference to groups has remained (Nyagura, 1991). Group A schools are high fee paying well resourced schools located in low density areas where surrounding communities are well off. The communities surrounding these schools have access to print and electronic media in English. Learners that attend Group A schools use both Shona/Ndebele and English for communication within and outside the home. However there is a group of learners who attend Group A schools that have no access to English outside the school. These are the children of domestic servants who live in low density areas. Their parents are poor and have no access to electronic and print media in English. These learners have no access to English outside the school.

Group B schools are located mostly in high density urban areas. These schools are surrounded by poor communities that use Shona/Ndebele for communication. Learners that attend these schools have limited access to English outside the school. Attendance at Group B schools is

governed by zoning regulations that limit the movement of learners outside the area they live in. As a consequence learners have little choice over the kind of school they attend. Because learners attending a particular school come from the locality they tend to speak the same language.

The third category of schools are Community schools which are largely non-fee paying. They are found in peri-urban, rural and farming communities. The schools are poorly resourced and surrounded by poor communities that use Shona and Ndebele as languages for communication and socialisation. Children attending these schools have very little or no contact with English before going to school.

Within Groups B and C are faith schools run by religious organisations. These schools admit learners from all sectors of society. Faith schools normally enrol learners from disadvantaged members of the community while faith boarding schools tend to be elitist and while they take learners from across communities, access is based on ability to pay. In this regard they compete with Group A schools.

3.3.2 Sample schools' characteristics

The five schools that participated in this study were drawn from across the school types described in section 3.3.1. Because these schools are located in different communities the sample can be described at this level as a purposive stratified sample meant to capture a wide variety of learners for whom English is a second language.

Chemhanza Primary School is a Group C school situated on the outskirts of Harare where the majority of families are farm workers. The school is surrounded by communities that use Shona or Ndebele as languages for communication and socialisation. Learners who attend this school do not have many opportunities to use English outside school and also have severely limited access to materials written in English outside the school. The school is poorly resourced and operates a hot sitting system (school is run on a shift system with some learners coming in the morning and others in the afternoon because of shortage of space). Like most schools in Zimbabwe, Chemhanza Primary School has benefited from book donations made by UNICEF in the English and Maths subject areas. As a result each learner has access to a textbook in English and Maths. However, there is a dearth of textbooks in other subject areas at Chemhanza Primary School. In most cases ten learners share one textbook. The absence of textbooks has been shown to restrict effective teaching and learning and force teachers to resort to teacher-centred and transmissive approaches (Mangwaya et al, 2013; see also Nassimbeni and Desmond, 2011).

Teachers at Chemhanza primary school speak both Shona and Ndebele: the languages of primary socialisation for the learners they teach. The school also enrols a few learners who use sign language. Three teachers at this school were interviewed and observed teaching. The teachers were teaching grades four, five and six classes respectively. There were about forty-two learners in each of the classes observed. Two groups of four learners each were interviewed from the school. Like in the other schools there were an equal number of boys and girls in each interview group. Teachers' interviews were done before lesson observation while

learners' interviews took place after the lesson. This arrangement was adopted in order to minimise disruption of lessons.

Njanja Primary School is a Group C faith school surrounded by communities that use mainly Shona/Ndebele to interact. The school enrols learners from the local community and any other children from outside the community who have difficulty in paying fees at state or council schools. Learners who attend this school have severely limited opportunities to use English outside the school. Teachers and learners share the same language background. Three teachers (one grade five and two grade four) were interviewed but only the two grade four teachers were observed teaching. Two groups of four grade four learners, comprising an equal number of boys and girls, were interviewed at this school.

Dimbwa Primary School is a Group B school situated in a housing estate commonly described as a "high density area". In these estates little use is made of English outside school and learners have limited opportunities to listen to news broadcasts in English. Like learners at Chemhanza primary school, learners at Dimbwa primary school do not have access to print or electronic media and the school does not have adequate textbooks in most areas except in English and maths.

Most interaction and socialisation outside the school occurs in the indigenous languages: Shona and Ndebele. The teachers at this school share the same language background with the majority of the learners they teach although in the classes that participated in this study there were one or two learners who spoke Tswana and Japanese. These learners are children of

Zimbabwean returnees. Between 2000 and 2003 many Zimbabweans left the country because of economic hardships. Since 2009 a sizeable number of families are coming back to Zimbabwe and they come with children who now speak languages of the countries in which they were born.

At Dimbwa primary school two teachers were interviewed and observed teaching Maths and Environmental Science. Mr Mashava was observed teaching maths to a grade six class of forty learners while Mrs Moyo taught Environmental Science to a grade four class of thirty eight learners Two groups of four learners each from this school were interviewed after the lesson observations.

Jemedza Primary School is a Group A school located in an area described as low density where there is increased exposure to English because of affluent people who /live there. Learners who attend Jemedza primary school have access to electronic and print media in English. However, the school also enrols a large number of learners from poor families who work as domestic servants in the area. Although these learners live in an affluent area they have very limited access to print and electronic materials in English. The teachers in this school do not all share the same language background as the learners they teach. One teacher spoke Ndebele but taught Shona speaking learners. Three grade six teachers were interviewed and two groups of learners from classes taught by two of the interviewed teachers were also interviewed but no lesson observations were done at the school because no formal lessons were taking place when the school was visited. Impromptu lessons could not be arranged because it was part of the conditions for gaining access to schools that school routines should

not be disrupted by the research process. Since no lessons were observed the number of learners in each class and their gender composition could not be verified.

Rusvingo Primary School is a Group A school located in the low density area and is surrounded by communities that use both Shona and English to communicate and socialise outside the school. The school is well resourced and learners have access to both print and electronic media in English at school and in the community. Learners at this school have the same mother tongue: and most of the teachers at the school speak Shona as well. However two of the teachers that participated in this study were Ndebele speakers and did not share the same language background as the learners they taught. Four teachers were interviewed in this school but the teachers that speak Ndebele were interviewed together because they shared one class. For purposes of this study the interview with the two teachers is taken as one interview since there is only one transcript. Only one teacher was observed teaching grade five at this school and one group of four learners (two boys and two girls) was interviewed. There were thirty two learners in the class that was observed - fourteen girls and eighteen boys- but class composition was not considered to have an impact on patterns of language use.

3.3.3 Teachers and learners samples

Fourteen teachers and thirty six learners participated in this study. Access to teachers was obtained differently depending on the school. At two schools, Chemhanza and Njanja, the head teachers introduced me to grade four to six teachers and asked me to explain the purposes of my research to the teachers. After explaining the purposes of my research and the process of informed consent the head teachers then asked for volunteers to participate in the research.

When these had come forward I held a separate meeting to decide the times suitable for the observations and interviews and how to select learners to be interviewed in the observed classes. I explained to teachers that I would be interviewing the learners in their absence in line with my desire to maintain confidentiality for the learners. Teachers, however, selected the learners to be interviewed. They based their selection solely on learners' facility in communicating in either English or Shona.

At Jemedza and Rusvingo schools, after being granted access to the schools I was introduced to the deputy head teachers who then advised me on who to interview. For reasons explained earlier in this section, no lesson observations were done at Jemedza primary school and only one teacher was observed teaching at Rusvingo primary school. At Rusvingo I requested for a volunteer to be observed because the other two teachers were team-teaching one class. Finally at Dimbwa primary school the school head showed me the teachers he had selected for me to observe because of the hot-sitting arrangements (double sessions that involve the school being split into two with some learners coming in the morning while others come in the afternoon) at the school. The two teachers observed randomly selected four learners from their classes for the interview sessions. In each instance I had told teachers I wanted to interview boys and girls.

3.3.4 Teachers' and learners' competence in English.

For a long time there has been concern with teachers' level of competence in English. While reviewing the teacher education curriculum, The Working Party on T3 Teacher Education (1977:2) expressed concern with primary teachers' level of competence in English and recommended that colleges produce "teachers more competent in English and better

educated". To realise this goal, qualifying courses in language and communication were introduced to help improve student teachers' competence in English but the main weakness of this innovation was that student teachers' qualifying as teachers was not dependent on successful completion of the qualifying course.

Concern with teachers' limited competence in English continued after Zimbabwe's independence. In 1986 the government appointed a TERC (Teacher Education Review Committee). The TERC (1986:87) recommended that to improve primary teachers' level of competence in English, trainees should "possess passes in English Language or Shona or Ndebele at either 'O' level grade or at an approved higher level". The committee further recommended that "a general English course for first year students should be introduced". The RERC recommendations are similar to the T3 Working Party's recommendations but contain a significant wording difference with a bearing on primary teachers' level of competence in English. The TERC recommendations do not make it compulsory for a prospective teacher to have passed English as long as they have either Shona or Ndebele. This recommendation is relevant to this study because many of the teachers teaching in Zimbabwean primary schools may not have the required level of competence in English yet the Zimbabwe Education Act stipulates that English shall be the medium of instruction from the fourth grade onwards. Even though there is a general English course for first year student teachers there is no requirement that they must pass it before being certified qualified teachers. Potentially teachers with very limited competence in English could be assigned to teach classes beyond grade four.

While teachers' level of competence in English is critical, learners' level of competence in the language is equally important for this study. This study involved teachers and learners in grade four and above. This means that the learners that participated in this study would have been taught English as a subject for three years. For most of the learners in the study, this would have been their first contact with English (see section 3.3.2). The fact that learners that participated in this study had three years limited exposure to English is significant because research suggests that second language learners need much longer exposure to a language before they can use it confidently as a vehicle for learning (Ramirez, 1992; Cummins, 2000). Also results of several studies in Zimbabwe suggest that learners at primary school level have limited competence in English (Mnkandla, 2000; Shumba and Manyati, 2000; Peresuh and Masuku, 2002) and learners in this study are not considered an exception.

3.4. Data Collection

This section maps out the methodology used to collect and analyse data for this study. Data for the study were collected from teaches and learners using interviews and lesson observations. How the data collection methods relate to the research questions this study investigated is highlighted in table 2

Table 2 Mapping research Questions and Data Collection Methods

Research Questions	Participants	Data Collection Methods
Do differences between home and school language practices influence teachers' and learners' use of language in classrooms; and if so how?	Teachers and learners	Interviews
How do language-in-education policies influence teachers' and learners' attitudes towards English?	Teachers and learners	Interviews and Lesson Observation
Does knowledge of parents' attitudes towards English as medium of instruction influences teachers' and learners' use of language in classrooms; and if so how?	Teachers and learners	Interviews and Lesson Observation
How do teachers' and learners' attitudes towards code-switching influence language use in classrooms?	Teachers and learners	Interviews and lesson observation

The relationship between data collection methods and research participants is further highlighted in Table 3.

Table 3 Research participants and data collection methods for this study

Research Participants	Participating School	Data Collection Methods	Data Collection Period
3 Teachers 8 Learners	Chemhanza	Interviews and lesson observations	25/07/12
3 Teachers 4 Learners	Rusvingo	Interviews and lesson observation (1teacher) Interviews	27/07/12
3 Teachers 8 Learners	Njanja	Interviews and Lesson Observation	26/07/12
3 Teachers 8 Learners	Dimbwa	Interviews (3 teachers and lesson observation (2 teachers) Interviews and lesson observation	24/07/12
2 Teachers 8 Learners	Jemedza	Interviews	23/07/2012
Total participants: Teachers =14	Total schools: =5	2 methods used	23/07/12 – 27/07/12

Learners =36			

The main method for collecting data for this study were semi-structured interviews and lesson observations were used to complement and triangulate evidence obtained using interviews. The need to use two data collection instruments in qualitative research arises from the inherently imprecise nature of the issues being studied and the inability of the researcher (in all but the rarest of circumstances) to "control" "neatly for other factors that may influence research outcomes and researchers have a strong ethical and empirical obligation to verify the accuracy of their claims" (Dudwick et al, 2006:38).

3.4.1. Collecting data using interviews

During this study my main aim was to deduce participants' attitudes towards English from what they actually said. Therefore interviews were the method of choice for data collection. Two strands of arguments can be advanced in favour of using interviews for data collection. The first argument is that participants' response rates are high when using interviews as data collection strategy (Appleton, 1995). In addition, control over the interview process lies with the researcher who can put the interviewee at ease by the use of effective interpersonal skills and the willingness to reword questions as necessary. More importantly, "in the interview setting, ambiguous or unclear questions which may be misinterpreted by respondents can be clarified by the interviewer" (Appleton, 1995: 994). The veracity of Appleton's observation was borne out in this study during interviews with teachers. For example, during an interview I asked a teacher at Rusvingo primary school what she thought education officers would think

if they found her teaching in Shona. She asked back, "Teaching Shona?" I pointed out that I meant if the teacher was found teaching any subject in Shona. The clarification averted a possible misinterpretation of the focus of the question.

The second strand of the argument for selecting the interview strategy relates to access to participants' knowledge. The interview facilitates access to teachers' knowledge about both contexts in which they teach and the children they teach (E891 Study Guide). Trudell (2007) reported successful use of the interview strategy to identify local community perspectives towards language-in-education in Sub-Saharan African communities. Trudell's report shows that interviews can act as vehicles for tapping people for knowledge of their social realities and/or their subjective worlds (Alvesson, *2003*) as well as providing access to accounts of their experiences, knowledge, ideas, and impressions (Bryman et al, 1988; Holstein and Gubrium, 1997; Fontana and Frey, 2000).

Mackey and Gass (2008) also argue that interviews allow the researcher to investigate phenomena like attitudes which are not directly observable. During the interview the researcher can elicit more information if the initial answer is vague, incomplete or not specific enough.

3.4.1.1: Interview schedules for this study

The interview schedules for both teachers and learners consisted of semi-structured questions. The teachers' interview schedule had eighteen questions and was divided into sections that focused on:

- language background,

- attitudes towards language policies

- teacher and pupil talk

- attitudes towards code-switching and

- influence of language testing practices and

- attitudes towards teaching resources

Although during data collection questions about teachers' and learners' attitudes towards language contained in textbooks were asked, the evidence gained from the questions on the interview schedule does not form part of data analysis or this study because during data coding it became apparent that attitudes towards language in textbooks did not neatly fit in with the study's focus on the influence of teachers' and learners' attitudes towards English on language use in Zimbabwean primary classrooms.

3.4.1.2 Interview questions

Interview questions for this study were framed using the opener "what" in order to elicit participants' attitudes and avoided "why" questions because I thought that framing questions

using the "why" opener might make respondents defensive thinking that their responses were being evaluated. The questions on the interview schedule were reviewed by two different independent "critical friends" to check for leading or duplicating questions. One of the "critical friends" was a recent PhD graduate colleague while the other is doing collaborative research with me on the adequacy of the Zimbabwean English syllabus as a vehicle for the teaching of mathematics.

Although questions were put into categories identified in section 3.3.1.1 during interviewing it became clear that I could not ask the questions in the order they were listed on the interview schedule because some of the participants' responses touched on questions in later sections of the interview schedule and follow ups on these questions meant focus had to shift to another section o the interview schedule. This process was important as it gave me an indication of how the research participants perceived the interrelatedness of the different interview questions.

The learners' interview schedule had sixteen questions and the same number of categories as that administered to teachers but did not have questions on attitudes towards national language policies as it was felt learners had no voice in the formulation and implementation of national language-in-education policies.

3.4.1.3 The interview process

When conducting interviews timing needs to be right in order to get useful data. For this study interviews were conducted soon after lesson observation and interviews with learners in order to seek clarification on patterns of language use observed during lessons and other issues learners might have brought up during interviews. One of the criticisms levelled against positivist language research is that it deals with language in a de-contextualised way. Conducting interviews soon after the lesson provided a context for talking about language attitudes and language use.

During the data collection process I visited each school twice. On the first visit I negotiated access with the head teacher who introduced me to the teachers he/she had selected for me to interview. On the first visit to the research site I also talked to the teacher to be interviewed and observed to arrange the times most convenient to them and the order in which I would interview the teachers and the learners. These arrangements were necessary because one of the conditions on which access to schools was granted by Regional Education Directors was that the research process should not interfere with activities in schools accessed.

Interviews for teachers and learners as well as lesson observations were done on the second visit. All interviews were conducted in English but at the beginning of interviews I pointed out to interviewees that they were free to use Shona or English when responding. The decision to encourage interview participants to use English or Shona was based on the fact that I can

speak and write both languages, and I wanted them to feel free to express themselves in whatever language they felt comfortable. However, unfortunately, I could not offer the same option to Ndebele-speaking teachers and learners because of my own limited facility in the language.

3.4.1.4 Transcribing interviews

Lapadat and Lindsay (1999:65) note that "in empirical publications, researchers reporting data collection and analysis procedures seldom make mention of transcription processes beyond a simple statement that audio- or videotaped data were transcribed". Davidson (2010:115) makes a similar criticism and argues that "there is little discussion of transcription matters in research reports and journal articles that report empirical studies and methodology handbooks address data collection at length but give little attention to transcription". Frequently, transcription is regarded as mechanical work outsourced to paid transcribers. Davidson (2010:116) warns that "the taken-for-granted approach to transcription overlooks the centrality of transcripts to the theoretical and methodological perspectives that inform studies and to the research questions that they address" and this may result in unforeseen limitations on what can be interpreted from data. Lapadat and Lindsay also argue that the almost cavalier attitude to transcription is evident when quoting directly from transcripts, researchers sometimes include a footnote to label idiosyncratic transcription conventions yet keys of transcription conventions employed in a study are rarely included in published reports. The observations made by Lapadat and Lindsay are valid because not discussing how transcription was done implies that it is not a problematic process and underplays the crucial role transcription plays

in addressing research questions. The importance of transcription is underscored by Davidson (2010:116) who argues that "transcription 'fixes' verbal and non-verbal actions and makes it possible for researchers to examine them in greater detail than is possible 'on the hop' when talking with people". Kvale (2007) echoes Davidson's view and argues that transcription abstracts and fixates direct face to face conversations of the interview into a written form.

3.4.1.5 Making transcription decisions

There are decisions to be made before and during the transcription process. The first decision I made was to do the transcriptions myself. I took this decision not because I felt I could make a better job of it but because I felt transcribing the interviews myself would give me a greater understanding not only of the contents of the transcripts but the sincerity that motivated the interview participants to say what they said. Transcribing the interviews myself helped me to pick out patterns and themes running through the interview data. As a result I was also able to check the interconnections between the different themes.

There are other decisions to be made as the transcription process gets under way. The following is a list of some of the decisions to be made just before transcription begins:

- how the page has to be organised,
- whether to do an orthographic or phonetic transcription,
- should transcription reflect pronunciation?
- what paralinguistic and nonverbal information should be included and
- what transcription convention should be used

- what should constitute basic units in the transcript—utterances, turns, or tone units?

(Lapadat and Lindsay, 1999:67)

The decisions listed here are all important but for this study I focus on three; orthographic or phonetic transcription, transcription conventions used and the basic unit of transcription.

Kvale (2007) argues that the transcriber should decide whether interview conversations should be transcribed verbatim or transformed into a formal written style. This is an important consideration for this study since thematic analysis has been selected as the data analytic strategy. Braun and Clarke (2006:17) argue that using thematic analysis "at a minimum it requires a rigorous and thorough orthographic transcript – a "verbatim" account of all verbal utterances". However, Braun and Clarke's preference for an orthographic transcript needs to be considered in the light of Kvale (2007) and Downs' (2010) argument that the researcher might need to decide on whether to produce a faithful transcription of the recording or a faithful representation of what was said in the interview. Kvale and Downs' observations are particularly important for this study because there were instances when I had to translate what the interviewees said in Shona into English. How would my translations of Shona into English fit in with the objective of producing an orthographic transcription of the interview tapes? Translating sections of the interview from one language into another called for other decisions. I had to decide on whether to do literal translations or put across what I interpreted to be the meaning of what had been said by the interview participants. Making that decision also brought to the fore the important question of interpretation. Lapadat and Lindsay (1999) argue that the process of transcription is both interpretive and constructive and results in a reduced

version of the original recordings (Davidson, 2010). Sherrard (1997) cited in Meyrick (2006) also argues that totally accurate transcription is not possible because spoken language is highly fragmented such that when transcribing tapes the researcher has to interpret what the speaker actually said because during the interview there may be many distortions and false starts and the researcher has to edit leaving out slips and unimportant information. In this study the transcription process was interpretive in the sense that I was aware that the transcription I was doing would not in some instances reproduce the words recorded or the words said in the interview since as indicated earlier in some instances interview participants used Shona which I had to translate into English. Therefore during transcription I had to balance this realisation with the need to maintain a respectful stance towards words spoken by interviewees and avoid privileging my interpretations as transcriber. Downs (2010:110) emphasises this point when she argues that "interviewees have taken the time and trouble to utter those words and have handed them over in good faith. It thus behoves the researcher to be conscientious in handling them".

Apart from decisions related to interpretation and construction I had to decide on the number of interviews to transcribe in full. As indicated in my discussion of the sample size for this study, fourteen interviews with teachers and nine interviews with groups of four learners each were conducted. At the beginning it seemed impossible to transcribe all the interviews given that I had decided against using someone else to transcribe the interviews. Initially I decided to fully transcribe six teacher interviews and four children' interviews. My difficulty with that decision was on how to make the selection of the interviews to fully transcribe. Since my sample represented five different population groups it meant each school type had to be

represented. I would then randomly select the interviews to transcribe from each school. However, after transcribing five interviews it became clear I did not have the moral resolve not to closely hear and reproduce what all teachers and learners had to say about language use in their classes. In the end I decided to transcribe fully all the interviews. I must say transcribing all the interviews was a painful experience but the rewards were immense. I gained a clearer picture of the participants' voices and the nuances that distinguish them. I now turn to the mechanics of the transcription process.

3.4.1.6 The transcription process

The transcripts used in this study were derived from audio recordings made using a JVC Everio camcorder. The recordings were transferred to a laptop then uploaded onto Express Dictate software that converted the interview clips into MP3 files. The files were converted in the order in which the interviews were conducted. The converted files were labelled using code names for the schools, teachers and children's groups. Transcription was done using the play and stop buttons within the Express Dictate programme. I listened to the interviews many times before transcribing. This enabled me to be conversant with content of the interview. I transcribed short stretches of conversation at a time. As I played each interview Express Dictate showed the time line and the time indicator enabled me to mark the position in the interview if I needed to take a break or check on some inaudible sections of the tape.

During the transcription process itself I took a number of decisions that influenced the way I transcribed. Lapadat and Lindsay (1999) point out that there is little agreement on what to use

as the segmentation unit during transcription but advise that whatever unit is chosen as the basis for segmentation there should be consistency throughout the transcription process. I decided to use the utterance and the turn as the basic units in the transcription process. Using the utterance as a unit allowed me to mirror the flow of the interview conversation in the transcribed text. In interviews with children using the turn as the basic unit was logical because I interviewed four children at a time. During the pilot study I had problems identifying the children who were speaking because it was not always easy to remember their voices. Therefore during the main study I got the children to speak in a particular order and this helped me label the speakers during the course of the interview. Where the order was disrupted for some reason during the interview I made note of the changes in the children's order as the interview progressed and I referred to these notes during the transcribing process.

The other decision I took related to inclusion or exclusion of nonverbal contributions to the conversation such as use of gesture, laughing, and facial expressions and hesitations. While these features are important in conveying speaker meaning I decided not to include them in the transcribing process because my main aim was to deduce participants' attitudes towards English from what they actually said.

3.4.1.7 Transcription conventions used in this study

Table 4 shows the transcription conventions that I used when transcribing the interviews.

Table 4 Transcription notation used in this study

Notation	Meaning
T	Teacher: In the main body of the thesis teachers are identified using pseudonyms
R	Researcher
P	Pupil/learner * in the main body of this thesis learners are identified using pseudonyms
P1-P4	Identification of pupils in an interview group to show the order of speaking during the group interview
Italics in brackets	Interviewee utterances in Shona
Times New Roman	Interviewee utterances in English
1>	Number lines indicate speaking turns

3.4.2 Using observation to collect data

Collecting data using semi-structured interviews was complemented by observing teachers that had been interviewed. While interviews help in unearthing invaluable information, they need to be complemented by other data collection strategies because Myers and Newman (2007:3) warn that "although the qualitative interview is an excellent means of gathering data, it is fraught with difficulties". For example, the researcher might "simplify and idealize the interview situation, assuming that the interviewee—given the correct interview technique— primarily is a competent and moral truth teller, acting in the service of science and producing data needed to reveal his or her experiences, feelings, values or the facts of the situation" (Alvesson, 2003:14). This injunction is particularly relevant for this study where learners are interviewed as part of the data collection process. To minimise difficulties cited here observations were used to complement interviews because they provided opportunities to examine patterns of language use in primary classrooms first hand.

Observations were also used because they help to generate careful descriptions of patterns of language use and events in which teachers and learners are engaged (Mackey and Gass, 2008). As a result observations help to triangulate data obtained through interviewing. In addition careful descriptions open up observations for public scrutiny so that others may check the bases on which conclusions were made. But what specific contributions can observation make to research into the influence of teachers' and learners' attitudes towards English that experiment, surveys, questionnaires or interviews can't? Hannan (2007) argues that surveys

may be impressive in terms of numbers of cases included but what they gain in quantity they often lose in quality. Interviews and questionnaires are always one stage away from the real action; they are recollections or interpretations rather than records of what actually happens.

Observations provide opportunities to experience first hand what is going on in classes and therefore lead to deeper understandings than interviews alone would (Radnor, 2001). Observations also provide knowledge of the context in which events occur enabling the researcher to see things that participants themselves may not be aware of or are unwilling to discuss (Patton, 2002). However when using observation to gather data decisions have to be made about "what to observe, how to observe and when to observe" (Radnor, 2001:70). These decisions point to ethical issues such as bias. To tackle the problem of bias during observation, observation sheets with columns were used.

A standard observation schedule (see appendix D) was developed for observation of lessons taught by nine of the fourteen teachers that participated in this study. The first part of the observation schedule had code names for the school and the teacher observed. The start and end times of lessons were recorded here also. The next section of the schedule recorded notes about the observation context. Items recorded here included characteristics of the community in which the school as situated, the general ethos of the school including resources and displays available in the class.

The rest of the schedule was divided into the start, middle and end of the lesson. Patterns of language use by teachers and learners observed for each section were written in one column

and any comments and questions about what was observed were put down in the second column. Observations focusing on patterns of language use were recorded at five minute intervals in a 30 minute lesson.

The observations described above provided important insight into patterns of language use in primary classes in Zimbabwe but they were given limited explicit attention during data analysis and discussion in this study. They are only drawn on to enhance the analysis of interview data where relevant (Terret, 2014).

3.5 Summary

This chapter has highlighted the methodology choices I made before and during the data collection process. The chapter explained why a postcolonial sociocultural theoretical framework was chosen to underpin this study. The postcolonial sociocultural framework was considered best suited for exploring the impact of language attitudes in Zimbabwe because it helps to explain some of the contradictions inherent in postcolonial contexts like Zimbabwe. Traditional practices of limiting ethics to considering how the welfare of research participants was taken care of were expanded to encompass the value and worth of research questions in a postcolonial context. Since the study involved interviewing children the question of the asymmetrical relation between the researcher and the researched was also given attention.

Description of the study sample included an outline of school types in Zimbabwe and the characteristics of schools that participated in this study. Mapping out characteristics of schools

that participated in this study highlighted the complexities and contradictions inherent in the context being studied and how these might have a bearing on the data analysis process and the findings for this study.

In addition to describing the context from which data for this study were obtained, methods used for data collection were described and justified. Interviews and lesson observations were used to collect data. Data collection and transcription choices made during the process of collecting and processing data were outlined and related to the methodological choices that had been made.

While this chapter highlighted data collection and management procedures selected for this study, the next chapter focuses on procedures utilised to analyse data for this study.

4 Data Analysis

4.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the approach to data analysis taken in this study. The review chronicles and analyses the decisions I took during the data analysis, beginning with how to get to know data as a way of focusing the analysis process was achieved. Discussion of how data analysis focus was achieved is followed by a discussion of how the categorising process was handled and how the categorising process led to the identification of thematic patterns that guided the data analysis process. The chapter ends with an outline of how the interpretation process brought the different aspects of data analysis together as I interrogated the data to get a sense of teachers' and learners' narratives of how their attitudes towards English in postcolonial Zimbabwe impacted on language use in Zimbabwean primary classrooms.

4.2 Choosing the data analysis approach

There are many different approaches to qualitative data analysis and the benefits of each have been widely debated in the social sciences literature (Ziebland and McPherson, 2006; Boeije, 2002; Hoepfl, 1997). Dudwick et al (2006) argue that qualitative analysis typically proceeds in a sequence of steps. For this analysis I followed the steps identified in figure 2 developed by

de Hoyos and Barnes (2012). The steps outlined in figure 2 can be followed consecutively but in practice it is an iterative process.

Figure 2: Steps in the data analysis process

Organising and preparing data
Coding and describing data
Conceptualising, classifying, categorising and identifying themes
Connecting and interrelating data
Interpretation, and creating explanatory accounts

Mason cited in Welsh (2002) outlines three possible approaches to data analysis, labelling them as "literal", "interpretive", and "reflexive". The literal approach focuses on the exact use of particular language while the interpretive approach is concerned with making sense of research participants' accounts, so that the researcher is attempting to search for meaning in the accounts and/or actions of participants (Welsh, 2002; Holloway and Todres, 2003; de Hoyos and Barnes, 2012). In this study, I used an interpretive approach to conceptualise the data in this study and this allowed me to gain oversight of the experiences and perspectives of teachers and learners as they used languages in primary classrooms. The interpretive approach was deemed particularly suitable for this study because it helped me to untangle the sometimes contradictory messages in the voices of teachers and learners as expressed during interviews and observed during lesson observations. The apparent contradictions that came through during interviews and lesson observations are common in postcolonial contexts where various pull factors are at play. Using a postcolonial lens to study and analyse data in the Zimbabwe

context helped in untangling the attitudes towards English that led to such seeming contradictions.

While the interpretive approach is useful in the untangling of participants' attitudes towards English, the reflexive approach on the other hand attempts to focus attention on the researcher and her or his contribution to the data creation and analysis process. Hellawell (2006) emphasises the importance of the reflexive approach arguing that it focuses on the researcher's deliberate self-scrutiny in relation to the research process particularly as it relates to the insider outsider researcher continuum. While I accept Hellawell's argument, I opted to employ the interpretive analysis approach that highlights the researchers' attempt to make meaning out of participants' accounts of their experiences in the research context. This does not mean I do not value the role of reflexivity during the research process. In fact I believe meaningful qualitative data analysis cannot take place without serious reflection. Reflection aids disclosure which involves "recording, systematizing and disclosing our methods of analysis, so that existing techniques may be shared and improved, and new and better tools may be developed" (Attride-Stirling, 2001:387).

Data analysis in this study used the interpretive approach as the overall organising framework and within it utilised the thematic approach to organising data because it is not wed to any pre-existing theoretical framework (Braun and Clarke, 2006) and it was found suitable for reflecting the reality of language use in primary classrooms. Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006) describe thematic analysis as the search for themes that emerge as being important for an accurate description of the phenomenon being studied and involve identification of themes

through careful reading and re-reading of the data. They conclude that thematic analysis is a form "of pattern recognition within the data, where emerging themes become the categories for analysis" (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006:4). The thematic approach to analysing data was adopted for this study instead of organizing the analysis around research questions because organising analysis around research questions "often leads to the use of quotes and other data to "answer" research questions, but often fails to go beyond those "answers" to discuss theoretical contributions" (Pratt, 2009:858). Using a thematic approach makes it possible to indicate how themes blend in with the context being studied as well as with each other thus highlighting inter-connections, consistencies or inconsistencies in evidence across themes.

4.3 Getting to know your data

For this study, I followed Appleton's (1995) advice for getting to know your data by listening to each tape, transcribing each tape myself and then reading each transcript several times in order to familiarize myself with the data. I wrote down initial impressions got from reading the data but it was often necessary to listen to the audio recordings a number of times to clarify initial impressions. This process enabled me to appreciate the limitations of using audio recordings to gather data which included distortions arising from noise in the vicinity of the interview location. One of the conditions for being granted access to schools was that there should be no disruption to the normal running of the school. This meant some interviews had to be conducted in class because teachers were unable to get cover for their lessons. Fortunately, the level of noise in all cases was such that I was able to get the words uttered by

interview participants. While listening to audio tapes and reading transcripts helps in getting familiar with the data, there is need to develop a focus for the analytic process.

4.4 Focusing the analysis

Focusing the analysis involves identifying key questions to be answered during the data analysis process and the questions provide pointers on how to begin. In this study focusing was achieved by looking at how all participants responded to the questions asked. This was done by making comparisons of significant statements across cases and identifying categories of statements common to all participants (Ayres et al, 2003). This helped in identifying consistencies and variations in responses and these were deemed important in building arguments for any claims that were made. Focusing the analysis process is important but the analysis process is aided by the creation of clear categories.

4.4.1 Categorising data

Categorising data is sometimes referred to as coding, indexing, reducing or breaking down data (Attride-Stirling, 2001). There have been challenges to the centrality of coding as a way of getting to know data. Coffey et al (1996) have argued that coding is overemphasized, given the fact that a large part of the qualitative researcher's work consists of interpretation. The other criticism levelled against categorising data is that it leads to decontextualization of data. Data becomes decontextualized when "they are separated into units of meaning through coding and sorting" (Ayres, 2003:872). However, Seers (2012) counter argues that data "are

re-contextualized as they are reintegrated into themes that combine units similar in meaning taken from the accounts of multiple research respondents" thus making it possible to make interpretation of patterns across collected data. While acknowledging Coffey et al's reservations I argue that creating categories is important as it involves unearthing and identifying themes or patterns salient in the transcribed textual data (Attride-Sterling, 2001) and these categories eventually become the key variables used to explain similarities and variations within the data (Dudwick et al, 2006:36). However for this to happen there has to be clarity about what constitutes a theme.

For purposes of categorising data an important question to address is what counts as a theme or pattern, or what "size" does a theme need to be (Braun and Clarke, 2006)? Seers (2012), argues that themes are abstract concepts, reflecting the researcher's interpretation of patterns across data. Braun and Clarke (2006:10) provide a more comprehensive view of theme when they argue that a theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set. Ideally there will be prevalence of the theme throughout the data but Braun and Clarke warn that mere prevalence may not be a pointer to the importance of the theme or pattern. The importance of a theme depends on whether it captures something important in relation to the overall research question. Therefore researcher judgement is critical and guides the categorising process as well as the identification of all data that relate to the already classified patterns (Aronson, 1994).

Attride-Stirling (2001:391) advises that the most efficient way to identify data that relates to identified categories is to use a categorising framework based on specific topics, recurrent issues in the text, or on a set of theoretical constructs that are to be explored systematically. The following themes emerged from data categorising:

- the influence of language background on language use in primary classrooms,

- influence of attitudes towards language policy,

- features of teacher and pupil talk,

- influence of attitudes towards code switching on patterns of language use, and

- the influence of testing practices

The five broad themes identified here cover the four research questions this study sought to answer. After identifying the categories the next step was to label or name the categories, define them and provide a description of how to know when a category occurs. Attride-Stirling (2001:392) warns that "the codes in the coding framework should have quite explicit boundaries (definitions), so that they are not interchangeable or redundant; and they should also be limited in scope and focus explicitly on the object of analysis" so that every sentence in the texts does not have to be coded. Table 5 shows the themes that emerged and the sources of the data for the themes while Table 6 shows how the themes were labelled, defined and described. The themes for teachers and children's interviews were the same with the only difference being that in the section on attitudes towards language policy children were not asked to express opinions about national language-in-education policy but were asked for their views on school language policies.

Table 5: Themes emerging from data categorising

Theme	Source of evidential data
Influence of differences between home and school language	Teachers, learners and lesson observation
Effect of parents' attitudes towards English on language use in classrooms	Teachers and learners
Support for national and school language policies	Teachers and learners
Teachers' and learners' preferred language for communication inside classrooms	Teachers, learners and lesson observation
Using the mother tongue to teach and learn	Teachers, learners and lesson observation
Teachers' and learners' attitudes towards code switching in class	Teachers, learners and lesson observation
Influence of testing practices on language use in classrooms	Teachers

Table 6: Defining themes for data analysis

Theme	Definition	Description
Perceptions of home and school language practices	Awareness of the influence of the language normally spoken by teachers and learners at home or outside school and the language they use inside school and during learning	This category contains data that show the influence of language practices outside school on language use within the classroom and the school in general. It also includes data that show the influence of parental language for learning preferences on teachers' and learners' attitudes towards English and language use patterns found in classrooms.
Attitudes towards language policy	Language policy at national level is defined as the official stipulation of how languages are to be used in education and at the local level of the school it is defined as language use preferences adopted and enforced by the school with or without backing from education authorities.	Category contains data that show teachers' awareness of language policy at macro and local levels and teachers' attitudes towards policy stipulations. For learners this category contains data that show their awareness of and response to language policy at school level and how this impacts on how they use language in class.

Features of teacher and learner talk	Teacher-learner talk is defined as the language used in and out of class between teachers and learners and among learners themselves whether for learning purposes or general interaction.	Category contains data that show the language the teacher permits learners to use to talk to him/her as well as the language pupils are required to use when interacting among themselves. This category excludes the language learners use to talk to peers outside the school but includes the way teachers interact with learners outside the school.
Attitudes towards code switching	Code switching is defined as the inter-sentential and intra-sentential alternate use of English and Shona/Ndebele to promote comprehension during a learning episode	Category contains data on teachers and learners' responses to the alternate use of Shona/Ndebele and English as medium of instruction as well as reasons given for adopting code switching as a communication strategy during teaching-learning encounters.
Influence of testing practices	Testing practices are defined as the use of a particular language to assess pupil progress during or at the end of a course of instruction	Category captures data that show how teachers perceive testing practices as influencing the way they use language when teaching.

Identification of the themes was followed by the data categorising process. Taylor-Powell and Renner (2003) argue that this is the crux of qualitative analysis and involves reading and re-reading transcripts in order to identify coherent categorises and collapse data from across cases into these categories. This process is based on the presumption that the origin of each unit of meaning is less important than its membership in a group of like units. "Inevitably, some of the original context in which each unit of meaning occurred is stripped away as the data are reduced" (Ayres, 2003) but such context stripping is consistent with the goal of making comparisons across respondents. To aid the categorising process in this study I utilised the list of questions below suggested by de Hoyos and Barnes (2006):

- What is this incident about?

- What category does this incident indicate?

- What property of what category does this incident define?

- What is the 'main concern' of the participants?

Adopting these questions as a basis for categorising data meant that I accepted that research questions for the study are not necessarily the same as those that guide the categorising process. In fact Braun and Clarke (2006:15) go so far as to suggest that "it is often desirable that there is a disjuncture between them". I became aware of the importance of this observation when I started categorising data for this study. During the construction of the interview schedules I had grouped questions into theme areas and initially used these theme areas as thematic categories. I then sought to group participants' responses to questions into these thematic categories. However, during the coding process it became clear that I was creating artificial categories and therefore took Braun and Clarke's advice that research

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questions should not be equated with thematic categories. I decided to search across interviews for repeated patterns of explicitly stated meanings. Explicit meanings are specified here because during transcription I had decided not to transcribe non-verbal aspects of interview participants' speech and including latent meanings would not be justified as I had in a way stripped the data of some of the latent meanings during transcription.

The argument for not tying categories to interview questions can be illustrated by the experiences I had as soon as I started the coding process. For example, in response to the question "do you speak the same language as the learners you teach, Mrs Mguni commented:

We notice here at our school that they like English better than their mother tongue. And usually they find expressing themselves better in English because at home there is no proper Shona even among the parents themselves

In her response Mrs Mguni does not address the question of whether she speaks the same language as the learners she teaches. If I had used questions as the basis for categorising teachers' responses I would have missed the fact that the response focuses on whether the language spoken outside the school is suitable for use as medium of instruction. Also in many instances although teachers were responding to a particular question their responses overlapped with other categories. This was evident in questions to do with language use in classes. In most instances teachers justified their choice of language code or code-switching practices by referring to language background and language policy. As a result the coding had to be based on patterns of themes emerging from the data rather than questions contained in the interview schedule.

4.4.2 Identifying patterns and connections within and between categories

When patterns and themes have been established it is necessary to assess the importance of those themes. To assess the relative importance of emerging themes it is crucial to identify the key themes/ideas being expressed within a category. This can be done by counting the number of times a theme comes up. In addition to establishing the relative importance of themes, there is a need to identify any similarities or differences in the way participants respond to the same question. Connections between categories can be ascertained by establishing whether themes consistently co-occur in the data. Finding connections between themes may help determine if there is a cause–effect relationship between the two themes. To determine if there is a cause-effect relationship between two themes one needs to ask: how do these themes relate and what data support this interpretation? It is also important to determine if no other factors are contributing.

4.5 Interpretation: bringing it all together

Themes and connections are used to make interpretations of data. Deciding on what is important and what it all means is the main activity during data interpretation. To begin interpretation of data I needed to develop a list of key points emerging from categorising and sorting data. The key points were used as the basis for presenting the findings for this study.

In this study findings and the discussion of the findings have been combined. The decision to combine findings and discussion in one chapter was based on the view that there is no single "accepted template for writing up qualitative research" (Pratt, 2009:856). Despite adopting

this creative experimental approach efforts were made to honour the worldview of informants and provide sufficient evidence for claims made through citing illustrative interview participants' own words. Quoting participants' own words helped to highlight the chain of evidence that illustrated the move from available data to interpretations (Pratt, 2009). The need to highlight the chain of evidence underpinning the findings and interpretations also influenced the decision not to use case summaries because using them could have led to presentation of interpretations of teachers' and learners' experiences and attitudes without providing concrete evidence in the form of direct quotes.

4.6 Analysing data from observations

Data from lesson observations were analysed using the same interpretive framework used to analyse data from interviews. As indicated in section 3.4.2, the second section of the observation schedule was used to record contextual information about the school, the surrounding community, class appearance and resources provision. The contextual information recorded on observation schedules were used to build characteristics profiles for schools that participated in this study (see section 3.3.2). The narrative logs on the observation schedules were coded into process, activity and strategy codes which were then related to the interview data categories. The process codes captured the sequence of events that occurred in the lesson while the activity codes identified recurring informal and formal ways of using language. The main focus for analysis, however, was the strategy codes that focused on how teachers and learners used language to accomplish teaching and learning.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has shown how decisions related to data analysis were linked to the overall methodological decisions made in chapter 3. The interpretive approach to data analysis is in sync with the interview and observation methods used to collect data for this study. Using interviews and observation schedules to collect data gave voice to teachers and learners and the interpretive framework used to analyse data carried forward the interpretive process begun during data collection.

This chapter has shown how data analysis decisions made progressively increased the analysis focus which enabled me to tease out the interconnections between messages in teachers' and learners' voices and the postcolonial context in which they operated. The interconnections and apparent contradictions revealed in data analysis are highlighted in the presentation and discussion of findings in the next chapter.

5 Findings and Discussion

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses findings from data obtained through interviewing fourteen primary school teachers as well as observing lessons taught by nine of the interviewed teachers. In addition, findings from data obtained through interviewing nine groups of four learners each from classes taught by nine of the interviewed teachers are presented and discussed. The findings for this study are presented and discussed under the following four themes:

1. Perceptions of home and school language practices;

2. Attitudes towards language-in-education policies at national and school levels;

3. Teachers and learners' classroom language preferences, and.

4. Attitudes towards code-switching

The themes listed here act as sign posts that were used to answer questions this study sought to investigate. While the themes are listed as discrete, findings in this chapter indicate that they intersect in many ways and the intersections are reflected in the discussion below.

5.2 Perceptions of home and school language practices.

Findings presented and discussed in this section highlight the interaction between language policy framework in Zimbabwe and realities of language use in this context. Teachers' perceptions of differences between home language practices, school language practices and policy are presented first and this is followed by learners' perceptions of the same variables.

5.2.1 Teachers' perceptions of differences between home language practices, school language practices and language policies

Findings indicate that there are differences between home and school language practices. At home, learners use Shona for interaction with family and friends while at school language policy dictates use of English only as medium of instruction. Mrs Chebundo of Chemhanza primary school highlighted this fact when she commented that *"at home they use Shona, our mother language, but when we are in class we are using English most of the time"*. Mrs Chebundo's comment indicates that she does not use a language she shares with the majority of learners in her class, Shona, because policy dictates the use of English in school. It also highlights that policies in place do not consider the impact of prohibiting teachers from using learners' home language in the classroom, despite problems they may encounter when teaching learners who are not fully proficient in the medium of instruction (i.e. English).

The fact that teachers' and learners' use of a different language at home than they do at school leads to communication problems because learners do not have sufficient mastery of English

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to use it as the language for learning can be gleaned from Mrs Chebundo of Chemhanza primary school's observation that:

Some of these pupils cannot even understand what you are trying to say

Although the majority of teachers (78.6%) indicated that they speak the same home language as the learners they taught they could not use the language they share with the learners in classrooms. Therefore differences between home and school language practices seem to influence language use in Zimbabwean primary classes whether teachers and learners share the same home language or not.

The communication difficulties cited by teachers who speak the same home language as the learners they taught were more severe for the three teachers in this study who do not speak the same home language as the learners they teach. While they were in the minority (21%) the issues they face are of extreme importance. For teachers like Mrs Xaba and Ms Gumede (at Rusvingo primary school) who have a different home language than the learners they teach, language use in class is constrained by two factors: lack of a common language between teachers and learners and differences in the varieties of English spoken by teachers and learners.

The first difficulty the teachers face is that they are unable to use learners' mother tongue as a resource to minimise communication difficulties caused by learners' limited competence in English. For example, Ms Xaba, who speaks Ndebele but not Shona, the language the majority of learners in her class pointed out that *"there are some words you can't explain in English"*

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and *"you have to use their mother language but for me it is difficult because Ndebele they don't understand some of the words".*

The second level of difficulty related to differences in the varieties of English spoken by Ndebele-speaking teachers and the Shona-speaking learners they teach. Ms Gumede pointed out that their *"pronunciation is different because I speak Ndebele and they speak Shona"*. Ms Gumede indicated that sometimes when she speaks in English children laugh at her because she pronounces English differently. She told the learners that their *"pronunciation is different because I speak Ndebele and you speak Shona"*.

5.2.2 Learners' perceptions of differences between home language practices, school language practices and language policies

To further gauge perceptions of differences between home practices, school language practices and language policies learners were asked to indicate languages they normally speak in the home and outside school. Thirty out of thirty-six learners (83%) indicated they speak Shona at home and when in the company of friends on the street and on playgrounds while at school. In separate interviews eight learners from Chemhanza and Njanja schools were asked what languages they speak at home and they all chorused *"we use Shona"*. Learners' responses corroborated teachers' claims that learners were unable to communicate efficiently in English because at home they speak a different language from the English they were required to use in school.

While it may be the case that learners' home language contributes in some part to their struggle to follow the curriculum, it is interesting to note that eighteen of the thirty-six learners (50%) indicated they speak two languages outside school (Shona and English). All children at Jemedza and Rusvingo primary schools, for example, indicated that they speak "*Shona and English*" outside school. While some students may use both Shona and English in their lives outside of school, the data suggest that even those that speak English outside school do not get sufficient exposure to the language to enable them to use it not only for communication in the classroom but also to access knowledge and learning. Tapiwa, a pupil at Jemedza primary school, summed up learners' plight when he pointed out that:

I speak both but English is a little bit complicated. My mother wants me to learn English and I cannot really understand the language so she trains me sometimes when I fail.

Tapiwa's predicament represents what can be describes as the learners' double bind of needing to interact socially in order to acquire English, but without sufficient mastery of English to enable them to carry out this interaction.

5.2.3 Discussion of conflict between home language practices, school language practices and language policy

Teachers who participated in this study all suggest that there are major issues around communication that have an impact on their learners being able to learn. While teachers share the same home language as the learners they teach, because of language-in-education policy, they may not feel that they can call upon their knowledge of these learners' home language to support them with their learning. For some teachers this option is not open to them as they do

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not share a home language with the learners. Even for those learners who do use some English at home or in their communities, they still may have difficulties following their school curriculum in English.

The situation described here corroborates Shumba and Manyati's (2000:43) findings which showed that during (Environmental Science) lessons, in which English was used as medium of instruction, pupils' "involvement remained limited due to lack of proficiency in English". Teachers' observations also echo Thomson and Stakhnevich's (2010) findings from observing writing lessons in South Africa which showed that learners' participation in writing lessons diminished when they were restricted to using English only.

Learners' learning difficulties caused by differences between home and school language can be looked at from two perspectives. Like teachers in this study, some researchers in postcolonial contexts argue that primary school learners do not have chances to learn English outside the school system and therefore have not developed enough competence in it to use it as a vehicle for learning at school (Cummins, 2000; Halliday, 2007; Pinnock, 2009; Setati and Adler, 2000; Setati et al, 2002). This argument contrasts with the view that takes learners' home language as a resource that enhances their competence in the second language (in this case English). For example, Graham (2010) argues that use of the home language in classrooms enables learners to better think in their own language and provides a link between home language practices and the school as well as facilitating the development of language and literacy skills that form the basis for learning the second language (Graham, 2010). Findings from Rea-Dickins et al's (2011) study which showed that overall learners performed

better on Kiswahili and bilingual versions of examinations originally set in English supports

Graham's push for ensuring that the home language and English complement each other in

classrooms. Such a practice is also in line with UNESCO's (2003) support for using learners'

mother tongue alongside another language as a means of improving educational quality by

building upon the knowledge and experience of learners and teachers.

5.3 Attitudes towards language-in-education policies at national and school levels

Thirteen teachers (93.3%) were aware of the policy for English as medium of instruction in

education and ten (71.4%) of them supported the policy. There was also widespread support

for English only policies for communication in classrooms but during interviews and during

lesson observation it became apparent that despite the support there was minimal adherence to

the policies in all schools that participated in this study.

5.3.1 Teachers' awareness of and support for the National Language-in-education policy

Table 7 summarises teachers' awareness of and support for the national-in-education language policy.

Table 7: Awareness of and support for National Language-in-education Policy N=14

National Language policy category	Yes	No
Teachers aware of national language policy	13	1
Teachers possessing national language policy guiding documents	5	9
Support for national language policy	10	4
National language policy influences language use in class	7	7

Thirteen (92.9%) out of fourteen teachers indicated they were aware of the stipulations of the national language-in-education policy as outlined in the Zimbabwe Education Act (1987 amended 2005), ten (71.4%) were in support of the policy and seven (50%) indicated the policy influenced their use of language in classrooms. Teachers who supported this policy and those who indicated they were guided by it during teaching felt the provisions of the Education Act were welcome because, in their view, most people in Zimbabwe aspire to use English as the language for wider communication. This view was reflected in Mrs Chebundo from Chemhanza primary school's comments that:

Our mode of communication even if you move around in rural areas is English. We try to communicate with people in English

Teachers were of the view that English could be used as the language for wider communication because:

English is sort of a neutral language. At home they use another language. At school we use English. When we are doing English Ndebeles and Shonas come to one point of using the same language (Mrs Nhamo, Chemhanza School)

In addition to its role as the language for wider communication within Zimbabwe teachers supported using English *"because it is the universal language"* and children *"have to learn the language because they don't end up at Dimbwa, they end up in different places"* where English is the main means of communication.

Although teachers supported the language-in-education policy that required them to use English as medium of instruction their responses to the question whether they had a copy of the English syllabus showed that only 35.7% had access to the English syllabus document that translated that policy into content to be taught to learners (see question 6 in Appendix B). As a result of lack of access to syllabus documents 50% of the teachers indicated that although they were aware of the stipulations of the Education Act the way they used language during teaching was not guided by the provisions of the Education Act.

In a follow up to question 3 (see Appendix B) that sought to establish whether language-in-education policies made it easy for teachers to teach children, teachers indicated that the policies did not make it easy for them to teach. Comments like: *"I encounter problems with the children because many of them they don't understand English. You find that most of them are not even able to read properly"* from Ms Hove of Njanja school represented views of most teachers and identified the kind of language difficulties learners faced. Teachers said that to overcome difficulties caused by learners' inability to use English efficiently, they resorted to using learners' mother tongue in order to assist them in grasping concepts. This aspect of teachers' attempts to minimise difficulties caused by learners' limited facility in English relates to code-switching and is dealt with in section 5.4.

5.3.2 Teachers' attitudes towards school language policies.

Teachers were asked about several features of school language policy in order to find out their attitudes towards it. Table 8 summarises these attitudes.

Table 8: Features of school language policy

Feature	Chemhanza	Dimbwa	Jemedza	Njanja	Rusvingo
Language policy	+	+	-	+	+
Teacher support in implementing language policy	+	+	_	+	+

Teacher participation in language policy formulation	-	+	-	-	-
Adherence to language policy	-	-	-	-	-

+ indicates presence of feature

-indicates absence of feature

Teachers in four of the five participating schools indicated the existence of a school language policy that required learners to use English only while at school. All teachers were clear that school language policies dictated use of English for teaching and learning purposes. Although teachers supported school language policies, Table 8 shows that the policies were not adhered to in all schools that participated in this study. Teachers' support for school language policies is in line with the finding that ten (71.4%) of them supported the national language-in-education policy that required teachers to use English as medium of instruction. Teachers' support for both national and school language policies is also in line with their support for parents' preference for English as medium of instruction reported in section 5.3.4 but is at variance with the finding that only 50% of them admitted to being influenced by national language policy guidelines in the way they used language in class. The fact that half the teachers were not influenced by national language-in-education policy in their use of language in classrooms was confirmed by the fact that all of these teachers also said they did not adhere

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to school language policy which is based on national language-in-education policy. There were teachers however who enforced English only policies as findings in section 5.3.5.1 show.

5.3.3 Learners attitudes towards school language policies.

Thirty two (88.9%) out of thirty six learners were aware of the existence of a language policy at their school and supported the policy. When asked to spell out the school language policy learners from all the schools that participated in this study pointed out that *"it says you must speak English in all the subjects except Shona"*. All learners who were aware of the existence of a language policy at their school thought the policy was put in place by the *"headmaster"*. Learners' reasons for supporting the English only policy can be put into three categories.

The first group of learners' supported English only policies because of its role as the language for communication both globally and within Zimbabwe. For example, learners at Rusvingo primary school supported their school's language policy because *"when you go to other countries it can help you to speak to other people of that country"*. Learners at Dimbwa primary school also had the same global perspective and said they supported the English only policy *"because some countries use English so if you visit them without knowing English you will not be able to speak to them"*.

While some learners emphasised the global role of English, others highlighted English's role as the language for wider communication within Zimbabwe. For example, learners at Njanja

primary school supported the English only policy *"because in the community we meet different races such as English, Shona and Ndebele and we use English to communicate"*.

The second category of reasons for supporting English only policies had to do with English as the language of the work place in Zimbabwe. Learners at Chemhanza primary school supported the language policy at their school because *"many jobs need English language"* and learners at Jemedza primary school also cited the same reason for supporting their school's language policy arguing that "English *helps us in many ways when we are going to work, maybe we might work in business offices where they only talk English not Shona"*. Chipo, a learner at Njanja primary school, also argued that *"when I grow up I must use English. I use English because I want a job that allows me to speak English"*.

The third category of reasons for supporting the English only policy had to do with English's role in the learning process. In addition to supporting English because of its role in facilitating communication at the work place, learners at Jemedza primary school supported the English only policy *"because it will help our vocabulary"* and *"help us to learn more"*.

5.3.4 Perception of parents' attitudes towards English only policies

The support for use of English as medium of instruction among teachers and learners is reinforced by the perceived support of this from parents. All fourteen teachers (100%) indicated parents had positive attitudes towards the policy of using English as medium of instruction. Ms Chemhuru of Jemedza primary school observed that *"most of the parents*

encourage us to teach in English" and Mrs Nedziwa of Rusvingo primary school pointed out that:

Their parents... feel if you are teaching them in English the standard [of education] is very high.

Teachers were of the view that parents supported English only policies because "*some of the parents have a negative attitude towards the use of the mother language*" and prefer their children to be taught in English.

Teachers became aware of parents' positive attitudes towards English during consultation days when parents came to school. Ms Nhamo of Chemhanza primary school said parents made their views known "*especially when we have consultation days*" and her colleague, Ms Jena also pointed out that:

When they come for consultations they normally request us to speak in English. They ask us to say everything in English. They make these requests so that their children can see that they like use of English.

Teachers were asked whether their awareness of parents' attitudes towards English influenced the way they used language in classrooms (question 4). Their responses fall into two groups. Eleven teachers (78.6%) said they took into account parents' preferences when choosing the language of instruction. Their sentiments were reflected in comments like, "*Yes I take their*

views into account when teaching" and *"Yes because at last parents' visit one parent was encouraging me to help their child communicate in English"* (Mrs Mguni of Rusvingo and Mrs Chanetsa of Njanja respectively). However three teachers (21.4%) said they did not take parents' views into account when choosing the language of instruction. Their views were captured in comments like *"Not very much, we have never asked them. We simply impose what we want"* (Ms Whata of Njanja primary school).

Like teachers, all thirty-six (100%) learners indicated they were aware of their parents' preference for English as medium of instruction and supported the parents' views. Such support was evident in comments like:

They say if you are at school you must speak in English. I think they are doing the right thing wanting us to speak in English because we need to learn more about English than Shona (Nigel, a pupil at Rusvingo primary school)

Although learners took note of their parents' positive attitudes towards English, their preference for English as medium of instruction was also influenced by the perceived value of English later on in their lives as they indicated in section 5.3.3.

5.3.5 Discussion of attitudes towards language policies

5.3.5.1 Support for language-in-education policies

Teachers' support for language-in-education policies that impose English as medium of instruction seems to go against research findings which show that young learners learn best when taught through the mother tongue. What could account for the support? One strand of argument in answering this question touches on the influence of colonial language-in-education polices on postcolonial language-in-education policy initiatives. The current Zimbabwe language-in-education policy that directs how English and Shona/Ndebele should be used in the primary school cycle is no different from the colonial policy that allowed learners in the lower grades to use an indigenous language as medium of instruction before switching to English from grade four onwards (Hungwe, 2007). Gora (2013:124) reinforces this argument arguing that "colonial experiences continue to shape and define post-colonial practices in language planning. The colonial role of African languages and English as a language of wider communication persists thirty-two years after Zimbabwe attained political independence. The previous neglect and marginalization of indigenous languages during the colonial era is still carried within the Zimbabwe Education Act with reference to medium of instruction". Hungwe and Gora's arguments highlight the fact that language-in-education policies in postcolonial states like Zimbabwe remain the same despite political changes. The stagnation of language-in-education policies in postcolonial contexts such as Zimbabwe can be attributed to two factors: policy maintenance and policy shift. Continuation of colonial language policies point to policy maintenance which Bamgbose (2004) describes as a direct

consequence of an inheritance situation defined as the way the colonial experience continues to shape and define post-colonial experiences and practices. In such a situation, as is the case in Zimbabwe, not only are policies maintained in terms of use or non-use of African languages for teaching, the colonial practice of confining African languages as media of instruction to the lower levels of primary education persists. In Zimbabwe, although there is a new language-in-education policy in place its provisions are not markedly different from colonial language-in-education policies. Therefore by supporting the national and school language policies teachers are accepting what has always been there. Several reasons are given for continuing to privilege English over indigenous languages.

Some of the reasons given for supporting use of English as medium of instruction given by teachers who participated in this study echo the well rehearsed reasons for maintaining English as medium of instruction in postcolonial contexts. The very act of transitioning from Shona/Ndebele to English as medium of instruction at grade four gives the impression that the other languages are not viable as vehicles for education. Teachers therefore argue that they might as well use English as medium of instruction from the start arguing that longer means better.

Teachers in this study also supported language policies that enforced use of English as medium of instruction claiming English was neutral. Again this is the usual nationist argument for continuing to use English in postcolonial contexts that have populations speaking several languages. Researchers like Omoniyi (2007) reject this line of thinking arguing that governments in postcolonial Africa often present English as neutral and providing the magic

escape from threats to the nation state posed by multiple cultures and political divisions yet in reality they are just serving their own élitist agendas. Teachers probably view themselves as part of the élite group that has accessed education and have sufficient mastery of English which marks them apart from the rest of the general population. The fact that some teachers supported use of English as medium of instruction arguing that they are parents too and prefer to have their children educated in English might indicate their support for parents' tendency to equate use of English as medium of instruction with quality education

Despite the support for a language-in-education policy that privileges English over indigenous languages the non-adherence to the policy revealed in this section's findings shows that there are contradictions between policy pronouncements and the reality obtaining in classrooms. The reality is that teachers often switch between the official medium of instruction and the mother tongue. This finding corroborates findings in other postcolonial contexts like Botswana, and South Africa (Probyn, 2005).

Learners' support for school language policies that enforced use of English only presents a complicated picture. Learners' reasons for supporting English only policies are the same as the reasons given by teachers for imposing English only policies in their classes. Is it mere coincidence or learners were merely rehearsing answers they knew their teachers would support? While it is possible learners were merely rehearsing teachers' preferences for English, their attitudes towards English as medium of instruction might also have been influenced by their awareness of the general support for using English as medium of instruction among members of the community. In section 5.3.4 learners indicated that their

parents encouraged them to use English at school and the reasons given by the parents coincided with those given by teachers. So it is possible learners' positive attitudes towards English as medium of instruction are not only shaped by their knowledge of teachers' preference for English but also because of the positive reinforcement they got from parents and other members of the community. Erling and Seargeant (2013) argue that support for English only policies in postcolonial contexts like Zimbabwe is a reflection of strong ideologies of English as an international language (of development). People all over the world, no matter their status or location, are convinced by the ideology of English as being a language of education, wealth, status, etc. ... So the big difficulty of applied linguistics is that the findings that learning is best delivered through the mother tongue has to face this strong ideology of English. The findings of this study do not seem to make good reading for the advocates for using the mother tongue as medium of instruction.

5.3.5.2 Parents' support for English only policies

Parents' support for use of English as medium of instruction over indigenous languages reported in this study is in line with findings reported in other postcolonial contexts by Arthur, 2001; Chick, 2007 and Cleghorn and Prochner, 1997. In Zimbabwe, parents' preference for English as medium of instruction however contradicts official policy stipulations that require Shona/Ndebele to complement English during teaching and learning in grades 1 to 3 in primary schools in Zimbabwe. The apparent contradiction between parents' wishes and official pronouncements might point to tensions and contradictions prevalent in postcolonial contexts where governments put in place policies meant to promote use of indigenous

languages while in reality parents hanker for former colonial languages hence their preference for English as medium of instruction. Commenting on a similar finding that Ugandan African parents in their study preferred children being taught in English, Tembe and Norton (2011:135) argue that parents' views "can be traced back to the colonial education system, in which only a tiny minority of Africans who attended the colonial education system gained access to European languages. As a result it placed them in a better position in their own society". Norton (2014) also notes that as "parents observe the exercise of power in both local and regional African communities, they see that politicians, doctors, nurses, teachers and bankers all speak and write Standard English. African parents want their children, equally, to speak and write the Queen's English, so that their children have greater opportunities for the future. Parents' preference for English as medium of instruction could be a pointer to their expectation that being educated in English increases their children's chances of accessing desirable employment and financial security that comes with proficiency in English.

Comments attributed to parents by teachers in this study seem to paint the picture that they associate use of English as medium of instruction with quality education. However, research literature is replete with studies that prove otherwise. Pinnock (2009) cites Smits, Huisman, and Kruijff's (2008) study that showed that use of an unfamiliar language accounted for a lot of drop outs in primary schools indicating that learners felt they did not benefit from instruction in a language they had not mastered. There is also "evidence from various settings (e.g. Tanzania, Zambia) that educational progress can be impeded by English medium instruction, or that skills in English may be insufficiently developed for that language to serve as an effective educational medium" (Ferguson, 2013:2). On the contrary there is evidence

that instruction in the mother tongue is effective and leads to better attainment levels. The association between use of the mother tongue and quality education is demonstrated by the success of Benson's (2004) PEBIMO project in Mozambique, the Yoruba project in Nigeria. These projects showed that instruction through a home or local/regional language improves the quality and quantity of interaction between learners and teachers as well as mastery of concepts. Why then do parents place premium on instruction in English? Ferguson argues that the explanation for parents' attitudes towards English can be gleaned from examining the socio-political context in which language-in-education policies are formulated and implemented. Makoni et al (2006) point out that the emergence of private sector schools in postcolonial contexts derailed any attempts to upgrade the role of indigenous languages in education. The success recorded by children who go to such schools acts as a pull factor for most parents who wish their children similar success hence their positive attitudes towards English as medium of instruction. Parents' attitudes as described by teachers in this study give credence to the argument that in postcolonial Africa pedagogical considerations have often been less influential than political, economic and demographic factors in shaping language-in-education practices leading to marginalisation of indigenous languages (Evans, 2009; Ferguson, 2006; Adegbija, 1994; Bamgbose, 1998).

Learners' comments cited here show that learners not only accept their parents' views about the use of English as medium of instruction but are supportive of such views. Both parents and learners appear to favour a total exoglossic strategy in which they go straight for English without giving any room to mother tongues or indigenous languages that learners are already familiar with by the time they enter school. This is done without taking into account the

consequences this may have on the quality of learning learners may receive (Kamwendo 2006).

5.3.5.3 Insisting on use of English only in classrooms

Findings reported in this section show that 35.7% of teachers who participated in this study enforced English only policies in their classrooms. Such a practice reflects strict language arrangements about when and who should speak what language to whom in bilingual classrooms (Garcia and Sylvan (2011) and corroborates the experiences of some participants in Tembe and Norton's (2011) study of language use in primary classes in Uganda. Like the learners in the five teachers' classes, participants in Tembe and Norton's study described having to wear a badge of dishonour and being punished for speaking in the mother tongue. However, Garcia and Sylvan, 2011; Saxena. 2009 and Chimbganda and Mogkwathi, 2012 (see section 2.5.3) argue against banning learners from using their mother tongue and instead argue that communication in today's multilingual classrooms should build on learners' different language practices rather than simply promoting and communicating and teaching through one preferred language. The practice of imposing an English only policy in class also goes against the combined endo- and exo-glossic language-in-education policy outlined in the Zimbabwe Education Act (1987 amended 2005) which allows use of both English and either Shona or Ndebele following an early exit model from mother tongue MoI into English MoI after grade three (Alidou et al, 2006:39). The teachers' insistence on English only may be shaped by the belief that allowing learners to use Shona or Ndebele would deprive learners of opportunities to learn English which is needed to access the curriculum. However, the tenets of this belief

are disputed by Latsanyphone (2009) who argues that learners' mother tongue should be used in the classroom because:

- it is more natural to use the L1 with others who have the same L1,

- it is easier and more communicatively effective to use the L1,

- using L2 can be a source of embarrassment particularly for shy learners and those who feel they are not very proficient in the L2

- L1 can help move the task along by establishing a joint understanding of the task which facilitates classroom activities, particularly for low proficiency learners performing complex tasks (Latsanyphone, 2009:186).

Latsanyphone's arguments for utilising learners' mother tongue are in line with findings in section 5.2.1 which showed that learners in this study spoke the same mother tongue, therefore it would be natural for them to interact using their mother tongue while in class. His arguments are also supported by other teachers in this study who pointed out that they allowed learners in their classes to use Shona or Ndebele after observing that some learners were shy and desisted from communicating when spoken to in English only. They argued that decreased participation by learners justified allowing learners to use the mother tongue during lessons. Allowing use of the mother tongue in class is further supported by Ngwaru and Opoku-Amankwa (2010) who cite Andoh-Kumi (1998) and Wilmot (2003)'s studies in Ghana which showed that learners performed better in mathematics and general science, offered clear explanations and demonstrated competence in abstract thinking when taught in the local languages rather than in English only. In the Zimbabwean context Shumba and Manyati's (2000) study also showed that learners participated more actively and gave extended answers

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during Environmental Science lessons when an indigenous language was used as medium of instruction.

Teachers' preference for and insistence on English only in their classes was also surprising because during interviews and lesson observations their own command of English seemed limited indicating that they too may not be part of the elite they want to emulate. They attributed their use of Shona in some instances to the fact that learners did not understand English but when they used English themselves they failed to provide a clear model for learners to follow. Teachers' limited command of English is also raised by Makoni et al (2006) in their analysis of the language-in-education policy as outlined in the Zimbabwe Education Act (1987). They concluded that the policy of using Shona or Ndebele as medium of instruction in the first three grades of primary school "was motivated by pragmatic considerations rather than by psycholinguistic factors. Even if the Zimbabwean government had legislated that English should be used as the medium of instruction from the first grade, this would not have been feasible because most of the teachers whom one encounters in early primary schools are not competent enough to teach in English" (Makoni, et al 2006:407). Other researchers cited in this study have also reported that studies show that teachers' lack of facility in English leads to unsatisfactory quality of educational performance (Clegg and Afitska, 2011; Kyeyune, 2003; Halliday, 2007; Wedin, 2009 and Benson, 2006). These researchers conclude that only an improvement in teachers' mastery of English can improve levels of performance among learners they teach.

If teachers' competence in English is weak, why then do they discourage learners in their classes from using English? It can be argued that discouraging learners from using Shona is based on perceptions of Shona as the language that causes learning problems and is therefore a hindrance to pupils' progress (Saxena, 2009). Teachers who actively discouraged use of Shona in their classrooms might have considered it inappropriate/unacceptable and dysfunctional to use learners' L1 as the medium of interaction in the classroom hence enforcement of English only policies (Wei and Martins, 2009). They also might have discouraged use of Shona hoping that use of English would raise learners' achievement levels (Inbar-Lourie 2010) although this is unlikely to be the case because banning learners from using their mother tongue for learning in fact reduces the repertoire of language learning activities available to teachers who impose such a ban (Sampson, 2012). This line of argument is borne out by what happened during the maths lesson observed at Chemhanza primary school. During the lesson, despite the teacher's insistence on everybody using English, learners used both English and Shona. For example, during group work learners used Shona to share ideas with each other but wrote down report back answers in English. During the plenary session when learners were asked to use the chalk board to explain to the rest of the class what they had done in groups they wrote down what they had done but did not talk to other learners as directed by the teacher. Their silence suggested they did not feel competent or comfortable enough to use English to explain concepts to other learners. The absence of dialogue between learners has important implications for the quality of learning that can take place in classes where teachers proscribe use of the learners' home language. Recent analyses that have focused on interactions in classrooms where children's home language interfaces with a different language for learning and teaching and the subject being learned have shown that teacher insistence on English only

severely undercuts opportunities available for productive learning (Kaphesi 2003) and often leads to learner resistance against insistence on use of English only when performing pedagogical tasks (Thomson and Stakhnevich, 2010; Cincotta-Segi, 2011).

Insistence on use of English reported in this study is similar to that reported by Cincotta-Segi (2011) where the teacher she studied used the official language of instruction only when learners responded in their L1 she ignored their responses until they responded in the official language of instruction. While learners in the class observed by Cincotta-Segi gave in to the teacher's demands, learners in Mrs Chebundo's class did not passively comply hence the tension in the class reflecting coercive relations of power between the teacher and learners in the class (Cummins 2007). McGlynn and Martin (2009) argue that such tension in the classroom is the result of competing language values between learners who favour use of their mother tongue and the teacher who favours the language of the former colonial power.

5.4 Teachers' and learners' classroom language preferences

While teachers and learners broadly supported national and school language policies that enforce use of English for teaching and learning their classroom language preferences were at times not consistent with such support.

5.4.1 Teachers' preferred language for communication in primary classrooms

Table 9 shows the teachers' language preferences and reasons for the preferences.

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Table 9: Teachers' preferred language for communication in classrooms

Preferred language	Number of teachers n = 14	Reasons for preference
Use of English	35.8% (n=5)	• To improve learners' mastery of the language • English essential for passing examinations • Policy requires use of English
Use of Shona and English	42.8% (n=6)	Learners' poor command of English. To enhance communication in class and grasping of concepts Learners can assist each other
Use of Shona	21.4% (n=3)	English is a colonial imposition Other countries use indigenous languages

Table 9 highlights lack of unanimity among teachers who participated in this study about the preferred language for communication in classrooms. Five teachers (35.8%) preferred using English to communicate in class while six (42.8%) preferred using both Shona and English. The remaining three (21.4%) preferred using Shona.

Teachers who preferred using English only to communicate in class were from two contrasting primary schools: Rusvingo and Chemhanza (See section 3.2.2.2). These teachers' preference for English as medium for communication in classrooms was reflected in comments they

made during interviews as well as the lessons they were observed teaching. For example, during the interview Ms Gumede commented:

We usually encourage English and even speaking we encourage them to speak in English

Her preference for English was evident during the lesson she was observed teaching. She gave instructions in English and encouraged learners to use "*good* English" during group work and report back sessions. Learners in Ms Gumede's class also confirmed their teacher's preference for English. For example, when asked why she preferred using English when communicating with her teacher, Tariro said of her teacher: "*She just tells you to just use English*" and if you don't "*She gives you a warning that you should speak in English*"

Tariro's comments were confirmed during the interview when Ms Gumede who explained that she encouraged her learners to speak in English "*because once you do that you find that there will be less noise because in Shona they can shout anything but in English they will have to think first*". Here it is also interesting to note that English seems to be used for two purposes: as a classroom management strategy and as a way of fostering thinking skills among learners.

Other teachers in this study adopted strategies that discouraged use of Shona in classrooms. For example, Chemhanza primary school teachers had devised ways of discouraging learners from using Shona in their classrooms. Mrs Nhamo explained her strategy thus:

Mostly we emphasise use of English. In my class I used to say if someone speaks to you in Shona just raise up your hand, so using that system most pupils in the class they try their level best to use English

Her colleague, Mrs Chebundo showed the extremes to which teachers went to discourage learners from using English:

*I used to have a card where I write **outcast** then at the end of the day, in fact there were five cards, then at the end of the day I will see the children with those cards then I will give them some form of punishment like sweeping the classroom or watering flowers*

These practices of punishing students for using the indigenous language could be seen as reflecting lingering colonial attitudes and practices that have seen people preferring the languages of the former colonial masters in the belief that these languages would give them access to white collar jobs, European thought and other privileges (Erastus, 2013).

While five teachers enforced English only policies in their classes the other nine teachers allowed learners to use both Shona and English or Shona only for communication in class. The nine teachers cited learners' limited competence in English as reason for allowing use of Shona and English in classrooms. Mrs Chanetsa of Njanja primary school said she allowed learners to use Shona and English in class *"because I have realised that some pupils are not able to use English and they become shy and actually stop communicating with me so I*

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encourage them the use of both languages". Mrs Chanetsa's colleague, Ms Whata, also allowed children in her class to use Shona and English for a similar reason. She explained:

If you find a situation where more than half the class does not understand then it will be no use going on in English when you know they don't really understand.

In addition, some teachers felt using Shona in classrooms was justified on the grounds that the schools they worked in were surrounded by communities that did not use English for communication. This view was highlighted in Ms Whata comments that:

This school is situated in a deprived community that does not favour use of English and the school does not enforce the English only policy. Therefore it would be inappropriate to enforce an English only policy for my class.

Mrs Whata's comments highlight the interaction between community language attitudes and practices and the school's response to those attitudes. The school's non-enforcement of the English only policy seems to be a direct response to the community's negative attitudes towards use of English. However, the situation in the community referred to by Mrs Whata does not seem to be in line with parents' positive attitudes towards the use of English as medium of instruction reported on in section 5.3.

5.4.2 Learners' preferred language for communication in classrooms

Learners' classroom language preferences appear more complex than those of teachers. The complexity of learners' language preferences is reflected in Table 10

Table 10: Learners' preferred language for teacher-learner and learner-learner interaction (N=36)

Area of language use	Preferred language for communication		
	English	Shona	Shona and English
Talking to the teacher	75% (n=27)	0	25% (n=9)
Teacher explanations	38.9% (n=14)	44.4% (n=16)	16.7% (n=6)
Group learning	36.1% (n=13)	36.1% (n=13)	27.8% (n=10)
Social interaction in and out of class	22.2% (n=8)	36.1% (n=13)	41.7% (n=15)
Language for the playground	19.4% (n=7)	44.4% (n=16)	36.1% (n=13)

Table 10 shows differences in learners' language preferences when talking to the teacher and when talking among themselves. The teacher-learner talk shows that twenty seven out of thirty six learners (75%) preferred using English when responding to the teacher while none

preferred using only Shona. Nine (25%) learners indicated they preferred using both English and Shona. On the face of it this finding implies that teachers and learners generally prefer using English for communication in classrooms. However, when learners were asked what language they preferred the teacher to use when explaining concepts only fourteen (38.9%) indicated they preferred the teacher to explain concepts in English. This finding could imply that learners accept English when communicating with the teachers because this is what teachers want but their preference for explanations to be done in Shona could imply that learners feel that explanations are complex and key in the learning process and they need to have the confidence and clarity of hearing them in their own language, whereas lack of clarity or potential misunderstandings in interacting with the teacher is perceived as less serious.

Learners' language preferences when talking to other learners present an even more complex picture. During group learning there seems to be a balance between learners who prefer to use Shona only and those who prefer to use English only. 36% of the learners preferred using Shona while another 36% preferred using English with the remaining 28% preferring to use both Shona and English. Fewer learners preferred using English for communication during social interaction (22%) and play time (19.4%). More learners preferred using either Shona only or both Shona and English during social interaction and play time. 36.1% of the learners preferred using Shona only during social interaction while 41.7% of the learners preferred using both Shona and English during social interaction. The balance in favour of both Shona and English is reversed during play time with more learners preferring to use Shona only (44.4% Shona vs. 36.1% English).

Learners explained that they talked to other learners in Shona and English *"because the other kids might not know the other language"* (Dadirai pupil at Jemedza). Dadirai's views were echoed by Rutendo who observed that *"some of them (children) don't understand English so we use Shona to help each other understand".* During interviews teachers also confirmed that learners in their classes used Shona and English in order to help each other. For example, Mrs Nhemachena at Jemedza primary school explained that:

If learners notice that their colleague is not understanding a concept because of difficulties with English they switch to Shona in order to assist the other learner.

Use of home language helps to build a community of learning among learners which might not be possible when they use English only as medium of communication.

5.4.3 Teachers' attitudes towards Shona as the primary medium of instruction

One of the questions this study sought to answer was whether teachers and learners in Zimbabwe would support the implementation of a language-in-education policy that dictated use of Shona as medium of instruction at primary school level. All fourteen teachers (100%) did not view Shona as a viable option for use as medium of instruction and identified four factors listed in Table 11 as militating against Shona's usefulness as medium of instruction.

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Table 11: Factors militating against usefulness of Shona (N= +14 some teachers raised more than one issue while others did not raise any)

Factor	Number of teachers citing the factor
Lack of meta-language	6
Learners' limited facility in Shona	6
Lack of teacher expertise in Shona	4
Influence of testing practices	3

Six teachers indicated that Shona was not useful as medium of instruction and cited Shona's lack of the necessary discipline-specific vocabulary (technical language) as the constraining factor. Some teachers talked of Shona's inadequacy in general terms while others referred to specific subjects. For example, Ms Hove of Njanja primary school argued that:

"There are some things that you want to express in English and when you come to Shona there are no Shona words for the concepts"

Mrs Moyo of Dimbwa primary school was more specific and argued that:

"You can't conduct a maths lesson in Shona because there are no Shona words to express concepts like multiplication" and also *"children cannot count properly in Shona. It's difficult for them"*.

Mrs Moyo's argument was reinforced by Ms Xaba of Rusvingo primary school who pointed out that "*it would be very difficult especially in maths because sometimes it is very difficult to express big numbers like hundred*" in Shona.

The second factor teachers cited as militating against using Shona as medium of instruction related to learners' facility in using Shona for learning purposes. Teachers argued that learners found it difficult to use Shona or Ndebele to learn because they did not have good enough competence in these languages, and because they were used to mixing their home languages with English:

Their Shona is not proper and even their Ndebele at home is not proper" because: "*some of the Shona these days is mixed. They take the English words and try to put them into Shona* (Mrs Chemhuru: Jemedza Primary School).

The third factor cited by teachers as militating against use of Shona as medium of instruction concerned teachers' own inability to use Shona as a language for teaching. Three teachers in this study taught learners who had a Shona language background and were themselves unable to speak Shona and were Ndebele speakers (see section 5.2.1). Even if such teachers wanted to use learners' mother tongue for teaching and learning they would not be able to do so because they do not speak the language. However even those teachers who spoke the same language as the learners they taught pointed out that they found it difficult to teach using Shona because during teacher training they had not been taught how to use Shona to teach across the

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curriculum, suggesting that teacher education programmes in Zimbabwe do not prepare teachers to teach using indigenous languages.

5.4.4 Learners' attitudes towards Shona as medium of instruction

Teachers' concerns about learners' inability to use Shona for learning were repeated by learners interviewed for this study. Learners indicated that using Shona as medium of instruction made learning difficult for them. Learners at Rusvingo primary school pointed out that *"it will be hard"* using Shona as medium of instruction because *"some of us do not know Shona that well"*. Similar reservations against using Shona as medium of instruction were voiced by learners at Jemedza primary school who complained that it would be difficult to use Shona to learn at school *"because not everyone can speak in Shona"*. Learners' acknowledgement of limited competence in Shona corroborates teachers' arguments against use of Shona as medium of instruction on the grounds that learners' lacked facility in the language. In addition to their limited competence in Shona, learners argued against use of Shona as medium of instruction because the Shona they speak *"is just a different kind of Shona"* from that used in school. All thirty six learners (100%) interviewed for this study attributed their difficulties in using Shona for learning purposes to the kind of Shona they speak outside school. They pointed out that there were differences between the Shona they speak outside school and the Shona used for teaching and learning. For example, learners at Jemedza primary school admitted that the Shona they use outside school does not help them learn at school because *"it's different and sometimes at home* (they) *mix Shona with English"*.

Learners at Chemhanza primary school also concurred and conceded that they "*use some words that are not in Shona*".

5.4.5 Impact of testing practices on language attitudes and language use

Findings in sections 5.4.3 and 5.4.4 have shown that both teachers and learners do not view Shona as a useful or possible medium of instruction. In addition to the pedagogical constraints cited by teachers and learners the usefulness of Shona as medium of instruction was also constrained by the language-in-education policy that dictated that tests and examinations should be administered in English for all primary school learners.

All fourteen teachers and thirty six learners in this study were not in favour of using Shona as medium of instruction because examinations are set and written in English only. Teachers argued that:

To use Shona throughout is a problem because our examinations are in English. Children are tested in English. (Mrs Whata of Njanja School)

Teachers therefore tried:

to hammer it home in English so that it will be easier for them when it comes to examinations (Ms Mguni, Rusvingo primary school).

Even teachers who allowed learners to use Shona in their classrooms pointed out that using Shona for instructional purposes was problematic because of the policy that dictated that examinations be set and written in English. Teachers who allowed learners to use Shona in classrooms were prepared to teach in Shona if the exam system were also changed to Shona. As noted by one teacher:

If the exams also come in Shona there will be no problem. But if they say teach in Shona and the exams come in English then there is a contradiction. (Ms Hove of Njanja primary school).

The same teachers also argued that learners in Zimbabwe were not only required to write examinations in English but were penalised if they used any Shona words during examinations:

When ZIMSEC (Zimbabwe Schools Examinations Council) are marking learners' papers at grade seven they penalise Shona words (Mrs Moyo, Dimbwa primary school).

As a result of ZIMSEC's practice teachers were reluctant to use Shona as medium of instruction hence the predominant use of English. ZIMSEC's practice of penalising learners who use Shona words when answering examination questions reflects a policy framework that privileges English over indigenous languages.

5.4.6 Discussion of teachers and learners' classroom language preferences

This section discusses findings on teachers' and learners classroom language preferences.

5.4.6.1 Allowing use of the mother tongue in classrooms

Findings on allowing use of Shona in classrooms highlight lack of unanimity among teachers on the efficacy of using Shona as medium of instruction and also indicate a broad spectrum of language preferences among teachers in this study. On one hand some teachers' and learners' use of both Shona and English in class can be seen as a reflection of positive attitudes toward the two languages in post-colonial Zimbabwe and is in line with Graham's (2010) argument that in bilingual contexts it is important to establish a link between home and school language practices. On the other hand there are those teachers that go to great lengths to prevent learners using Shona in their classes. These teachers' preference for using English only in their classrooms appears to be influenced by applications of communicative language teaching techniques which suggest that communicating completely in the target language is the sure way of ensuring that learners gain sufficient mastery of the language (Ustunel and Seedhouse, 2005). Proponents of this view argue that allowing learners to use their mother tongue in class adulterates the acquisition of the second language (English) and in multilingual classrooms can create problems if there is no common language for all students and if the teacher is not competent enough in the mother tongue of the learners (Chimbganda and Mogkwathi, 2012). The problem with this line of argument is that the learners and teachers in the schools studied

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speak the same home language except for three Ndebele speaking teachers (section 5.2.1) and viewing learners' home language as a hindrance to mastery of English runs counter to studies that show that allowing learners to use their home language in class provides opportunities for building bridges between home and school language practices (Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 2012).

It can be argued that the practice of building bridges between home and school language practices which is informed by a combined endo-glossic and exo-glossic language-in-education policy strategy (Alidou et al, 2006) should be the norm in Zimbabwe because its language-in-education policy that allows for transition from one language to another as medium of instruction implying that the country expects the indigenous languages and English to complement each other in the teaching and learning in the classroom. Developing school language policies that acknowledge the need to allow learners to use an indigenous language in class can be viewed as a pragmatic approach to the language of instruction debate in contexts such as Zimbabwe where the majority of learners have limited access to English outside the school. However, findings on teachers' perceptions of differences between home and school language practices (section 5.2.1) indicate that the pragmatism advocated by Alidou et al is lacking in Zimbabwe. Although teachers acknowledge that learners use Shona at home they still expect the same learners to use English only at school. Whereas allowing learners to use both Shona and English would provide room for the co-official use of English and learners' home language (Shona) thus reducing tension between schools' efforts to build upon learners' use of the home language and the learners' reluctance to use it in a school setting, where the dominant institutional language is English (Pagett, 2006). It could also be argued that using Shona and English in Zimbabwean primary classrooms is almost

unavoidable because in multilingual settings it is impossible to keep L1 and L2 separate (Mart, 2013) and in most communication instances Shona and English bleed into each other as evidenced by the learners' and teachers' in this study's acknowledgment that when learners communicate outside school they mix English and Shona.

Although teachers tend to have unfavourable attitudes towards using the mother tongue, in real classroom situations there may be justifiable pedagogical arguments for code-switching between English and the local language. Allowing learners to use their mother tongue during lessons is justified on the grounds that the practice gives teachers opportunities to give learners meaning focused tasks without placing heavy language demands on them (Nation, 2003). Perhaps this is why the majority of learners wanted teachers to explain concepts in Shona (44.4%) or in both Shona and English (16.7%). Therefore letting learners discuss a task in their home language before they carry it out in writing in English provides them with the opportunity to fully understand the content of the task through the medium of their home language before they perform the written task in English (Thomson and Stakhnevich 2010). Lameta-Tufuga (1994) cited in Nation (2003) and Shumba and Manyati (2000) reported that learners participate more actively when given opportunities to discuss tasks in their mother tongue. Such opportunities also assist them to work out the meaning of the English vocabulary using their mother tongue as a frame of reference. Therefore "whenever a teacher feels that a meaning based task might be beyond the capabilities of the learners, small amounts of L1 discussion can help overcome some of the obstacles" (Nation, 2003:3) and enhance communication and understanding in classrooms.

5.4.6.2 Shona as medium of instruction

Many researchers argue in favour of using learners' home language as medium of instruction particularly at primary school level (Williams, 2011). The main argument for using learners' home language is that it enables learners to better think in their own language and provides a link between home language practices and language practices at school (Diallo, 2011; Ferguson 2006). Instruction in the mother tongue is supported by UNESCO (2003:30) which points out that mother tongue instruction is essential for initial instruction and literacy and should be extended to as late a stage in education as possible and therefore every pupil should begin his/her formal education in his/her mother tongue. UNESCO however notes that in many postcolonial-sociocultural contexts use of learners' mother tongue as medium of instruction is constrained by the fact that sometimes the mother tongue may be an unwritten language or that appropriate terminology for education purposes may not yet have been developed in the learners' mother tongue. Teachers' comments about the lack of technical language in Shona are a testimony to the point made by UNESCO. Such sentiments resonate with arguments raised by researchers like Kaphesi (2003) who while commenting on the difficulties of using Chichewa to teach mathematics to primary school children in Malawi argued that "teachers have a problem translating the mathematical vocabulary between English and Chichewa and this brings about pressures and tension among the mathematics teachers who may not find the equivalent terms between English and Chichewa". In Zimbabwe, Mavunga (2010) also points to similar difficulties in Social Studies where conceptual problems might arise because of differences between English and Shona ways of expressing relationships. For example, the concept 'cousin' may be difficult for Shona learners

to grasp in English because Shona expresses relationships differently from English. In Shona there are specific terms used to refer to one's uncle or aunt male or female children other than the blanket term cousin. The arguments raised here point to a perception that currently the Shona language has not been codified to the extent that it can easily be used for teaching and learning purposes. It would appear such perceptions are shared by some government ministers in Zimbabwe as Dr Mudenge, Minister of Higher Education, explained that it is difficult to use Shona and Ndebele effectively for teaching and learning purposes because of an "absence of a clear national policy and the general lack of funding for language research which hinders initiatives in the research and documentation of local languages" (Mudenge, 2009). Mudenge's observation was supported by teachers who observed that is difficult to use Shona to teach learners because "*Shona has limited vocabulary*".

While Shona may not have the developed technical terms needed to express concepts in education, some researchers have argued that this is a lame excuse often given by postcolonial governments that lack the political will to elevate the status of indigenous languages. For example, Alidou et al (2006:40) dismiss the argument about lack of resources to fund research arguing that such an excuse "provides little reason to generally object to the use of African languages in education; it is a job easily to be achieved by trained linguists in much less time and for much smaller costs as is generally assumed". Other researchers like Diallo (2011:207) also dismiss the excuse arguing that "the postcolonial leadership who took over from the colonial masters – most of whom had been moulded in the colonial framework – had no qualms about maintaining the status quo and relegating their own languages to the background. They were convinced by the colonial masters that African languages not only

were *not* able to express scientific concepts and philosophical thoughts, but also were not useful for serious education and rational thinking". Diallo and Alidou et al's arguments are given credence by the fact that many decades after independence no efforts have been made to codify the Shona language in Zimbabwe.

Codifying indigenous languages in Zimbabwe used to be done by a government department called the Curriculum Development Unit (CDU). The unit has since been disbanded. It can be argued that disbanding the unit might be evidence of government's unwillingness to prioritise the elevation of indigenous languages to a level where they can function as medium of instruction alongside English. Governments' ability and role in the elevation of indigenous languages through codification may be gleaned from Senegal and South Africa. Diallo points out that since 2001 the Senegalese government has been able to codify two languages a year through the establishment of language academies. In South Africa the post-1994 government, in an attempt to support the standardisation of African languages, established the Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB) with responsibility to develop the 11 official languages and promote multilingualism. PanSALB, in turn, established lexicography units for each of the official languages (Edwards and Ngwaru 2011). The units included a directorate charged with Terminology Coordination meant to develop meta-language in all languages so that they can be used in higher domains such as education. It can be argued that Zimbabwe should be able to do the same because it already has institutions like the ALLEX PROJECT (African Languages Lexical Project) (1992) at the University of Zimbabwe which aims "to provide the population of Zimbabwe with dictionaries and other language tools for the African languages used in the country". The 'language tools' referred to here could be the meta-language needed to make indigenous languages viable mediums of instruction. Other institutions in the region

could also be used to assist in the coordination of Shona. For example, the Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society (CASAS) in Cape Town South Africa could support Zimbabwe in codifying its local languages.

Brock-Utne and Mercer (2013) report successes in codifying African languages through CASAS was successful in helping some countries in Africa. For example, from 2012, Zambia has published school books in the new orthography for all the seven official languages. It has also produced three primers in the new orthography for grades 1-2, 3-5 and 6-7 in all seven languages, to be used in classes when the mother-tongue is taught as a subject. Why then doesn't the government of Zimbabwe take advantage of its institutions and Africa wide initiatives? Mashiri (personal communication 2013) argues that there is no political will to fund institutions like the ALLEX PROJECT or forge links with institutions like CASAS as such institutions are viewed with suspicion by government authorities because of their association with the non-governmental organisations and overseas universities. While deliberate efforts to codify indigenous languages in order to enhance their role as medium of instruction in education are important, it is necessary to warn against giving the impression that once indigenous languages are elevated and developed Zimbabwe's language problems would be over (Kadenge and Nkomo, 2011). Changing the status of languages should not be the sole focus of efforts to elevate the position of indigenous languages (Makoni et al, 2006). There is need to develop clear postcolonial language-in-education policies that facilitate the complementary use of Shona and English.

5.4.6.3 Factors militating against Shona as medium of instruction

Discussion of the influence of policy on usefulness of Shona as medium of instruction has so far revolved around factors that make it difficult to use Shona and other indigenous languages as medium of instruction. The discussion also needs to examine teachers' attitudes towards use of Shona in their classrooms. Some of the teachers who cited lack of meta-language as reason for not using Shona as medium of instruction are the same teachers that went to great lengths to prevent learners from using Shona in their classes (see section 5.3.5.1). Zimbabwean teachers' resistance to using Shona as medium of instruction is also highlighted in Chivhanga and Chimhenga's (2013) study of the use of Shona as medium of instruction in primary schools. Their study showed that teachers frustrate and silence learners' voices by requiring them to use English-only discourse in their classrooms. Could it be that teachers were being disingenuous when they argued that Shona lacks the capacity to express concepts taught in different subjects? This aspect is explored further in section 5.5 when discussing teachers' attitudes towards code-switching.

Discussion of findings about the usefulness of Shona as medium of instruction ends with comments on learners' lack of facility in Shona as well as teachers' lack of expertise in using Shona as medium of instruction. Findings on teachers' preferred language for communication in classrooms (section 5.3.5.1) showed that some teachers took a pragmatic view of the use of learners' mother tongue in classrooms, considering it to be inevitable. Teachers generally expressed a preference for English use but acknowledged that in order to maintain learners' attention, interest or involvement, contributions in the mother tongue needed to be permitted

(Carless, 2008). However, teachers in this study argued against using Shona as medium of instruction citing learners' poor competence in the language. Mashiri dismisses the teachers' argument arguing that the main problem is not that learners are unable to speak proper Shona but that teachers and the education system have failed to keep abreast with realities of language use among learners. The problem is exacerbated by the lack of instructional materials written in Shona. Mangwaya et al' (2013) study of the availability of print curriculum materials and its consequences for the quality of education in schools located on newly resettled farm areas in Zimbabwe established that schools on newly resettled farms faced acute shortages of textbooks in all subject areas for both pupils and teachers and that this negatively impacted on the quality of curriculum delivery. Consequently the quality of education received by primary school learners is compromised because teachers and learners do not have a standard to follow when using Shona as medium of instruction. Teachers find it difficult to use Shona when the materials available for teaching the subjects are written in English. The problem then goes back to the lack of political will, at government level, to develop the teaching-learning materials. The government put in place a policy that requires learners and teachers to use Shona as medium of instruction but removed the Curriculum Development Unit that used to sponsor and supervise the development of materials in the indigenous languages. So in a way teachers' lack of expertise and learners' lack of facility in Shona can be blamed on the policy framework in which they operate.

Learners' lack of facility in Shona also needs to be looked at in the broader context of the relationship between English and indigenous languages in postcolonial contexts. It has been argued that where a foreign language is used as medium of instruction in the education system

it is best to use it alongside learners' mother tongue. One of the arguments for using learners' "mother tongue as the language of instruction at school – especially in the lower grades – is that language is a carrier of a people's culture, values and norms" (Mavunga, 2010:129). Using learners' mother tongue helps them develop an appreciation of their culture and identity more than would be the case if they were taught about the world through a second language. Using the learners' mother tongue in Zimbabwe might be constrained by the fact that teachers and learners both pointed out that learners have not developed a sufficient mastery of the mother tongue version used in schools to profit from it being used as medium of instruction. The difficulty of using Shona for teaching and learning in schools arises from the fact that the Shona used in schools follows the orthography and vocabulary of the Shona spoken in rural communities (sometimes referred to as deep Shona) which is different from the Shona spoken by children in urban settings. The Shona spoken in urban settings has elements of slang and contains vocabulary that borrowed from other languages including English. It is used for informal socialisation and is looked down upon by the school system.

5.4.6.4 Interaction between testing practices and language use in classrooms

Teachers argued in favour of using English as medium of instruction because that is the language learners are tested in. Reference to testing practices and ZIMSEC's reaction to learners' use of Shona words indicates that teachers' preference for English as medium of instruction is dictated by a language-in-education testing policy that requires testing at primary school level to be done in English. Teachers' responses also suggest that they are aware that learners do not have sufficient mastery of English but they have to teach and interact with the

learners in English because if they do not learners will fare badly on tests set and written in English. Teachers' concerns with the disparity between language of instruction and language used for testing was cited by Tembe and Norton (2011) as the reason why parents, in their study of local languages and community perspectives in Uganda, preferred use of English as medium of instruction arguing that testing in English while teaching in a local language would defeat the objective of teaching in the local language. In situations where it is evident that learners have a limited grasp of English it would be desirable to test them through a language they understand because "assessing a child in a language which they do not use outside school is likely to generate misleading knowledge about a child's real level of skills and capabilities across the curriculum" (Pinnock, 2009:13). Brock-Utne et al (2010:4) go so far as to argue that testing learners in a language they have limited competence in "raises the question of the validity of the measurement procedures, when the capacity to read and to write in a language can easily mask the true capabilities of students in the subjects putatively being assessed". Rea-Dickins et al (2011) also raise similar concerns and argue that insisting on testing learners in English "calls into serious question the validity of testing school knowledge in English" because learners may not be sufficiently equipped linguistically to demonstrate their subject knowledge through the unfamiliar language. Rea-Dickins et al argue that learners with limited mastery of English would do better in tests set in the mother tongue or using both the mother tongue and English. Using bilingual tests would enable learners to navigate between the two languages in order to get a better understanding of the demands of questions. In addition learners would also be able to express themselves more clearly in the language they know best. In this study, Rea-Dickins et al's argument was echoed by Mrs Nhemachena of Jemedza primary school who suggested that the *"solution would be to mix like what they do in South*

Africa". Here she is referring to the University of South Africa's practice of having dual language examinations (Afrikaans and English).

Misgivings about testing learners in English expressed by Brock-Utne et al and Rea-Dickins et al have also been raised by researchers in Zimbabwe who criticised a language-in-education policy that requires learners not only to use an unfamiliar language as medium of instruction (Shumba and Manyati, 2000; Peresuh and Masuku, 2001 and Mnkandla, 2000) but also testing practices that require learners to demonstrate their proficiency in one language at a time without allowing other languages to come into play. The practice of testing learners in English only is in stark contrast to the current understanding of multilingual competencies which allows languages to "bleed" into one another in creative ways" (Shohamy, 2006) like reading in one and speaking in another in the process of teaching and learning. Such practices can only be practiced in a language-in-education policy framework that allows languages to complement each other by allowing learners to be tested in both languages.

5.5 Attitudes towards code-switching

The findings in this section answer the research question: do attitudes towards code-switching influence language use in classrooms and if so, how? Findings on attitudes towards code-switching on language use in primary classes in Zimbabwe demonstrate the interaction between different themes for this study. For example, the themes: preferred language for communication in classrooms, using Shona as medium of instruction and the influence of testing practices on language use in classrooms discussed in 5.3.5, 5.3.6 and 5.3.7 are

interwoven with attitudes toward code-switching practices in primary classrooms. Findings on attitudes towards code-switching practices are presented under the sub-themes:

- Teachers' attitudes towards code-switching,

- Teachers' perceptions of learners' attitudes towards code-switching practices

- Learners' attitudes towards code-switching

- Teachers' perceptions of parents' attitudes towards code-switching,

- Teachers' perceptions of Education Officers' attitudes towards code-switching, and

- Teachers' classroom code-switching practices

5.5.1 Teachers' attitudes towards code-switching

Teachers in this study had different attitudes towards utilising code-switching strategies in primary classrooms. Some teachers had positive attitudes towards utilising code-switching as a strategy that helped learners understand concepts but others were of the view that code-switching should not be used in class. Findings on teachers' positive attitudes towards code-switching are presented first followed by those of teachers with negative attitudes towards code-switching.

5.5.1.1 Teachers' positive attitudes towards code-switching

Findings in preceding sections have shown that teachers who use the designated language of instruction alongside learners' mother tongue do so out of the recognition that learners

struggle with unfamiliar language and therefore attempt to translate back and forth between learners' home language and the official language of schooling (English) in an attempt to help learners grasp concepts. Teachers in this study who embody this position are seen as having positive attitudes towards the code-switching strategy. Five (35.7%)out of the fourteen teachers interviewed for this study indicated it was a good idea to switch from English to Shona, particularly in order to help learners understand concepts being taught. One of the five teachers, Ms Mguni of Rusvingo primary school, explained that:

Let's say I am describing an orange or what ever. Others might not know an orange because these children come from different backgrounds saka vanenge vachiziva kuti ranjisi (so they know the term **ranjisi** *for orange) so if we use the term to make the concept clear I do not see anything wrong. It will help.*

In Ms Mguni's example, the key concept being explained is orange and she is of the view that some learners may not know the term in English but know the Shona term ranjisi. So in her explanation she first uses the term ranjisi then translates the term into the English term orange in order to assist learners grasp the new term. During teaching she probably has the physical object at hand and therefore learners can easily establish the association between the Shona and English terms she uses. The code-switching strategy referred to by Ms Mguni was observed at Dimbwa primary school during Mrs Moyo's Science lesson on insects. During the course of the lesson Mrs Moyo switched between English and Shona in order to help learners comprehend key concepts about ticks. Her intention to code-switch during the lesson was clear at the beginning of the lesson:

We are going to learn about ticks. What do we call them in Shona?

When learners did not supply the Shona name she told them: *we call them zvishambwe* (ticks). Later in the lesson she used code-switching to clarify concepts as illustrated in the following extract:

T: *When the female tick grows big it drops to the ground yotanga kubereka/kukandira mazai. What does it do when it falls to the ground?* (When the female tick grows big it drops to the ground and starts to lay eggs.)

In this extract the Shona part of the teacher's utterance highlighted the important concept to be focused on during the lesson. Using Shona to highlight the concept gave learners the opportunity to establish a link between the explanation in Shona and the equivalent explanation in English.

Other teachers interviewed also had positive attitudes towards code-switching and justified the practice on the grounds that it facilitated communication between teachers and learners. For example, Mrs Jena of Chemhanza primary school justified code-switching on the grounds that:

Some of these pupils cannot even understand what you are trying to say. At times you end up forced to use Shona to express yourself so that they can understand what you are trying to explain especially when you are doing some of the Environmental Science questions.

Like Ms Mguni of Rusvingo primary school, referred to earlier, Mrs Jena argued that:

Shona is there to assist them to understand the concept so that when you go back to English some will easily understand the concept when they try to link the two.

The responses from these two teachers show that they perceive code-switching as a pedagogical tool they can use to:

- facilitate communication between themselves and learners

- increase learner participation and check learner comprehension, and

- explain new concepts

During interviews the two teachers made it clear that they used code-switching because they expected the two languages to complement each other in fostering understanding of new concepts. The expectation that code-switching facilitated the complementary use of Shona and English was evident in lessons observed. During the Environmental Science referred to earlier, Mrs Moyo used the strategy to explain two concepts:

*Tell me anything else that loses its skin. Nyoka inodini? Vamwe vanoti kuvhunura. When the female tick grows it drops to the ground yotanga kubereka/kukandira mazai (*What does a snake do? Some say it casts off its skin. When the female tick grows it drops to the ground and starts to lay eggs)

Mrs Moyo's use of code-switching rubs off on her learners because during group work learners use both English and Shona. Their discussions become quite lively when they use Shona indicating that communication became easier when they used Shona.

5.5.1.2 Teachers' negative attitudes towards code-switching

Not all teachers had positive attitudes towards code switching. In this study nine (64.3%) out of fourteen teachers expressed reservations about widespread use of code-switching. Findings on teachers' negative attitudes towards code-switching are not repeated here because they have been presented and discussed under the section on the influence of testing practices on language use in section 5.4.5 and section 5.4.6.7.

5.5.2 Teachers' perceptions of learners' attitudes towards teachers' code-switching practices

Teachers were asked to indicate what learners would think if teachers used code-switching as a teaching strategy. Eight teachers (57.2%) were confident their learners would react positively towards use of code-switching as a pedagogical strategy while three (21.4%) indicated learners would react negatively towards the strategy. The remaining three teachers (21.4%) were ambivalent about how learners would react towards use of code-switching.

Teachers who thought their learners would respond positively towards use of code-switching cited increased comprehension as the reason for learners' positive attitudes. For example, Mrs

Chemhuru of Jemedza primary school explained her learners' reaction to code-switching by saying:

I do that at times when I see that their minds are blank then I switch to Shona then they kind of understand. What I get from their reaction is that they tend to understand if I put it in Shona rather than English.

In addition to increased understanding, teachers felt learners' positive attitude towards code-switching was evidenced by increased participation in lessons. Ms Hove of Njanja primary school pointed out that *"I see the children really lively"* if I use both Shona and English during teaching.

Teachers also indicated that increased participation was usually accompanied by meaningful interaction during which learners took the initiative and asked for clarification instead of passively accepting teacher input. Mrs Moyo of Dimbwa primary school pointed to learners' increased involvement in the lesson when she said:

In my class some of these children are very clever. They will say 'Miss I didn't understand this word' then I explain that word in Shona or in English

Mrs Moyo's observation would indicate that teachers thought learners who understood the language they were instructed in engaged meaningfully with content through questioning what

they had not understood. Teachers therefore perceived code-switching as a resource that enabled learners to access curriculum content more meaningfully.

While the majority of teachers indicated their learners had positive attitudes towards code-switching 21.4% of teachers felt learners had negative attitudes towards code switching. Their views were captured in Mrs Chanetsa and Mrs Whata of Njanja primary school's comments. Mrs Chanetsa was of the view that her learners would think:

The teacher doesn't know English or she doesn't understand. Why is she changing from English to Shona?

Similarly, her colleague, Mrs Whata, thought:

It would be an unfortunate thing because of the way children will interpret it if you continue to teach in Shona. That's when they will even fail to construct proper sentences. Because the way you explain in Shona and the way you explain in English are two different things

Teachers' perceptions of learners' attitudes towards code-switching outlined here were compared to learners' own views about code-switching strategies employed by teachers and findings about their attitudes towards the practice are presented in the following section.

5.5.3 Learners' attitudes towards code-switching

To get an overview of the influence of learners' attitudes towards English on language use in primary classes in Zimbabwe learners were asked to indicate the language they preferred to use in various situations in and out of class. Table 12 summarises learners' language preferences which are taken to represent their attitudes towards code-switching.

Table 12: learners' attitudes towards code-switching

Language situation	Preferred Language			
	English	Shona	Shona and English	English and Ndebele
Answering teacher's questions	(66.7%) 24	(19.4%) 7	(13.9%) 5	0
Talking to other learners in class	(50%) 18	(5.6%) 2	(44.4%) 16	0
Teacher explaining concepts	(30.6%) 11	(33.3%) 12	(36.1%) 13	0

Table 12 shows that in response to the question that required them to indicate the language they preferred to use when answering questions asked by the teacher, 66.7% of the learners indicated they preferred to use English compared to 13.9% who preferred to code-switch between Shona and English. In a separate question about the language they used to speak to other learners in class 50% of the learners indicated they talked to other learners in class in English compared to 44.4% who preferred to code-switch when interacting with other learners

in class. When asked to indicate the language they preferred the teacher to use when explaining concepts 36.1% indicated their preference for code-switching while 33.3% preferred Shona only and 30.6% preferred English only. These figures show that more learners preferred teachers to code-switch when explaining concepts but when it came to talking to the teacher or other learners in class more learners preferred not to code-switch.

5.5.4: Perceptions of parents' attitudes towards code-switching

Table 13 summarises teachers' perceptions of parents' attitudes towards teachers' code-switching.

Table 13 : Teachers' perceptions of parents' attitudes towards code-switching (N=14)

Parents with perceived positive attitudes	Parents with perceived negative attitudes	Parents with ambivalent attitudes	No response
7 (50%)	5 (35.7%)	1 (7.1%)	1 (7.1%)

Seven teachers (50%) indicated parents have positive attitudes towards code-switching. These teachers' views were captured in comments made by teachers at Njanja primary school. Ms Hove observed that: "*parents' main aim is to have the child really grasping concepts so I don't think they will really mind*". Ms Hove's views were supported by her colleague, (Ms Whata), who commented that: "*most parents will be delighted that their children are being taught in Shona. They think it will make their children's life easier by using Shona rather than English*"

While seven (50%) of the fourteen teachers thought parents had positive attitudes towards code-switching, five (35.7%) were of the view that parents would not appreciate teachers' use of code-switching. Comments made by teachers at Rusvingo primary school represented this group of teachers' perceptions. Ms Gumede pointed out that "*some parents have a negative attitude towards the mother tongue*" while her colleague, Ms Mguni also pointed to parents' negative attitudes and explained that parents would expect their children to be taught in English because "*they feel if you are teaching in English then the standard of education at the school is very high*".

Findings in this section show that the majority of teachers were of the view that parents supported code-switching in primary classes. However the extent to which teachers can use the strategy depends on the attitudes of those charged with the responsibility of enforcing the country's language-in-education policy. In Zimbabwe the guardians of language policy implementation are Education Officers. Teachers' perceptions of Education Officers' attitudes towards code-switching are presented in the next section.

5.5.5 Perceptions of Education Officers' attitudes towards code-switching

Table 14 summarises teachers' perceptions of Education Officers' attitudes towards code-switching.

Table 14: Teachers' perceptions of Education Officers' attitudes towards code-switching (N=14)

School	EO perceived positive attitudes towards code-switching	EO perceived negative attitudes towards code-switching
Chemhanza	1	2
Dimbwa	1	1
Jemedza	3	0
Njanja	0	3
Rusvingo	3	0
Total	8 (57.1%)	6 (42.9%)

Table 14 shows that eight teachers (57.1%) thought Education Officers had positive attitudes towards code-switching while six (42.9%) thought Education Officers had negative attitudes towards code-switching.

Further analysis of teachers' responses in Table 14 reveals interesting patterns. Jemedza and Rusvingo primary schools are surrounded by communities that use both Shona and English within homes as reported in section 5.2.1 while Njanja and Chemhanza schools are surrounded by communities that speak Shona and Ndebele at home. Teachers in schools surrounded by communities that speak both English and Shona at home reported that Education Officers would have positive attitudes towards code-switching while teachers in schools surrounded by communities that use Shona and Ndebele for communication at home reported that Education Officers would have negative attitudes towards code-switching. How can these differences in

teachers' perceptions be explained? Findings on teachers' preferred language for communication in primary classrooms in section 5.2.7 showed that teachers at Chemhanza primary school actively discouraged use of Shona in their classrooms and enforced an English only policy. It is possible that their perception that Education Officers' would have negative attitudes towards code-switching could have been coloured by their own attitudes towards code-switching as reflected in their enforcement of English only policies in their classrooms. While Chemhanza primary school teachers' attitudes can be explained in this way the same cannot be said of Njanja primary School teachers. Teachers at Njanja primary school allowed learners in their classes to code-switch arguing that use of English as language of instruction was an imposition from Zimbabwe's colonial past. If this is the case how can their perceptions that Education Officers would have negative attitudes towards code-switching be explained? It could be argued that they perceived Education Officers as enforcers of language-in-education policies that allowed use of a colonial language (English) and therefore expected them to have negative attitudes towards use of the mother tongue in classrooms. Rusvingo primary school teachers' perceptions of Education Officers' attitudes towards code-switching were unexpected given that they reported that parents in the surrounding community would have negative attitudes towards code-switching because some of them used English in their homes.

5.5.5.1 Education officers' negative attitudes towards code-switching

Teachers who thought Education Officers had negative attitudes towards code-switching cited language policy as influencing Education Officers' views. Ms Mguni of Rusvingo primary school pointed out that EOs *"don't encourage that because they want us to use the language*

suitable for the subject. Her reference to language suitable for the subject is taken to mean the official language of instruction which in Zimbabwe's case is English. another teacher, Mrs Chanetsa of Njanja primary school, however made specific reference to language policy when she pointed out that Education Officers would not be pleased to see her use code-switching as a pedagogical strategy because *"they follow policy".*

The teachers who thought Education Officers had negative attitudes towards code-switching, however, indicated they would still use code-switching in their classes. For example, Mrs Chebundo of Chemhanza primary school defended her use of code-switching by pointing out that:

The reaction might be bad because they expect us to teach in English. But as a teacher I have to be resourceful to see things that assist pupils to understand things better.

Her views were echoed by Ms Hove of Njanja primary school who explained her position thus:

*I think it will be a crime [*use of code-switching] *but then in my class I decide to explain in the vernacular language. In the end if you see that children do not understand explanations in English then explain in the way they understand so that you get what you want.*

These two teachers' responses show that despite Education Officers' negative attitudes towards code-switching, teachers continued to use the strategy on the grounds that the practice

enhanced learners' mastery of concepts. Teachers' continued use of code-switching despite opposition from Education Officers would indicate that their negative attitudes towards code-switching do not influence language use in primary classes.

5.5.5.2 Education Officers' positive attitudes towards code-switching

Teachers who thought Education officers had positive attitudes towards code-switching attributed the positive attitudes to change in language policy. For example, Mrs Nedziwa of Rusvingo primary school observed:

Ah no, they don't mind. You can code-switch because it's not like long ago when they used to say you must teach in English whether children are understanding or not understanding.

Mrs Nedziwa's colleagues, Ms Mguni and Ms Xaba shared her views and pointed out that in fact Education Officers were encouraging teachers to code-switch in order to help learners understand concepts being taught.

While the three teachers at Rusvingo primary school reported encouragement from Education Officers other teachers were of the view that education Officers had no option but to accept that code-switching was wide spread in primary classes. These teachers views were captured in Mrs Nhamo of Chemhanza primary school's comment that:

I think they will like it. They have to because at times there will be no option.

Her views were echoed by Mrs Nhemachena of Jemedza primary school who also noted that:

I think they will have positive attitudes because they will see that the kids do not understand.
What option do I have? That's the option I have to use Shona to make them understand.

Overall the findings in this section show that teachers used code-switching because they thought various stakeholders had positive attitudes towards the practice. But what did the teachers actually do when in class? To get an answer to this question teachers were asked whether there were specific occasions on which they code-switched during teaching. Teachers' responses to this question were taken to represent their actual code-switching practices in classes.

5.5.6 Teachers' code-switching practices

Teachers indicated that they code-switched when teaching. They argued that they used code-switching in order to help learners grasp concepts during teaching. For example, Mrs Chebundo of Chemhanza primary school explained that she code-switched in response to requests for clarification from learners:

Some of the pupils after the delivery of the lesson will pose a question. "I didn't understand this one". You try to explain in English and you see that this kid does not understand that's where you can use the Shona.

Mrs Chebundo's strategy was also used by her colleague, Mrs Jena who pointed out that she used code-switching *"especially when the children have failed to grasp the concept"*. These two teachers spoke of code-switching in general terms but Mrs Chemhuru of Jemedza primary school was more specific when she indicated that she used code-switching mainly during content subjects teaching. She observed that:

Yes especially these content subjects ES, RME then Maths. You find that you have explained a concept but children look confused because they have not understood the concept so I have to switch to Shona. Aiwa ndirikureva izvi. Ukatora izvi zviri zvitatu ukatora izvi four ukazviwedzera zvinenge zvavazingaani pamwechete? (That is not what I mean. What I mean is, if you add four to three what is the answer?)

Although some teachers indicated during interviews that they used code-switching in order to facilitate mastery of concepts, they did not code-switch during lessons observed. Even though Mrs Chebundo and Mrs Jena had indicated during interviews that they code-switched to assist learners, they did not code-switch during lessons they were observed teaching. They spoke to learners in English only and insisted that learners talk and answer in English. Using English and insisting on learners using English only was in line with what these teachers had said during discussion of teachers' preferred language for communication in classrooms in section 5.2.7. These two teachers had described strategies they used to compel learners to use English only during lessons. The two teachers' positions on code-switching point to a discrepancy between what teachers say and what they actually do when in classrooms. However the discrepancy between what teachers said and what they actually did was not pervasive because

some teachers who defended code-switching used the strategy during actual teaching. For example, Mr Mashava and Mrs Moyo of Dimbwa primary school did code-switch to assist learners grasp concepts. Mr Mashava was observed teaching mathematics and used code-switching to explain the concept "area of a rectangle". He also gave feedback to learners in Shona. Similarly, Mrs Moyo was observed teaching Environmental Science and code-switched extensively during the lesson on pests.

5.5.7 Discussion of attitudes towards code-switching

Literature review for this study has shown lack of consensus on the need to use code-switching as a pedagogical tool. Some researchers argue that in contexts where learners' limited command of the language of instruction constrains communication in the classroom code-switching is a valuable tool that teachers and learners can use to facilitate communication (Martin-Jones, 1995; Cummins, 2007). However, other studies (Cincotta-Segi, 2011, Thomson and Stakhnevich, 2010) have shown that there is no consensus on the efficacy of using code-switching as a pedagogical tool. The lack of consensus reported in the literature is evident in positions adopted by teachers in this study with 35.7% supporting code-switching against 64.3% who expressed opposition to utilising the strategy.

Findings on teachers' attitudes indicate that a minority of teachers had positive attitudes towards using code-switching as a pedagogical strategy. These teachers argued that code-switching helped learners grasp concepts they would have struggled to understand if explained in English only. The code-switching strategy therefore takes the form of translating from the

learners' mother tongue to English as the language of instruction and is "based on linking new knowledge to what is already familiar to them" (Pinnock, 2009:8). Nation (2003:3) argues that translation is the most effective strategy for teaching learners with limited competence in the target language because L1 "translations are usually clear, short and familiar, qualities which are very important in effective definitions".

Findings on teachers' attitudes towards code-switching show that they do not just code-switch at random but do so deliberately in order to assist learners grasp concepts. Teachers perceive code-switching as helping them to create an environment in which learners learn fruitfully by linking new knowledge to what is already familiar to them in their mother tongue. Not code-switching would result in learners not having access to primary schooling in a familiar language "leading to the exclusion of large numbers of children from education, particularly in developing countries" (Pinnock 2009:8). However an analysis of language used by some teachers to talk about code-switching reveals that they seem to resent using Shona. For example, Mrs Jena of Chemhanza primary school's use of the word *forced* when she says "*At times you end up forced to use Shona to express yourself so that they can understand what you are trying to explain,* seems to suggest that she resents using Shona to help learners understand. The language she uses also frames learners using a deficit model that implies that there is something wrong with learners' inability to use English. However it is important to point out that those teachers who supported use of code-switching as a pedagogical tool are the same teachers who had indicated that they allowed learners in their classes to use both English and Shona to communicate. On the basis of this correlation it can be argued that teachers who allowed learners to use two languages to communicate in their classes were

likely to do the same themselves since they had positive attitudes towards code-switching. On the other hand teachers who did not allow learners to code-switch in their classes were unlikely to do so themselves hence the use of English only observed in their lessons. Therefore teachers' positive or negative attitudes towards code-switching influence the way teachers and learners use language in primary classes.

While analysis of teachers' attitudes towards code-switching indicate that teachers' attitudes influence language use in classrooms the same cannot be said of Education Officers' attitudes towards code-switching because the findings in this section show that teachers would code-switch in class in spite of Education Officers' negative attitudes towards the practice. Teachers' perceptions of Education Officers' attitudes towards code-switching and their reactions to them mirror situations reported in the literature and corroborate Ferguson's (2003:38) observation that "code-switching in the classroom across a range of curricular subjects is a widespread phenomenon in multilingual, language contact settings in Africa and, indeed, world-wide; yet it is not infrequently regarded unfavourably by educational policy makers".

Two things stand out in teachers' accounts of their responses to Education Officers' attitudes towards code-switching. Teachers who code-switch regard the strategy as a resource and believe code-switching enhances understanding. Their reasons for using code-switching as teaching tools are in line with Mart's argument that code-switching is not only desirable but unavoidable (see section 2.5.3). Ferguson (2009) argues that teachers' perceptions of code-switching reflect their central task in facilitating learners' access to curricular knowledge in

classroom environments that feel comfortable, familiar and safe. On the other hand negative attitudes towards code-switching cited by other teachers in this study have been flagged in the literature. Wei and Martins (2009:117) argue that "whereas codeswitching in community contexts is regarded as acceptable bilingual talk, in many classroom contexts codeswitching is deemed inappropriate or unacceptable, and as a deficit or dysfunctional mode of interaction". Martin (2005) reports that teachers who switch to the mother tongue in the classroom have been accused of being 'guilty of sabotaging the (language) policy' in the Malaysian context while Probyn's (2009) use of the expression 'smuggling the vernacular into the classroom' suggests code-switching as a pedagogical strategy is frowned upon. Given these negative attitudes towards code-switching prevalent in the literature it was surprising that eight of the fourteen teachers interviewed for this study thought Education Officers would have positive attitudes towards use of code -switching as a teaching strategy.

Teachers' perceptions of parents' attitudes towards code-switching show that the majority of parents had positive attitudes towards code-switching but 35.7% of teachers indicated parents had negative attitudes towards the practice. Brock-Utne (2012:481) argues that such parents' attitudes are unfortunate and are based on the erroneous supposition that "teaching subjects through English is best". Alidou et al (2006:42) attribute parents' negative attitudes towards code-switching to colonial experiences that have "created deep-rooted negative prejudice in the minds of many Africans towards their own indigenous languages". Brock-Utne further points out that such attitudes enshrined in monolingual views of education have caused some sub-Saharan countries like Zanzibar to reintroduce English as the language of instruction from grade five onwards in primary classes. Parents' negative attitudes towards code-switching are

likely to have a bearing on patterns of language use in primary classes given that 78.6% of teachers indicated in section 5.2.4 that they take into account parents' views when choosing the language of instruction.

Findings on learners' attitudes towards code-switching present a complex picture in that while more learners preferred not to code-switch when talking to the teacher or other learners more learners preferred teachers to code-switch when explaining concepts. Learners' preference for teachers to code-switch when explaining concepts could be a pointer to difficulties learners have in understanding English. Therefore they would like to benefit from the use of both Shona and English. Learners' responses confirm Uys and Dulm's (2011) argument that code-switching helps in explaining and clarifying subject content as well as assisting learners in understanding and interpreting material (see section 2.5.2). Learners' preference not to code-switch on the other hand can be explained by referring to findings in section 5.2.7 which showed that some teachers enforced English only policies in their classes. Learners' awareness of school language policies (section5.4.3) that required them to use English only while at school could also account for learners' negative attitudes towards code-switching when talking to the teacher or other learners in class.

5.5 Summary of findings

This chapter has analysed data from this study in order to illustrate the influence of teachers' and learners' attitudes towards English on language use in Zimbabwean primary classes. This section briefly summarises findings for this study and the summary is structured following the theme areas used during data analysis.

Perceptions of home and school language practices

Findings show that there are differences between home and school language practices because at home learners use Shona/Ndebele while at school policy dictates that teachers and learners use English only for teaching and learning. Teachers' and learners' use of a different language at home than they do at school leads to communication problems because learners do not have sufficient mastery of English to use it as the language for learning.

Influence of parents' language for learning preferences on language use in classrooms

Findings show that knowledge of parents' attitudes towards English influences teachers' and learners' use of language in classrooms because teachers in this study indicated that they took into account parents' views when deciding on the language of instruction. Similarly learners showed an awareness of and support for their parents' preference or English as medium of instruction.

Attitudes towards language-in-education policies at national and school levels

Findings show that teachers and learners were aware of and supported language-in-education policies that dictate use of English as medium of instruction from grade 4 onwards. However teachers and learners failed to adhere to the demands of the language policies because of learners' insufficient mastery of English.

Influence of testing practices on language attitudes and language use.

Teachers and learners were not in favour of using Shona as medium of instruction because examinations are set and written in English only and assessment of teachers' effectiveness as professional is based on how well learners perform in tests and examinations set in English only.

Attitudes towards code-switching

Teachers in this study had different attitudes towards utilising code-switching strategies in primary classrooms with some teachers favouring use of code-switching while others adopted strategies meant to actively discourage code-switching in classrooms. Teachers expressed the view that other stakeholders such as parents and Education Officers had positive attitudes towards code-switching although in practice code-switching was frowned upon. In practice all teachers code-switched in order to increase learners' comprehension of lesson content.

6. Conclusions, Recommendations and Contributions of the Study

My aims in this chapter are to:

- outline the conclusions reached from the findings of this study,

- consider the limitations of the study and scope for further research,

- indicate the personal, local and global pedagogical implications of this study,

- suggest a language-in-education policy model that would allow for the complementary use of English and indigenous languages when teaching at primary school level in order to maximise learning opportunities for learners with limited competence in English, and

- identify this study's contributions to theory and practice.

6.1 Conclusions

This study has shown how an interpretive approach utilising a postcolonial sociocultural perspective can be used to investigate the influence of teachers' and learners' attitudes towards English on language use in primary classes in Zimbabwe. The study examined attitudes towards English of fourteen teachers and thirty six learners in the Harare Region in Zimbabwe. The influence of teachers' and learners attitudes towards English on language use in primary classrooms has been analysed using a thematic approach. Using a thematic

approach has helped to unravel some of the complexities around language use that arise in postcolonial contexts like Zimbabwe.

This study's findings show that teachers and learners favour English only language-in-education policies, despite communication problems they encounter that inhibit productive learning. However there is much variation in how teachers and learners actually use English during lessons. Some teachers allow learners to use Shona and English, while other teachers go to extremes to prevent learners from using Shona in their classes. Although teachers and learners in this study say that they favour English only policies, they typically code-switch during lessons, seemingly to smooth over communication difficulties. Teachers' and learners' code-switching practices observed in this study are not limited to Zimbabwe but reflect what has been found to happen in other bilingual contexts (e.g. Ferguson, 2003; Tien, 2009; Probyn, 2009).Recognising this, Creese and Blackledge (2010) assert that using two languages side by side should be the norm in bilingual or multilingual contexts. Lin and Martin (2005) also recognise the pedagogic potential behind code-switching in bilingual contexts.

This study has questioned teachers' enforcement of English only policies when learners prefer difficult concepts being explained in Shona. The futility of enforcing the English only policies adopted by schools has been evidenced by the fact that although teachers and learners preferred English as medium of instruction there was minimal adherence to the practice across schools that participated in this study. The non-adherence to language-in-education policies observed in this study points to a disjuncture between language policy and reality in primary

classrooms and points to the need to re-examine Zimbabwe's language policy framework, as suggested below in section 6.4.1.

6.2 Contributions of the Study

In this last section I point out this study's contributions to theory, methodology and practice.

6.2.1 Contributions to theory

The interpretive approach and sociocultural theory have been used in qualitative studies to investigate issues that require participants to voice their own perceptions of what goes on in contexts being researched. This study contributes to theory by showing how language attitudes can successfully be investigated through a postcolonial sociocultural lens. While sociocultural theory has often been used as a frame of reference in the investigation of language, the conjoining of postcolonialism and sociocultural theory moves theory forward in the sense that while sociocultural theory brings to the fore social dynamics at play in the context being studied it does not adequately highlight the historical, political, cultural and linguistic consequences of the encounter between colonizing and colonised people. Conjoining postcolonial theory and sociocultural theory therefore provides a more holistic picture of the postcolonial context being studied. There are elements of the research context that are important to language attitudes research that become salient when applying this theoretical approach. For example, in the context of language studies, postcolonialism rejects essentialism for privileging colonial languages over indigenous languages. It rejects the view that

indigenous languages lack the linguistic complexity needed for them to function in higher domains such as education

The findings of this study have shown that there is lack of agreement among teachers about the role of Shona in teaching and learning. Also teachers who disapprove of using Shona in classes were seen to use code-switching strategies themselves. Using a postcolonial sociocultural theory framework makes it possible to explain the apparent contradictions in the teachers' behaviour using the notion of ambivalence. Ambivalence is the juxtaposition of contradictory attitudes towards the same language (Manathunga, 2006). Findings in this study show that some teachers do not want to use English because of their own or their students' lack of competence, but they feel that they have to use it because it is the language of examinations. Also some teachers aspire to implement English only policies but acknowledge that they have to code switch because learners have limited competence in the language. The contradictions highlighted by these findings are better explained using a postcolonial lens, as the complex notion of ambivalence would not have been highlighted through use of sociocultural theory alone.

Using the postcolonial sociocultural lens has shown that it is limiting to investigate the role of one language in education in bilingual or multicultural contexts. Instead this study has shown that it is more useful to interrogate how two or more languages can be used effectively in delivering education to primary school learners. Therefore using postcolonial sociocultural theory has moved theory forward by providing additional theoretical concepts that help to illuminate the dynamics of the context being studied.

6.2.2 Contributions to Methodology

Ethical considerations are an integral part of methodology in research. Usefulness of research questions and findings for participants and the community in general needs to be treated as an ethical issue. This study has expanded consideration of ethics beyond concerns about the welfare of research participants to include concern about the worthiness of issues being researched and the findings arising from the research endeavour. The rigour involved in researching phenomena has traditionally been considered a critical aspect when judging the worthiness of research. Expanding the ambit of ethics to include worthiness of research questions leads to a critical examination of research questions and ultimately methods used to investigate those research questions.

This study utilised interviews to collect data from teachers and learners. It has been argued that traditionally learners have been looked at as the researched and not as contributors to the research process. Learners' concerns have traditionally been voiced by teachers. The practice of denying learners a voice resembles the way colonial language policies denied indigenous people voice when it came to decisions about language-in-education policies. This situation has changed in postcolonial times and giving voice to learners reflects the desire to empower children in postcolonial contexts. This study has shown that learners can become active participants in exploring issues that affect them. Interviewing learners in groups enables them

to articulate their views freely free from intimidation that normally arises because of a researcher's psychological size which prevents learners from articulating their views. Using group interviews makes learners relax and this makes them contribute more in a discussion.

6.2.3 Contributions to practice

This study's findings support the wide held view that using the mother tongue particularly at primary school level helps learners to comprehend concepts. Learners in this study indicated that they preferred teachers to use the mother tongue to explain difficult concepts. This finding contributes to practice in the sense that teachers can begin to actively use the mother tongue as a resource when teaching rather than viewing it as a hindrance to success. The finding that learners prefer explanations of concepts done in Shona/Ndebele contributes to the growing body of evidence showing that language-in-education policies that privilege ex-colonial languages over indigenous languages lead to ineffective teaching responsible for poor quality education received by most learners in postcolonial contexts like Zimbabwe. Evidence from this study contributes to a body of evidence that Zimbabwe needs to reassess its language-in-education policies if it is to meet the post-2015 agenda that emphasises the role of language in delivering 'quality' education.

6.3 Limitations of the Study and Scope for Further Research

6.3.1 Scope for generalisation

There are strengths and limitations in utilising an interpretive approach to investigate language attitudes in a postcolonial context like Zimbabwe. The major strength of this study is that through interviews it has given opportunities to teachers and learners, affected by language-in-education policies, to articulate their perceptions on various themes related to the influence of attitudes towards English on language use in Zimbabwean primary classrooms. The study discussed in this thesis took place in five schools in Zimbabwe; therefore it is uncertain how many of the findings can be generalized to all schools in Zimbabwe and beyond. Also a limited number of teachers and learners participated in the study. More schools, teachers and learners could be studied so that the findings could be more representative of what happens among speakers of different language backgrounds. Research to compare the influence of teachers and learners' attitudes towards English on language use in primary classrooms among rural and urban schools would also give a fuller picture of classroom language practices in Zimbabwe.

The data presented in this study does not include teachers' and learners' attitudes to language in textbooks, nor does it include data about the influence of language-in-education polices on language included in textbooks. A more specific study focusing on teachers' and learners' attitudes towards language contained in textbooks and the impact of language policies on

language contained in textbooks would also lead to a clearer picture about language use in Zimbabwean primary schools.

6.3.2 Data collection instruments

The other limitation relates to the weight given to lesson observation in this study. Limited attention was given to analysis of data gathered through observation. There is scope for further study that gives prominence to more detailed observation so that a clearer comparison could be made between what teachers and learners say in interviews and what they actually do in classrooms. Furthermore a study that includes parents as participants would give a more holistic picture of how attitudes towards English in Zimbabwe influence primary school teachers' and learners' language use in classrooms.

6.3.3 Learners' spoken Shona

This study used observation as a way of checking whether what teachers and learners said fitted with what they did in classrooms. Teachers and learners in this study indicated that it was difficult to use Shona as medium of instruction. Among the reasons given was the fact that the Shona spoken by learners was different from the Shona used to deliver the curriculum in schools. Both teachers and learners observed that the kind of Shona spoken by learners outside school and in homes is different from the Shona used for teaching and learning purposes in schools. This finding seems to suggest that use of Shona among learners is becoming restricted and another language is taking on the functions customarily assigned to

Shona. However no observations of learners' use of Shona outside school were done in order to make checks similar to those done in class. This is an area that needs further research because the kind of Shona spoken by learners has implications for extending the domains in which Shona functions. It could also point to the beginnings of language shift. There is need for further research to identify factors causing changes in the kind of Shona spoken by learners and how the Shona language use practices outside school and those in the school environment can be harmonised so that language practices outside school reinforce those in schools.

6.4 Implications for Practice

This section outlines the implications of this study from personal, local, national language-in-education policy and pedagogical perspectives.

6.4.1 Implications for Personal Practice

Completion of this thesis and the study underpinning it has been a rewarding journey for me from the initial exploration of the influence of teachers' and learners' attitudes towards English on language use in primary classes in Zimbabwe through exploring teachers' and learners' attitudes towards language contained in textbooks that was not finally included in the thesis. The main implications for my own personal practice are presented in this section.

The main implication for my own professional practice is that choice of language of instruction in a multilingual context needs to take into account learners' mother tongue so that

it can be used in a complementary relationship with the language put forward in language policy. This has shown me that it is imperative to understand the language background of learners. Teachers should be encouraged to carry out a language needs analysis for learners in order to ascertain their level of competence in the language used as medium of instruction before deciding on the language to use for communication in the classroom. In addition, there is need to develop a set of pedagogical strategies for teachers across the country that allow English and indigenous languages to complement each other during teaching and learning. Using Shona and English in a complementary relationship provides learners with opportunities to become competent in both languages. For this to happen there is need to design spoken and written language activities that give learners opportunities not only to access the curriculum effectively but also to increase their competence in using both languages for learning.

The invaluable information obtained through interviewing teachers and learners has given me insights into the importance of dialogue about language of instruction issues. It is therefore important to initiate and sustain dialogue at school level so that as teachers we create opportunities for tapping into each other's views about how the language policy framework we work in impinges on the classroom language choices we make as well as the pedagogical strategies we might use to maximise use of indigenous languages in a complementary relationship with English. Professional team meetings at school level offer opportunities for joint examination of the ways in which teachers' professional practice interacts with and impacts on language of instruction choices teachers have to make.

Interviewing learners for this study yielded important information that highlighted the fact that learners are not just consumers of the choices teachers make. There is need to give voice to learners so that instructional decisions made take on board the views and concerns raised by learners. Arranging discussions sessions that give learners opportunities to air their views might yield important information that teachers and schools can use for formulating school language polices as well choices on how to use different languages in classrooms in order to facilitate learning.

6.4.2 Implications for practice at school level

This study has shown that while teachers and learners support English only policies adopted by schools, in reality both teachers and learners use codeswitching extensively to smooth over communication difficulties that arise during teaching and learning. The implication of this finding for schools is that while adoption of English only policies might be attractive, there is a need to assess learners' competence in the language in order to ensure that they can access learning through English.

In a context like Zimbabwe it might be prudent to allow English and Shona to be used in a complementary relationship. This would increase students' confidence in using both languages for learning effectively. In order to facilitate teachers' ability to use Shona and English in a complementary relationship investment in professional development training needs to be given priority so that teachers can create classroom language environments conducive for learning.

6.4.3 Implications for practice at national level

The use of Shona and English as media of instruction in a complementary relationship would be the logical way of trying to improve performance levels for learners for whom English is a second language. In contexts like Zimbabwe, where learners have limited competence in the chosen language of instruction, it is imperative to develop language-in-education policies that accommodate use of learners' mother tongue during learning so that they can use both English and an indigenous language (mother tongue) to access the national curriculum. Learners in this study indicated that they preferred teachers to use Shona when explaining difficult concepts. This finding has implications for language-in-education policy formulation in that the legal instruments crafted to spell out language-in-education policies need to be realigned with realities of language use in classrooms. Using Shona and English in a complementary relationship has implications for teacher education practices. Teachers use codeswitching in classrooms in order to smooth over communication problems but lack confidence in using Shona as medium of instruction. Teacher education institutions need to recast their initial teacher education programmes so that teachers develop skills in integrating code-switching into their pedagogical practices.

6.5 Recommendations

6.5.1 The need for a new Language-in-education policy framework

The Zimbabwe Constitution (2013) recognises sixteen languages and requires the state to ensure the languages are treated equally. The Education Act (2006) defines how the languages are to be used in education. However literature reviewed for this study has shown that these two documents do not clearly map out how English relates to indigenous languages in the education sector. Thirty four years after attaining independence, English continues to dominate not only as a language of business, administration, politics and the media, but also as a language of instruction in the whole education system. As a result teachers and learners embrace English only policies in classrooms although in reality they code-switch as a way of overcoming communication difficulties.

This thesis therefore strongly recommends that Zimbabwe adopts a language policy framework that promotes use of indigenous languages as media of instruction in a complementary relationship with English because "human linguistic behaviour is marked by fluidity rather than rigid compartmentalisation" (Agnihotri 2014:364). Zimbabwe needs a language policy framework that puts at the centre learners' use of the mother tongue at all levels of the education system while allowing for the concurrent use of English at national and international levels. Such a policy framework would facilitate easy access to the national

curriculum through the mother tongue while complementary use of English would enable Zimbabweans to still realize international goals of communicating in English. Using indigenous languages and English in a complementary relationship in the education system makes it possible for teachers to make sure that the multilinguality of every child becomes a part of the pedagogical process (Agnihotri 2014). Instead of requiring learners to access education through Shona/Ndebele in the first three grades and then transitioning to English from grade four onwards as dictated by the current Education Act, the language-in-education policy should be reconfigured to allow for the complementary use of English and learners' mother tongues, from the beginning of the primary school cycle. This would allow learners whose mother tongue is not Shona or Ndebele to progress through the education system using their mother tongue and English. Currently learners who do not speak Shona or Ndebele are forced to learn through these languages in Grades 1-3 and then use English from Grade 4. If the policy of allowing learners to use their mother tongue, which may not necessarily be Shona or Ndebele, were implemented, every Zimbabwean who completes basic education would be functionally competent in their mother tongue and English, unlike the current scenario where learners in this study have indicated that they are neither competent in their mother tongue nor in English.

Use of learners' mother tongue in a complementary relationship with English would require investment in codifying languages as well as in production of learning resources in those languages. Senegal's successful codification of two languages a year since 20001(Diallo, 2011) and Zambia's success in publishing primers for primary schools in different languages since 2012 (Brock-Utne and Mercer, 2013) are examples that Zimbabwe can learn from.

CASAS in Cape Town South Africa and the ALLEX Project at the University of Zimbabwe would be tapped into for expertise and technical support. These projects are mentioned here because of their documented interest in assisting in the development of indigenous languages and materials in Southern Africa.

Reconfiguring the relationship between English and indigenous languages in education would also necessitate a change in assessment practices. In this study one of the reasons cited by teachers and learners for preferring using English as medium of instruction is the fact that assessment for all learning is done through the medium of English. Allowing complementary use of English and indigenous languages would lead to changes in assessment because assessment would be done through languages used as media of instruction. Bilingual tests would give learners opportunities to respond to test items in a language they are most competent in.

6.5.2 Rethinking the language planning model

Teachers and learners in this study have shown an awareness and acceptance of a language-in-education policy that dictates use of English as medium of instruction from grade four onwards. However the study has also shown that teachers and learners code-switch in order to facilitate communication in classrooms. These findings show that policy and reality do not match. Differences between what teachers and learners prefer and what they do in practice in classrooms can be attributed to the lack of harmony between status planning (allocation of

languages to different societal domains, such as the official sphere, education, business, media) and corpus planning (codification of language(s) that includes production of learning materials that help a language to fulfil functions assigned to it).

Zimbabwe's current language planning model has features of both endo-glossic and exo-glossic language planning models. It has been argued in this study that adoption of the current language planning model points to Zimbabwe's inability to harmonise the competing demands of vernacularisation on the one hand and internationalism on the other. In order to harmonise these competing demands this thesis recommends the adoption of a language planning model that presupposes the identification of language needs for learners and the training requirements for teachers to meet learners' language needs.

Like in "economic planning" Zimbabwe needs a language planning model that begins with the specification of clear goals and the means to attain those goals. Identification of clear goals and means leads to the prediction of unambiguous outcomes. Such a language planning model would have two clear complementary elements:

- Policy formulation
- Policy implementation.

Each of these elements consists of a number of ordered processes:

Policy Formulation

• Sociolinguistic fact finding input (an inclusive process that should involve all stakeholders in education)

• Policy decisions (fed and informed by feedback from the consultative process)

• Predicting outcome of implementation (teacher involvement is crucial and modes of assessment need to be well thought out)

• Cost-benefit analysis of planning (care needs to be taken that political considerations do not override educational considerations)

Policy Implementation

• Codification

• Elaboration

• Reforms

• Dissemination

• Evaluation

The model suggested here only acts as a guide for policy makers and needs to be expanded to make sure that each phase of policy formulation and policy implementation is spelt out unambiguously. When policy has been formulated it needs to be communicated to all users. One of the drawbacks in implementing policy pointed out by teachers in this study is the non-availability of policy documents for reference. Language-in-education policy documents need to be made accessible to all teachers in order to increase up take and adherence to language policy.

6.6 Concluding remarks

Criticisms have been levelled against initiatives aimed at realizing Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Education for All (EFA) in Africa. The main criticism has been the insufficient attention paid to the role of language in the realization of the MDGs and EFA. Bamgbose (2014:651) points out that "a critical look at all the MDGs shows that all of them require an indigenous language as a necessary tool". This study has shown that there is need to pay serious attention to the role of indigenous languages in the education of learners. Findings that show that learners prefer to have concepts explained in their mother tongue and that both teachers and learners use code-switching to navigate teaching and learning interactions question the widespread practice of continuing to educate learners in a language they don't completely understand. The study has shown that there is wisdom in upgrading the educational role of indigenous languages (Shona/Ndebele) alongside English. Other areas highlighted as needing attention include the role and nature of assessment practices, the textbooks available to learners and government's efforts to explaining the advantages of using indigenous languages alongside English.

Assessment practices in Zimbabwe need to be realigned so that the language of instruction is the same as the language of assessment. There is merit in Rea-Dickins et al's call for using bilingual tests to give learners opportunity to express themselves in the language they are most competent in. A reassessment of assessment practices needs to be accompanied by a re-

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examination of the resources teachers use. The kind of language used in textbooks and who should write those textbooks are important issues to be resolved.

It is disconcerting to note that thirty-four years after attainment of independence in Zimbabwe, parents still look to English as a panacea for their children' economic advancement. The finding that parents prefer their children be taught in English points to insufficient efforts being made to explain the advantages of using indigenous languages as medium of instruction. Policy makers need to step up efforts to communicate to parents and other stakeholders the importance of using indigenous languages as medium of instruction alongside English. If Zimbabwe is to witness an improvement in the quality of education that learners receive, it has to resolve contradictions between language-in-education policies and language use practices at classroom level. Research evidence suggests (Garcia 2008, Garcia and Sylvan 2011) that complementary use of languages (translanguaging) has beneficial effects in terms of the quality of education learners receive.

I started this research journey because I was concerned by the poor performance levels among primary school learners in the Zimbabwean schools I worked in. This study has shown that translanguaging holds the key to improving not only access to education in postcolonial contexts like Zimbabwe but also to improving the quality of education learners receive. Africa, Zimbabwe included, has the majority of primary school children being educated in a language that is not their mother tongue (Graham, 2010; Hameso, 1997; Kamwangamalu, 2009; Rassool and Edwards, 2010). This practice has a detrimental impact on student learning and engagement, and contributes strongly to the high dropout rates recorded in Sub-Saharan

Africa. Access to quality education is further complicated by language-in-education polices bedevilled by competing and often contradictory demands. It is hindered by complex colonial legacies and far-fetched ideologies of language and development. Learners should be given real opportunities to learn and access knowledge through feasible policies that allow for complementary use of English and Shona/Ndebele in Zimbabwean classrooms. I hope the findings of this study will initiate a more focused debate on medium of instruction in primary schools so that learners are able to access instruction through languages that they are competent in and have ownership of, and that this, in turn, will support the country in achieving sustainable development.

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Appendices

Appendix A1: Ethics protocol for the project:

"Exploring the influence of Zimbabwean teachers' and learners' attitudes towards English on language use in primary classrooms".

This study seeks to analyse the link between teachers' and learners' attitudes towards English as the language for teaching and learning, language use and classroom pedagogy in Zimbabwean primary schools. The study is considered important as it attempts to give voice to both teachers and learners by having them articulate how language-in-education policies at the macro level influence their attitudes towards the language of instruction and how these attitudes in turn influence language use at classroom level.

Aims

This study seeks to analyse:

- the nature of the relationship between Zimbabwe's language-in-education policy and language practices in schools?

- teachers' and learners' attitudes towards English as the language for teaching and learning at primary school level?

- analyse the impact of teachers' and learners' attitudes towards English on patterns of language use in classrooms.

What it will entail

- Observations of teaching and learning in participating schools in Harare Region in Zimbabwe

- Interviews with pupils and teachers of observed classes. Interviews take place soon after the lesson observations.

Qualitative data about the teachers' and pupils' attitudes towards English as medium of instruction will be collected using structured observation and semi-structured interviews. Transcriptions for all observations and interviews will be done for purposes of data analysis.

Recorded observations and interviews will be stored on two PCs accessible only to the research student. When the examination process is complete the recordings will be deleted.

Who am I?

I am a teacher following an EdD course of study with the Open University in the United Kingdom.

Where the money is coming from for the project?

I do not have any sponsors for this project. I meet all expenses for the course from my own savings.

Anonymity and Confidentiality

Transcripts of interviews, lesson observations and all other collected data will be kept confidential and only used for research purposes for the duration of the EdD course. Published data will be generic rather than specific. Names of participating schools, teachers and pupils will not be included. Responsibility for the interpretation of data remains with the research student.

Right of withdrawal

All those being observed and/or interviewed have the right to withdraw at any time. During interviews participants have the right to ask for recording to cease or to require that information given should not be used in any way. During observation participants have the right to ask that any observations made about them be deleted or shown to them to verify authenticity of observations made.

Informed consent

Participants will be given a copy of the ethics protocol and any questions about the study will be answered. Where pupils are concerned, permission will be sought through the head teachers acting in *loco parentis*.

Feedback

Copies of the project report will be sent to all participating institutions and the Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture.

Thank you very much for agreeing to take part in this research.

If you wish to discuss this study please contact:

Mark Mukorera on:

Tel 00447827994057

Email: zvenyika2557@yahoo.com

Appendix A2: Research Participant Consent Form

Title of Study: "Exploring the influence of Zimbabwean teachers' and learners' attitudes towards English on language use in classrooms".

Name of participant: ....

Address: ....

....

....

Put a tick if you agree and an x if you do not agree.

1. I agree to participate in this research.

2. This agreement is of my own free will.

3. I have had the opportunity to ask any questions about the study.

4. I realise that I may withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason and without any effect on my education.

5. I have been given full information regarding the aims of the research and have been given information with the Researcher's names and a contact number and address if I require further information.

6. All personal information provided by myself will remain confidential and no information that identifies me will be made publicly available.

Signed: .... Date: ....

(By participant)

Print name: ....

Signed by researcher

Signed: .... Date: ....

Print Name: ....

Appendix B: Interview Schedule for teachers participating in the research project

Exploring the influence of Zimbabwean teachers' and learners' attitudes towards English on language use in primary classrooms

School		School ID	
Teacher		Teacher ID	
Class		Date	
Researcher			

Questions in *italics* are follow-up questions and whether they are asked depends on the answer to the main question.

	Question	Researcher's Comments
	Language Background	
1	Can I begin by finding out whether you speak the same language(s) as the pupils you are teaching? (Do *problems arise if the teacher speaks a different language from the learners he/she teaches? If so, what are the problems?*)	
2	Are there differences between children who speak English at home and those who speak Shona/Ndebele only at home? If so, what are the differences?	
	Attitudes towards Language Policies	
3	Are you familiar with the language-in-education policies contained in the Education Act? (If so, *What are your views about the policies? Do the policies make it easy for you to teach children? What difference would it make if teachers were consulted about policies to include in the*	

	Education Act?)	
4	Are you aware of parents' attitudes towards use of English as medium of instruction? If so, how have you become aware of them? Do you take them into account when you implement a language policy in the classroom?	
5	Is there a language policy in this school? (*What are your views about the school language policy?*)	
6	Do you have your own copy of the English syllabus to work from?	
	Teacher and Pupil Talk	
7	What language(s) do you encourage pupils to use when: • Talking to you in class/outside the classroom • Talking to other pupils during group activities in class • Talking to other pupils outside the classroom (What are your reasons for selecting the language?)	
8	What are your views about using English/Shona to teach learners?	
9	Are there challenges pupils face when you teach in English? (If so, *can you give examples of difficulties you experience when using English or Shona to teach pupils?*)	
	Attitudes to code-switching	
10	Imagine that while teaching a teacher realises that his/her pupils are not grasping a concept. The teacher switches from using English to using Shona to make the concept clear to the pupils. What do you think of this?	

	What would parents think of this?	
	What would students think of this?	
	What would education officers think of this?	
11	Are there occasions when you might change from using English to Shona during the course of the lesson? If so, when?	
12	You ask pupils to use English during group discussions but they continue using Shona/Ndebele. Would you: • Tell them to stop using Shona and use English? • Let them continue using Shona to do the group work • Explain why they should use English to do group work? • Demonstrate to them how they could have used English to do the group work?	
	Impact of Language Testing Practices	
13	What are your views about testing children in English in all subjects of the primary school curriculum? (*In what ways do testing practices influence the language you use to teach grade five children?*)	
14	Does your school provide guidelines on how to assist children who might have difficulties using English to access the primary curriculum? If so, what?	
	Attitudes towards Teaching Resources	
15	Which books do you use to teach English? What are your views about the level of English in these books?	
16	Do you think teaching/learning materials available in your school are relevant to the language needs of your	

		learners?	
17		Do you think teachers should participate in the production of teaching/learning materials?	Sense of ownership influences attitudes
18		Are there any observations you would like to make about what we have been talking about?	

Appendix C: Interview Schedule for pupils participating in the research project

Exploring the influence of Zimbabwean teachers' and learners' attitudes towards English on language use in classrooms

Identifying information

School		School ID	
Name of pupils		Pupil ID	
Class		Date	
Researcher			

	Question	Researcher's Comments
	Language Background	
1	Can I begin by asking you how many languages are spoken in this school? Which language do you speak most of the time?	
2	What language do you use at home with members of your family and what language do you use with your friends outside school?	
3	Does Shona/ Ndebele spoken in your community help you use Shona to do class work?	
4	Do your parents say anything about using English to learn at school? If so, what?	
	Teacher and Pupil Talk	
5	In your class during lessons what language is commonly used by pupils and the teacher? (*What do* you feel about this?)	

6	During lessons which language do you prefer to use when talking to the teacher/your friends? Why?	
7	Do you sometimes have difficulties understanding what the teacher teaches because he/she uses English? (*Can you give examples of some of the difficulties you face?*)	
8	Are there any school rules about the language to be used when you are in school or class? (if so, *Who made the rules? What do you think about the rules?*)	
9	Imagine that you were required to learn everything in Shona/Ndebele from grade one to three. What would you think about that?	
	Attitudes towards code-switching	
10	Do you find things easier when they are explained to you in Shona/Ndebele or in English? (*Can you give any examples?*)	
11	When doing group work in class would you prefer to: • Speak to other learners in English • Speak to other learners in Shona • Use both Shona and English What are some of the reasons for deciding which language to use?	
12	Which language does your teacher ask you to use when doing group work? (*What do you feel about that? What does the teacher do if you do not use the language he/she wants you to use?*)	
13	1. What language do you prefer to use to: • Answer questions asked by the teacher during the lesson? • Talk to other learners when doing class	

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	work? • Talk to the teacher about sport on the playing field? • Greet the teacher when you meet him/her outside the school? • Talk to other learners during break or on the playing field? • Discuss weekend events with classmates when you meet them outside school? • Talk to pupils from other schools when they come for sports? In each case give reasons for your choice.	
	Attitudes towards Resources	
14	What do you think about the English in the books you use? (*Are there any changes would you like to see in the kind of English included in the books you use?*)	
15	Are there things in your English books that you would like to have explained in Shona? If so, what?	
16	Give examples of what you find most/least interesting in the books you use in school.	

Appendix D: Lesson Observation Schedule

Lesson Observation Schedule for investigating:

Exploring the influence of Zimbabwean primary teachers' and learners' attitudes towards English on language use in primary classrooms

School	
Class	
Date	
Teacher name	
Observer name	
Time of lesson start	
Time of lesson finish	

Notes on Context

Observation Notes

Start of lesson

Time	Observed Activity and Talk	Comments

Middle of lesson

Time	Observed Activity and Talk	Comments

11.30		

End of lesson

Time	Observed Activity and Talk	Comments

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Appendix E: Transcripts for Learners' Interviews

Appendix E1: Rusvingo Teacher 1 learners' Interview

1. R: I just wanted to start by asking how many languages are spoken in this school.

2. Pupils: (Chorus) Three

3. R: Ah Yah which ones

4. Pupils (In Chorus) Shona, English, Ndebele

5. R; Ahah. Which one do you speak most of the time yourself (pointing to pupil 1)

6. P1: English

7. R: And you (pointing to pupil 2)

8. P2: English

9. R: And you (pointing to pupil 3)

10. P3: English

11. R: Most of the time?

12. P3: Yes

13. R: And you (pointing to pupil 4)

14. P4: English

15. R: So you all speak English most of the time?

16. Ps: Yes

17. R; Ah

18. But when you are at home

19. What language do you use to talk to your family members?

20. Ps: Shona

21. R: You use Shona

22. And when you are playing with your friends in the street

23. What language do you use?

24. Ps: English

25. R: You all use English when you are playing with your friends?

26. Ps: Yes

27. R: Your parents

28. Do they sometimes talk to you about the language they want you to use to learn in school?

29. Ps 1, 2, 4: Yes

30. P3; No

31. R: They don't talk to you about that

32. There is nothing wrong with that

33. There is nothing wrong with that

34. What do they say?

35. What do your parents say (pointing to pupil 1)

36. P1: They say I must speak in English

37. R: They say you must speak in English

38. What do yours say (pointing to pupil 2)

39. P2: They say if you are at school you must speak in English

40. R; Ahoh

41. What do you think of that?

42. What do you think of that?

43. When they are talking to you at home they talk in Shona

But when you go to school they say

44. Hey you must speak in English

45. What do you think of that?

46. What do you feel about that?

47. P1: I think they are doing the right thing wanting us to speak in English because we need to learn more about English than Shona

48. R: Ohoh

49. We need to learn more English than Shona?

50. Ps: Yes

51. R: Ah

52. During lessons

53. When you are doing lessons

54. Which language do you prefer to use yourself (pointing to pupil1)

55. When talking to the teacher

56. P1&2: English

57. R: You want to use English and you (pointing to pupil 3)

58. P3: English is better

59. R: And when you are talking to your friends in class

60. Which language do you want to use

61. P4: English.

62. R: And which one do you prefer to use (pointing to pupil 2)

63. P2: English

R: Why do you want to use English when talking to the teacher and your friends?

64. P1: Because we communicate more with others

65. R; You communicate more?

66. R: Why do you want to use English when talking to the teacher?

67. P3 (inaudible)

68. R: Sorry

69. P3: I would like to speak English to the teacher in English because I learn more

70. R: Oh you learn more

71. That's a good reason

72. Is there any rule about what language to use when you are in school?

73. Ps; Yes

74. R: What is the rule?

75. Ps: English

76. P1: It says you must speak English in all the other subjects except Shona

77. R: Except Shona

78. And what do you think of that?

79. Who makes these rules?

80. Ps: The headmaster

81. R: The headmaster

82. And what do you think about that rule which says you must speak in English all the time?

83. P1: I think its right because when you go to other countries it can help you to speak to other people of that country

85. R: Yah Any other reason?

86. Ps: (silence)

87. R: Any one with another reason

88. P4: Because you can communicate more with people the lessons you are speaking

89. And if you speak in Shona you can communicate more with people than with English.

90. R: Suppose on Monday when you come back to school

91. We are coming back to school on Monday handiti (isn't it)

92. Ps: Ehe (Yes)

93. R: Suppose when you get here and the headmaster during assembly says "Everybody must learn everything in Shona".

94. What do you think of that?

95. What would be your reaction? The head teacher says "In this school everybody is going to learn using Shona"

96. Ps: uh, uh

97. R: What does uh mean?

98. P2: Some teacher

99. P1; It will be hard

100. P3: Some of us we don not know Shona that well

101. It will be that much difficult

102. R: Ok

103. And you (pointing to pupil)

104. What would you think of that?

105. P4: I think eh....

106. R: You don't mind

107. P4: If you speak Shona it won't be difficult

108. R: It won't be difficult

109. Ah when you are in class do find things easier when they are explained to you in Shona or when they are explained to you in English

110. P2: In Shona

111. R: aha and you

112. P4: In English

R: Ahah and you

113. P1: In English

114. R: and you?

115. P3: Both

116. R: When you are doing group work like you were doing group work in the last lesson

117. I want to find out

118. I am going to give you three choices

119. When doing group work in class would you prefer to:

120. Speak to other learners in English or speak to other learners in Shona or use both Shona and English?

121. Which one would you prefer?

122. P. use both

123. R: use both ahah

124. P1: I would use English

125. P2: Both

126. R: and you

127. P: Both

128. R: And you

129. P: English

130. R: Ok. That's fine Aah

131. Which, when you are doing group work again

132. Which language does your teacher ask you to use

133.. P: English

1134. R: ahah

135. P: English

136. R: What do you think?

137. What do you feel about that?

138. Ps: Silence.

139. R: You said you would like to use both English and Shona but she says English

140. What do you feel about that?

141. Ps; (Silence and pupils shuffle around)

142. R: I won't tell her

143. Ok

144. Ps: Laughter

145. R: So if you are

146. If you have been told to use English and sometimes you are found using Shona

147. What does the teacher do?

148. P3: She just tells you just use English.

149. P1; She give you a warning that you should speak English.

151. 150. R: Ahah

152. Ps: (inaudible)

153. R: ok How many are we?

154. One, two, three, four

155. What I am going to do is that I will ask each one of you a question and you will tell me your answer

156. Ahah what language do you prefer to use to answer questions asked by the teacher during a lesson?

157. P1: I prefer to use English

158. R: you prefer to use English

159. To talk to other learners what language does you prefer to use when doing class work?

160. P2: I would speak both

161. R: you would speak both Ahah

162. o talk to the teacher about sport on the sporting filed

163. P3: I will use English

164. R: You will use English

165. To greet the teacher when you meet her at Avondale shopping centre?

166. P4: I will use English

167. R: Ahah

168. To talk to talk to other learners during break or on the playing field?

169. P1: both

170. R: Sorry

171. P1: I will use both

172. R: You will use both

173. To discuss weekend events with class mates?

174. P2: English

175. R: Aah

176. To talk to your friends when you meet them outside school?

177. P3: I will talk to them in both

178. To talk to pupils from another school when they come here for sports

179. P4: English

180. R: English

181. To talk to the head teacher when you meet her in town

182. P1: I will use English

183. R: To talk to the teacher when you meet her in the supermarket?

184. P2: I would use English

185. R: Why do we talk to our teacher and head teacher in English outside school?

186. P1: I will use both

187. R: You will use both

188. P2: Sometimes we are used to it.

189. R: Oh

190. You are used to it so it just happens

191. Aah. When you are having a general chat with your friends

192. What language do you want them to use when talking to you

193. Ahah (Pointing to Pupil 1)

194. P1: Shona

195. R. And you (Pointing to pupil 2)

196. P: Shona

197. R: And you (Pointing to pupil 3)

198. P3: Both

199. R: And you (pointing to pupil 4)

200. P4; English

201. R: I saw you have got a book there

202. What do you think about the English books you use?

203. P4: They teach us more than what we learn.

204. R: ok and you (pointing to pupil 1)

205. P1: I think the books teach us more fluent English.

206. R: More fluent English Ok. And you

207. P2: They help us knowing many words and speaking them

208. R: Ok. (Points to pupil 3)

208. P3: They improve our English.

209. R: They do improve your English! So you like them, do you?

210. Pupils in Chorus: Yes

211. R: Aah Are there any things in your books that you would like explained in Shona

212. Pupils in Chorus: Sometimes

213. R: What do you find most interesting in the books you use? Ahah (Pointing to a pupil)

Pupil 1: Stories

214. R: Which stories? Give me one story.

215. Pupils: (inaudible talk among pupils)

216. R: Give me one story

217. P2: The blind porter

218. R: The blind porter ahah you.

219. P1: I would like the one says the hare and the tortoise

220. R: The hare and tortoise and you

221. P4: I like the crocodile near the school

222. R: The crocodile near the school and you

223. P2: (inaudible)

224. R: Are there any things that you say this one I don't like in the books?

225. The books that you use are there any things that you don't like

226. Chorus: No

227. R: Do you enjoy everything that is there?

228. Chorus: Yes

229. R: There is one thing that I must tell you guys

I have greatly enjoyed talking to you. You have told me things I didn't know and some of them are fantastic. Thank you very much for agreeing to talk to me.

Appendix E2: Chemhanza Teacher 1 Learners' Interview

1. R: How many languages are spoken in this school?

2. P1: Two languages

3. R: Which ones

4. P2: English

5. R: English one

6. P3: Shona

7. R: Is that all

8. Chorus: Yes

9. R: So there are no people who speak Ndebele in this school?

10. Chorus: There are a few

11. R: So if there are a few how many languages do we have?

12. Chorus: Three

13. R: When you are at home, I will go round now

14. When you are at home with members of your family what language do you use?

15. P1: Shona

16. R: You use Shona and you

17. P2: Shona

18. R: And you

19. P3: Shona

20. R: And you

21. P4: Ndebele

22. R: You use Ndebele

23. When you are playing with your friends outside school or on the playground there what language do you use?

24. P1: We use Shona

25. R: And you

26. P2: Shona

27. R: And you

28. P3: Shona

29. R: And you

30. P4: English

31. R: You use English when you are playing with your friends?

32. Ok your parents at home

33. Do they sometimes tell you what language they want you to use when you are learning?

34. Chorus: Yes

35. P1: English

36. R: And you

37. P2: English

38. R: And you

39. P3: English

40. R: And you

41. P4: English

42. R: And what do you think of that?

43. When your parents tell you I want you to learn in English what do you think of that?

44. Silence

45. P1: I think it's a good language

46. R: You think it's a good thing to do?

47. P1: Yes

48. R: Ok

49. During your lessons in class, what language is commonly used by the teacher?

50. P3: English

51. R: English

52. What language is commonly used by you guys?

53. P1: Shona

54. R: Aha

55. P4: Shona

56. R: So the teacher commonly uses English and you guys commonly use Shona

57. Chorus: Yes

58. R: When you talk to your teacher in class what language do you use to talk to the teacher?

59. P1: English

60. R: You talk to her

61. And you

62. P2: English

63. R: Why?

64. P1: Because she always wants us to speak in English.

65. R: The teacher wants you to speak in English all the time?

66. Ok But how well do you understand the teacher when she speaks in English only?

67. How well do you understand her?

68. Or do you sometimes have things that you do not understand when she speaks in English?

69. Chorus: Yes

70. R: You sometimes have difficulties?

71. And when she says something you do not understand what do you do?

72. P1: Ask her to repeat

73. R: In English?

74. Chorus: No in Shona

75. P1: In simple language

76. R: Does she agree to use Shona?

77. Chorus: Yes she agrees

78. R: Ok.

79. Are there any rules about the language you must use when you are in the school grounds?

80. Chorus: Yes

81. R: What is the rule?

82. Chorus: Always speak in English?

83. R: What do you think of that?

84. Do you think it's a good idea?

85. Chorus: Yes

86. R: Who made that rule?

87. P3: The headmistress

88. R: And you think it's a good rule?

89. Chorus: Yes

90. R: Why?

91. Why do you think it's a good rule?

92. P1: Because many jobs needs English language

93. R; Lets just imagine for a moment

94. If you were required to learn everything in Shona

95. What would you think about that?

96. Chorus: Aah!

97. R: Maths in Shona, Social Studies in Shona

98. What would you think of that?

99. P3: It will be bad

100.   R: Why do you say it would be bad?

101.   P1: Because when we go to other schools the school will be talking in English.

102.   R: Aha. And you

103.   P2: I have no idea

104.   P4: Because the school rule says you must speak in English always

105.   R: When you are in class do you find things easier to understand when they are explained to you in English or when they are explained in Shona?

106.   P1: In Shona

107.   P3: In English

108.   P2: English

109.   P4: English

110.   R: When you are doing group work in class like you were doing group work

111.   Which language do you prefer to use when you are speaking to your friends?

112.   P1: Shona

113.   All pupils indicate they prefer Shona

114.   R: Do you sometimes use both Shona and English during group work?

115.   P2: Yes

116.   R: When do you use both?

117.   On what occasions do you use both English and Shona?

118.   P2: When playing

119.   P4: When we are doing English language

120.   P1: When we are doing maths

121.   P3: When we are doing maths

122.   R: Which language does your teacher ask you to use when she gives you group work?

123.   P2: English

124.   R: Is it the same?

125.   Chorus: Yes

126.   R: What do you feel about that?

127.   When she says English please

128.   What do you feel about that?

129.   P2: Good

130.   R: Munofunga kuti zvakanaka? (Do you think it's good?)

131.   Chorus: Ee (Yes)

132.   R: Sei muchifunga kuti zvakanaka? (Why do you think it's good?)

133.   Pupils remain silent

134.   R: What language do you want to use when you answer questions asked by the teacher?

135.   All pupils indicate they prefer English.

136.   R: Why do you answer the teacher's questions in English?

137.   P1: Because when we go to other countries we will speak in English.

138.   R: But when talking to the teacher about sport on the playing field

139.   What language do you use?

140.   All pupils indicate they use Shona

141.   R: When you are discussing weekend events with your class mates

142.   What language do you use?

143.   P3: Shona

144.   P1: Shona

145.   P2: English

146.   P4: English

147.   R: During break or when you are on the playing field

148.   What language do you use to talk to your friends?

149.   P4: English

150.   P1: Shona

151.   P2: English

152.   P3: Shona

153.   R: Why do you guys use English when talking to your friends on the playing
filed?

154.   P4: Because we want to learn English when our teacher will be talking we will
understand

155.   R: Why do you use Shona when talking to your friends during break?

156.   P1: Because my friends understand Shona

157.   P3: Most of my friends understand Shona

158.   R: When you meet the teacher outside school

159.   What language do you use to talk to the teacher?

160.   P1: English language

161.   R: When you meet Mrs Hove at Muyambo there

162.   You talk to her in English?

163.   P2: English

164.   P3: Shona

165.   P4: Shona

166.   R: Why would you speak to Mrs Hove in English when you meet her at the
groceries?

167.   P1: Because she likes us to speak in English

168.   R: Why do you speak to her in Shona?

169.   Silence

170.   R: What do you think about the books you use in the classroom?

171.   P1: I think it's good

172.   P2: It's good because when we grow up we will know many languages

173.   R: Are there any stories you think could have been better explained in Shona?

174.   Are there any things in the books in Maths, Science or Social Studies that you think have been explained in Shona?

175.   Chorus: Yes

176.   R: For example?

177.   Silence

178.   R: Are there any things in your English books that you find very interesting?

179.   Chorus: Yes

180.   R: For example?

181.   P1: The folk tales

182.   R: What do you find interesting there?

183.   P3: Stories of nice people

184.   R: Are there any things that you find not interesting at all?

185.   Chorus: Yes

186.   R: For example?

187.   P1: Someone who is going to die

188.   P3: Someone who is sick

189.   P4: The story which is talking about bad things

190.   P2: Something which is bad

191.   R: The books you use at school, do you enjoy using them?

192.   Chorus: Yes

193.   R: Do you have enough of them?

194.   Chorus: Yes

195.   R: How many do you have?

196.   Do you have one each or one between two?

197.   P3: Some are one each and some are one between two

198.   R: In which subjects do you have one between two?

199.   P2: Shona

200.   P3: Maths

201.   R: In which subject do you have one each?

202.   Chorus: English

203.	R: Tell you what guys, I have enjoyed working with you especially the way you were working in maths

204.	Thank you very much I hope to see you some other time.

205.	And say to your teacher I say thank you very much

206.	Chorus: You are welcome

Appendix E3: Chemhanza T3 Learners' Interview

1. R: Can I begin by asking how many languages are spoken in this school?

2. Chorus: Two

3. R: Two which ones?

4. Chorus: Shona and English

5. R: No one speaks Ndebele in this school?

6. P: I don't know

7. R: What language do you speak at home with members of your family?

8. P1: We speak Shona

9. R: And you

10. P2: Shona

11. R: And you

12. P3: Shona

13. R: And you

14. P4: We speak Ndebele

15. R: You speak Ndebele?

16. But I just asked how many languages are spoken in this school and you said two!

17. P4: Around the school

18. R: When you are in the playground outside the school

19. What language do you speak with your friends?

20. P1: I speak Shona

21. R: And you

22. P2: English and Shona

23. R: And you

24. P3: English and Shona

25. R: And you

26. P4: English

27. R: When you are playing pada?

28. You know what pada is?

29. Chorus: Yes

30. R: You speak to them in English?

31. P4: Yes

32. R: The Ndebele or Shona you use outside there does it help you to learn?

33. Is it the same language you use when you are here in school?

34. Chorus: It's the same.

35. P4: No

36. R: In what way is it different?

37. P4: inaudible

38. R: Your parents, do sometimes talk to you about the language they want you to use here at school?

39. Chorus: Yes

40. R: What language do they want you to use?

41. Chorus: English

42. R: They all want you to use English?

43. Chorus: Yes

44. R: And what do you think of that?

45. Do you think it's a good idea?

46. Chorus: Yes

47. R: Why do you think it's a good idea?

48. P3: Because it teaches us a lot.

49. R: You think you don't learn a lot when you learn in Shona?

50. P1: We learn but it teaches us to know some of the spellings we don't know

51. R: Ok. During lessons which language do you want the teacher to use?

52. P1: English

53. R: Why do you want her to use English?

54. P2: We want English because when you go to other countries may be you will speak that language

55. R: Uhu (You), why do you want the teacher to use English?

56. P3: Because it helps us to write compositions and answer comprehensions

57. R: And you

58. P4: We want to speak in English because if speak in English in other countries they can help you

59. R: Is there any rule about the language that must be spoken in this school?

60. Chorus: No

61. R: If you are outside there playing what language do you use with your friends?

62. P1: I always use English with my friends

63. R: You always use English

64. And you

65. P2: I use Shona with my friends

66. R: And you

67. P3: I use English and Shona

68. R: And you

69. P4; Shona

70. R: If you are talking to your teacher during sports on sports day, what language do you use to talk to the teacher?

71. P4: Shona

72. R: And you

73. P3: English and Shona

74. P2: English

75. R: When you meet your teacher outside school at Makanda or Muyambo what language do you use to talk to speak to the teacher?

76. P1: English

77. R: You said you speak to her in English?

78. P1: Yes

79. R: If you have got your friends and you are talking about things that happened over the weekend what language do you use?

80. P2: I use English and Shona

81. The rest of the children say they use Shona

82. R: Let's say some children come from St Paul's

83. They come here for sports what language would you use to talk to them?

84. P3: I will use Shona

85. P2: I will use Shona

86. R: Why would you use Shona?

87. P2: We can use Shona because others can't understand English.

88. R: When you are in class do you find things easier when they are explained to you in Shona or in English?

89. P3: I find things easier when they are spoken in Shona

90. R: And you

91. P4: In Shona

92. R: When you are doing group work when the teacher has given you group work to do

93. What language do you use to talk to your friends during group work?

94. Chorus: English

95. R: You all use English?

96. Chorus: Yes

97. P1: Because the teacher says it is best that we use English to help us in other spellings

98. R: When you are talking to the teacher and the teacher talks to you in English what language do you use to answer her back?

99. Chorus: English

100.   R: When the teacher gives you group work does she tell you what language to use?

101.   P2: No

102.   R: You can use any language when you are doing group work?

103.   P2: We use English

104.   P1: always English

105.   R: When you are with your friends out there and there is a teacher nearby and you are talking to your friends what language do you use?

106.   P4: I use English.

107.   R: You use English?

108.   Chorus: Yes

109.   R: Because the teacher is nearby?

110.   Chorus: Yes

111.   R: What books do you use to do English?

112.   Chorus: Step in

113.   R: What do you think of the language that is in those books the English?

114.   P1: The English in those books helps us to write compositions and speak in simple English so we can understand

115.   R: You say the English is simple enough for you to understand?

116.   Chorus: Yes

117.   R: Are there any interesting thins that you find in those books?

118.   What do you find particularly interesting

119.   P4: Comprehensions

120.   R: Any story, comprehension story you can remember?

121.   P4: Yes

122.   R: Which one

123.   P4: The wise owl

124.   R: Are there any things when you are doing science or maths that you would like explained in Shona?

125.   P3: Yes you can speak in Shona if you cannot explain that word in English.

126.   R: So you are really proud to speak in English?

127.   Chorus: Yes

128.   R: thank you very much

129.   By the way I really enjoyed your lesson there

130.   I will take you back to class.

Appendix E4: Jemedza Teacher 2 Learners' Interview

1. R: I would like to begin by asking how many languages are spoken in this school.

2. Chorus: Two

3. R: Which are those?

4. Chorus: Shona and English.

5. R: Is there anyone in your class who speaks Ndebele?

6. Chorus: Our teacher and Kuda

7. R: Which language do you speak most of the time when you are here at school?

8. P1: English

9. R: And you?

10. P2: English

11. R: And you?

12. P3: English

13. R: And you?

14. P4: English.

15. R: Is there any reason why you spend most of the time speaking English?

16. P1: It's because it will help our vocabulary and its also part of the school rules.

17. R: The school rule what does it say?

18. P2: We should not speak in Shona unless it is during the Shona lesson.

19. R: what do you think of that rule?

20. P1: I think it's a good rule because it will help us to learn more English.

21. R: And you?

22. P3: I think it helps us to speak English.p4: English helps us in many ways when we are going to work maybe we might work in business offices where they only talk English not Shona

23. R: And you

24. P4: The only thing is I think that it must be followed by everyone

25. R: When you are at home with members of your family what language do you use?

26. P3: English and a little bit Shona

27. R: And you?

28. P2: We speak Shona

29. R: And you?

30. P1: Shona and English.

31. R: And you?

32. P4: I mix Shona and English.

33. R: When you are playing with your friends in the streets or at the shops what language do you use to talk to each other?

34. P4: Shona

35. R: And you?

36. P3: Shona

37. R: You

38. P2: English.

39. R: And you?

40. P1: Shona

41. R: The Shona you speak outside the school is it the same Shona you learn here in school?

42. Chorus: Ah no.

43. R: The Shona you speak with your friends does it help you to do Shona work in school?

44. P1&2: Some of it. I think it helps

45. P2: It differs from school to school

46. Maybe in some schools they learn the hard Shona and maybe when they are communicating with teachers it does help

47. R: And you were saying?

48. P1: I was saying that it is different but some of it is just a different kind of Shona

49. R: Ndeipi, kanjani (How are you) does that help us to learn?

50. Chorus: No

51. P2: I don't think that's good vocabulary because like you are talking to an older person you can't say that.

52. When you are talking to your friend you can say wakadini hako (How are you) but when you are talking to an older person you say Makadii (how are you-plural)

53. P1: Because if you just say Ndeipi (how are you) that is slang language.

54. It will get into you and when you are talking to an older person then it may affect you.

55. R: Do your parents say anything about using English to learn at school?

56. P4: No

57. P3: Sometimes

58. R: What do they say?

59. P3: They say we must learn English.

60. R: What do your parents say?

61. P1: My parents just say it's a good thing to learn English because when you go to outside countries and you don't know their language English is one of the most important languages.

62. R: During class time what language is commonly used by the teacher to talk to you?

63. Chorus: English

64. R: What language do you commonly use to talk to your friends in class?

65. Chorus: Shona

66. R: Which language do you prefer to use when you are talking to the teacher?

67. Chorus: English.

68. R: Why do you prefer talking to your friends in Shona?

69. P4: some of them don't understand English.

70. R: How well do you understand the teacher when she speaks in English only?

71. P1&2: Hundred percent

72. R: Are there any situations when you would like the teacher to explain things in Shona instead of English?

73. P1: Yes when we are writing some compositions, business letters instructions on the paper we may not understand so we would want them translated into Shona

74. R: And you?

75. P3: Yes.

76. Like in maths sometimes some people do not understand English

77. They say it is very hard because the teacher is talking in English so they say let the teacher explain in English bet the teacher doesn't hear it and goes on explaining in English.

78. R: Suppose you were told from next term everything will be done in Shona, science, maths social studies and music

79. P2: What!

80. Chorus: No aah No

81. P1: It won't be good for the children's education and even vocabulary I don't think it's a good thing.

82. R: You wouldn't like it?

83. P2: No

84. R: When doing group work in class which language do you prefer to use when talking to other learners?

85. P4; English

86. P2: And a bit of Shona if they do not understand.

87. R: But which language does the teacher ask you to use when you are doing group work?

88. Chorus: English.

89. R: I am going to go round asking each one of you

90. What language do you prefer to use to answer questions asked by the teacher during a lesson?

91. P2: I would prefer English better than Shona

92. R: What language do you use to talk to other learners during class?

93. P3: I prefer English.

94. R: And to talk to the teacher about sports on the sports field?

95. P1: English.

96. R: To greet the teacher when you meet her at Groombridge on a Saturday?

97. P4: I will just prefer English.

98. R: To talk about things that happened during the weekend.

99. Today is Monday what language would you use?

100.   P2: I would rather use English because it's easier that way.

101.   R: When pupils from other schools come here what language do you use to talk to them?

102.   Chorus: English.

103.   R: Any reason for that?

104.   P2: Yes some of them may look like Zimbabweans but they may not be

105.   P3: Some of them in their families they do not use Shona and at their school they do not talk in Shona

106.   P2: Then English is just a basic language

107.   R: What do you think about the English in the books that you use?

108.   P3: I think its very good English.

109.   R: Are there any things in your English books that you would have liked explained in Shona?

110.   P4: A little bit

111.   R: For example? Do you have anything in mind?

112.   P4: At the moment I do not have.

113.   P3: Some poems

114.   There are some poems that are really nice to use in Shona

115.   R: What do you find most interesting in the English books you use?

116.   P3: The language

117.   R: Can you give me an example?

118.   P3: Some other parts I don't know them I just look them in the dictionary.

119.   R: What are the interesting stories you remember in the books you read?

120.   P2: Matching word to their meanings

121.   R: You have given me very interesting answers and one good thing is you are very god at your language actually.

Appendix E5: Jemedza Teacher 1 Learners' Interview

1. R: Let me begin by asking how many languages are spoken in this school?

2. Chorus: Two

3. R: which ones are those?

4. Chorus: Shona and English.

5. R: And how many of those do you speak yourself?

6. P1: I speak both of them but English sometimes

7. R: And you?

8. P2: Sometimes I speak Shona but I usually speak English.

9. R: And you

10. P3: English Shona I don't really like it

11. P4: I usually speak Shona.

12. R: At home what language do you normally speak?

13. P1: I speak both but English is a little bit complicated my mother wants me to learn English and I cannot really understand the language so she trains me sometimes when I fail.

14. R: And you

15. P2: English.

16. R: And you

17. P3: English and Shona but when greeting people I use Shona

18. R: And you

19. P4: Shona and Ndebele

20. R: Ah why did you say there only two languages spoken in this school?

21. Some of you said you speak Shona.

22. The Shona you speak outside school is it the same Shona you learn here?

23. P1: Ah that is a little bit complicated

24. Here at school we have some things ...with language, proverbs and idioms

25. Its hard to talk them when you are outside school but when you are here you must talk them so that you know the language you are talking about so that if you have a mistake on your language somebody might correct you but at home people will be busy doing what they will be concentrating on other things

26. R: What do you think?

27. P2: At school we speak some languages like verbs

28. Outside we don not actually speak that language

29. R: So do you think the Shona you speak outside helps you to learn in school?

30. P3: Sometimes no

31. R: Your parents, what language do they want you to use to learn at school?

32. P3: They want me to learn Shona because when I was in grade 2 I was speaking Ndebele so they want me to learn Shona

33. R: And you

34. P1: My parents they want me to learn to speak in English because I have a young brother and she doesn't want him to learn to speak Shona

35. She wants him to speak in English.

36. R: And you

37. P3: I normally learn Ndebele and during the holidays I go to Bulawayo or Gwanda

38. R: But your parents what language do they want you to use when you are here at school?

39. P3: Here at school they want me to use English.

40. R: What do you think of that your parents wanting you to learn in English?

41. P1: It's very good I like it.

42. R: Why do you think it's very good?

43. P1: Because English has a it's just good

44. R: And you what do you think?

45. P2: It helps me to answer questions when you are asked

46. If only you know Shona you cannot answer the question in English.

47. R: Suppose you got here tomorrow and the head master says everything you learn must be in Shona

48. What would you think of that?

49. P1: Ah it will be a little bit complicated because I don't think everyone can speak in Shona

50. Some words are a little bit difficult for others to speak and for others its easy for those who know Shona

51. R: And what would you think if you were told everything is going to be done in Shona?

52. P3: Actually if you speak in Shona maybe it will be fun but if you get stuck to Shona and you no more know how to speak in English you won't be able to communicate with others

53. R: Ok what would you think?

54. P4: I think it wont be that good because if you go outside the country and you wont be able to communicate with others

55. R: What do you think?

56. P2: some words are spoken in English

57. Most people must actually know how to speak them

58. R: In class what language do you often use to speak to the teacher?

59. P1: It's usually English.

60. R: And for you?

61. P2: English because the teacher said you must speak in English unless it is a Shona lesson

62. R: What language do you normally use to speak to your friends when just chatting in class?

63. Chorus: Shona and English.

64. R: When you have been given group work let us say in science what language do you normally use?

65. Chorus: Shona

66. R: what language do you use to report back?

67. Chorus: English

68. R: So you do the work in Shona then report back in English?

69. Chorus: Yes

70. R: Which do you understand better when the teacher explains in Shona or when she explains in English?

71. Chorus: In English

72. R: Are there any times when you fail to understand things because they have been explained in English?

73. Chorus: Some words are very hard

74. P1: Sometimes we don't know the meaning of the words

75. P2: Sometimes you look in the dictionary and the teacher is going on asking questions while you are going through the dictionary looking for the word

76. R: Are there any school rules about the language to be used when you are in school?

77. P1: Yes

78. R: What is the rule?

79. P1: We must speak in English when in school

80. R: What do you think of the rule?

81. P3: It's good I guess

82. R: And you

83. You like it?

84. P4: I think its good but for some kids when they go out they speak in Shona

85. They don't know English.

86. R: When you are in class doing group work which would you prefer:

87. To speak to other learners in Shona or in English or to use both?

88. Chorus: Both

89. P2: Both in Shona and English because the other kids might not know the other language.

90. R: What language does your teacher ask you to use when you are doing group work?

91. Chorus: English

92. R: What do you feel about that?

93. P1: I think it's good so that we can learn other words that we don't know

94. If you misspell a word she will then tell you "you did this wrong this word is wrong it's spelt like this"

95. You will know the word so that later when you use it you will know the spelling

96. R: What language do you use to talk to the teacher on the playing field?

97. Chorus: Shona

98. R: When you meet the teacher at Groombridge shopping centre what language do you use to talk to the teacher?

99. Chorus: English

100.   R: And when learners from another school come here for sports what language do you use to talk to them?

101.   Chorus: English

102.   R: Why?

103.   Chorus: Because the school rule says we should speak in English.

104.   P1: Most of the schools know English.

105.   P2: And we don't want to embarrass ourselves speaking in Shona

106.   R: Suppose you have just come back from the weekend and you want to tell your friend what happened over the weekend what language do you use?

107.   P2: Shona

108.   P1: English

109.   P3: I use both English and Shona

110.   R: When you are just chatting to your friends what language do you tend to use?

111.   P3: Shona

112.   P1: English

113.   R: What books do you use to do English here?

114.   Do you know the titles of the books you use?

115.   Chorus: English in Action, New Primary English

116.   R: What do you think about the English in those books?

117.   Chorus: Some words are very hard

118.   P2: So you must look for a dictionary if you don't know the meaning of the word you must first of all go through a dictionary so that later if you find that word it will be easy for you to read it but some words are just ….

119.   P1: Hard words are mostly in comprehension

120.   R: Are there any things in the English books that you would like explained in Shona?

121.   Chorus: A few.

122.   R: What do you find most interesting in the books that you use?

123.   P4: Comprehensions

124.   R: For example which one?

125.   P4: Not so foolish after all

126.   R: And you

127.   P1: Hen bakes a cake

128.   R: And you

129.   P2: I like the one about the lion and the hare

130.   R: So the dictionary, are we all able to use the dictionary

131.   Chorus: Yes

132.   R: Suppose you were asked to learn Ndebele what would you think?

133.   Chorus: sigh

134.   P2: It will be hard for some of us to do because we don't really know the words

135.   Maybe the following term we may get the correct words but first time it will be really difficult

136.   P1: It will be quite interesting to study Ndebele

Appendix E6: Njanja Teacher 1: Learner Interviews

1. R: I was going to start by asking how many languages are spoken in this school.
2. P1: Two languages
3. R: Which ones?
4. P2: English
5. R: And the other one?
6. P3: Shona
7. R: Is there no Ndebele spoken in this school?
8. Ps: No
9. R: Ok.
10. When you are at home and you are talking to mum and dad or sekuru (grandfather)
11. What language do you use?
12. P1: We use Shona
13. R: and you
14. P2: Shona
15. R: and you
16. P3: Shona
17. P4: Shona
18. R: And when you are talking to your friends pa Muyambo apo (at Muyambo shopping centre) what language do you use?
19. P1: Shona
20. R: And you
21. P2: Shona
22. R: And you
23. P3: Shona
24. P4: Shona
25. R: You all use Shona?
26. When you are speaking to these friends inside class
27. What language do you use?

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28. P1: We use English.

29. All pupils say they use English

30. R: Why do you use English?

31. P1: We use English because we are a British colony. We were colonised by the British.

32. R: And you Why do you use English?

33. P2: We talk to our friends in English because our teacher says we must talk in English.

34. R: and you

35. P3: We talk English to our friends in classroom because we must learn to talk English because we will meet a person who is talking English when we don't know we say wrong things

36. R: Ok.

37. You said you speak Shona with your friends when you are out there at home. Does that Shona help you to learn here?

38. P1: Ye it help me

39. R: The Shona you speak when you are at home is it the same Shona you use here?

40. P2: No it isn't.

41. R: When you are at home do your parents sometimes tell you the language they want you to use when learning at school?

42. P1: My parents told me I should use English

43. R: and you

44. P2: my parents told me that we should speak English at school

45. R: And yours

46. P3: They told me that we should learn to speak English at school

47. R: And you

48. P4: My parents told us that we should learn to speak English at school

49. R: Do you think it's a good idea to speak English at school?

50. P1: Yes I think it's a good idea

51. R: Why do you think is a good idea?

52. P1: It is a good idea because in the community we meet different races such as English, Shona and Ndebele.

53. R: During class you were doing Social Studies.

54. What language did you prefer to use?

55. P2: English

56. R: Why?

57. P2: Because... (Silence)

58. R: Ok I shall come back to you

59. Which language do you prefer to use when you are in class

60. P3: We can use English because many subject in the class uses English.

61. R: And you

62. P4: We can use English in the class because Maths, Shona, Social Studies, Science are spoken in English.

63. R: How well do you understand the teacher when she explains things in English only?

64. P1: Our teacher uses English because English is special for us

65. P2: I understand very well when the teacher was teaching in English.

66. R: And you

67. P3: I understand when teacher is speaking English because in class we mostly speak English.

68. R: Are there some things that you find difficult to understand because the teacher is explaining them in English.

69. P1: No we don't find anything difficult when the teacher is teaching in English

70. R: Is there any school rule about the language you must use when you are at school?

71. Is there a school rule like that here?

72. P2: Yes

73. R: What does the rule say?

74. P2: The rule says everyone should speak English.

75. R: Do you think that's a good rule?

76. P1: Yes I think it's a good rule

77. R: Why do you think it's good?

78. P1: I think it's good because we should learn to speak all languages

79. R: Suppose next Monday when you come for assembly the headmaster says from now on everything will be taught in Shona.

80. What would you think?

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81. P4: I will feel bad.

82. R: Why would you feel bad?

83. P4: I will feel bad because in all our subjects in class even in tests I only fail Shona

84. R: Ahah! What would you think?

85. Mukanzi mavakudzidza ne Shona chete unonzwa sei (How would you feel if you were told you would have to use Shona only to learn)?

86. P2: I will feel bad because English help us to have a job.

87. R: When you are talking to your friends during group work like when you were doing group work.

88. What language do you use when talking to your friends?

89. P2: When we are talking to our friends during group work we speak in English.

90. R: and you

91. P3: When we are doing group work we can speak in English

92. P1: When we are doing group work with my friends we talk in English except when we are doing Shona.

93. R: What language does your teacher ask you to use when you are doing group work?

94. P4: our teacher asks us to speak English when we are doing group works.

95. R: Suppose she finds you using Shona what happens?

96. Does she tell you to stop using Shona?

97. Does she encourage you to use English?

98. P1: If we speak in Shona our teacher says you will write Shona in English in test

99. R: Which language would you prefer to use if a teacher asks you a question?

100.   Which language do you want to use to answer the question?

101.   P2: I would like to use English to answer the question when my teacher asks me.

102.   R: Ok and you

103.   P3: I would like to speak English when my teacher asking me

104.   R: And when you are playing with your friends on the playground, what language do you want to use during break?

105.   P4: During the break I want to speak Shona with my friends.

106.   R: Aha. And you?

107.   P2: During the break time I will want to speak Shona with my friends

108.   R: And you

109.   P1: During break I would like to speak English with my friends

110.   P3: During break time I would like to speak both English and Shona

111.   R: Suppose there sports going on and the teacher talks to you or you want to talk to the teacher

112.   What language do you use when talking to the teacher on sports day?

113.   P3: When it is sports day and I want to talk to the teacher I will use English.

114.   R: And you

115.   P4: When it is ports day when I want to speak with the teacher I will use English.

116.   R: And you

117.   P2: When it is the sports day I would like to speak to the teacher in English.

118.   P1: When it is the sports day when I want to talk to my teacher I talk in Shona

119.   R: When children from another school, from St Paul's come here for sports what language do you speak to them in

120.   P2: When other schools come to our school I will talk them with English.

121.   R: Why do you talk to them in English?

122.   P2: Because many schools, many headmasters want their children to speak in English in their schools.

123.   P3: When some pupils from other schools come here for sports I talk to them in Shona because some people speak a little English.

124.   R: Ok. And you

125.   P4: When some other schools come to sports I will want to speak them with both English and Shona

126.   P1: If some pupils from other schools come to our school I would like to speak in English.

127.   R: Suppose you meet your teacher at the shops there

128.   What language do you use to talk to the teacher?

129.   P3: When I meet my teacher at the shops I will speak with her in English.

130.   R: In English. And you

131.   P2: If I meet my teacher to the shops I will speak at her in Shona

132.   R: And you

133.   P1: When I meet my teacher at the shops I will speak in English because my teacher told me to speak in English.

134.   R: Ok and you

135.   P4: When I meet my teacher at shops I will speak in English

136.   R: When you come back from the weekend and you meet your friends here and you want to tell them what happened over the weekend what language do you use?

137.   P3: I will use Shona when I want to tell them things that was happened at the weekend

138.   R: Aha and you

139.   P1: I will also talk to them in Shona when I want to tell them things I was doing at weekend.

140.   R: Aha and you

141.   P4: My friends at school I use talk to them in English.

142.   R: Ok and you

143.   P2: When things done at the weekend and I meet my friends at Monday I will tell them in English.

144.   R: What books do you use to learn English here?

145.   Do you know the names of the books?

146.   P3: We use Step in English Grade five

147.   R: The English that is in those books, is it easy to understand?

148.   P2: Yes it is easy

149.   R: Are there any things that are difficult in that book?

150.   P3: No.

151.   R: You find all of them easy?

152.   Chorus: Yes

153.   R: Can you give me an example of a story you have read so far in the book

154.   P1: In our book the story I have read which was interesting was Chewing gum the nuisance

155.   R: And you

156.   P2: The story that I read on the book in the English reader that was interesting was Shatai the ugly girl

157.   R: Oh yes! And you

158.   P4: the story that was interesting for me it was the folk tale of the pangolin

159.   R: So three different stories and you

160.   P3: The interesting story I read was the White Rhino

Appendix E7: Njanja Teacher 3 Learner Interviews

1. T: just wanted to start by finding out what how many languages are spoken in this school.

2. If you can't answer me in English just answer in Shona that will be fine.

3. P1: Languages which are spoken in this school are Shona English and Ndebele

4. R: And which one do you speak?

5. P1: English and Shona

6. R: And you (pointing to pupil 2)

7. P2: English and Shona

8. R: (points to pupil 3 then 4)

9. P3: English and Shona

10. P4: English and Shona

11. R: When you are at home when you are talking to mum and dad

12. What language do you use?

13. Ps: Shona

14. R: And we are playing around there when we are in village 13 playing with your friends, what language do you use?

15. P2: I use Shona and English

16. R: and you?

17. P1: Shona

18. P3: Shona and English

19. P4: Tswana and English

20. R: You use Tswana and English.

21. So you speak Tswana only

22. P4: And Shona

23. R: When you are playing speaking in Shona the Shona you speak

24. Is it the same Shona you use when you are in school?

25. P1: Yes

26. P2: Ah No

27. R: In what way is the one you speak different?

28. P3: Because we use some words that are not in Shona

29. R: Ahah

30. And you (pointing to pupil 4)

31. P4: Yes

32. R: What are some of the words that are not in Shona that we use?

33. P1: Ndeipi

34. R: Ndeipi (echoing)

35. When you are at home your parents do they sometimes talk to you about the language they want you to use when you are at school?

36. P1: No

37. P2: No

38. R: What language do you think your parents want you to learn in?

39. Ps: English

40. R: English?

41. Why do you think they want you to learn in English?

42. P1: Because when I grow up I must use English.

43. P2: I use English because I want to go I want a job that speaks English.

44. R: Ok and you (pointing to pupil 3)

45. P3: English because I want to talk English.

46. R: Ok

47. In your class during lessons, what language is used by the teacher when you are in class?

48. P1: Shona and English

49. All children repeat the same answer

50. R: and what language do you use with your friends in class when you are just talking about anything not about school work?

51. P2: English

52. R: Aha and you

53. P3: English

54. R: Uhu

55. P4: Shona

56. P1: Shona or English.

57. R: When you have been given group work lets say you are doing science what language do you use to talk to group members?

58. P1: English

59. R: And you?

60. P2: English

61. R: All of you use English

62. Ps: Yes

63. R: and when you are talking to the teacher

64. The teacher has asked you a question

65. What language do you use to answer the teacher?

66. Ps: English

67. R: You all answer in English

68. Ps: Yes

69. P4: and Shona

70. R: And Shona Listen when do you answer in Shona?

71. P4: When we are doing Shona.

72. R: Oh only when you are doing Shona

73. Ps: Yes

74. R: And not when you are doing anything else

75. Ps: Yes

76. R: When the teacher is talking in English, how well do you understand what the teacher says?

77. P3: Very well

78. P4: Very well

79. R: Are there any things that you think you could understand better if they are explained in Shona? Do you have any things like that?

80. Ps: No

81. R: Everything you want it done in English?

82. Ps: Yes

83. R: Do we have any rules about what language we should use when we are at this school?

84. Ps: No

85. R: There is no school rule at all Ok.

86. We learn using English.

87. Suppose you were told on Monday when you come back, no more English here everybody must learn using Shona. What would you think?

88. P1: I think that won't be right

89. R: Ahah Why?

90. Ps: (whisper among themselves)

91. P3: Because if you get a job that needs English you will not speak in English using Shona...

92. P2: Everybody needs to learn English

93. Without English we won't even speak with other country people

94. R: And you were going to say (pointing at pupil 1)

95. P1: It's wrong because we want to learn English.

96. R: But let's say the teacher explains things in English and also explains in Shona

97. Which one do you find easy to understand?

98. P1: Shona

99. P2: All subjects?

100.   R: Suppose she is teaching science and she explains something in Shona and she is teaching science again and she explains something in English

101.   Which one do you find easy to understand?

102.   P2: Shona

103.   R: And you (pointing at pupil 4)

104.   P4: Shona

105.   R: When you are doing group work in class

106.   What language do you prefer to use?

107.   Do you prefer to talk in English only or in English and Shona mixing?

108.   P1: English and Shona

109.   P4: English and Shona

110.   P3: English and Shona

111.   P2: English and Shona

112.   R: Which language does the teacher ask you to use when you are doing group work?

113.   P1: All languages

114.   P2: Mostly English

115.   R: And you

116.   P4: Mostly English

117.   R: When you are talking to your teacher during sports day out there

118.   What language do you use to talk to the teacher?

119.   P1: Shona

120.   P2: Shona and English

121.   P3: Shona

122.   P4: Shona

123.   R: Suppose you are talking to your friends about things that happened over the weekend

124.   It's a Monday and you are telling them what happened over the weekend

125.   What language do you use?

126.   P1: Shona

127.   P2: English

128.   P3: Shona

129.   P4: English and Shona

130.   R: Suppose you meet your teacher at the shops over the weekend

131.   What language do you use to talk to the teacher?

132.   P1: English

133.   P2: Shona

134.   P3: Both

135.   R: Why do you use both?

136.   P3: Because if someone heard me talking to the teacher I have to speak in English.

137.   R: Suppose pupils come here from Takunda to come for Sports

138.   What language do you use to talk to them?

139.   P1: English and Shona

140.   P2: Both

141.   P4 Both

142.   P3: Shona

143.   R: Suppose you were given a choice to learn using Shona and to learn using English, which one would you prefer?

144.   P1: English

145.   R: And you

146.   P2: English

147.   P3: Shona

148.   P4: English

149.   R: the exams that are written, what do you think of writing tests in English?

150.   Do you think it's a good idea?

151.   Chorus: Yes

152.   R: Would you like to have them written in Shona only?

153.   Chorus: No

154.   R: The books that you use

155.   Which books do you use?

156.   Do you know the name?

157.   Ps: Silence

158.   R: Don't worry

159.   The English book you use

160.   The English in it how do you find it?

161.   P1: Interesting

162.   P2: Easy

163.   P3: Easy

164.   P4: Interesting

165.   R: Are there any things in that book that you might want explained in Shona?

166.   P1: Yes

167.   R: For example?

168.   Ps: (silence)

169.   R: You can't remember?

170.   Are there any things in that books that you find particularly interesting?

171.   Just tell me things that you say aah this one is interesting

172.   P1: The story of Nyaminyami

173.   P2: The story of Shatai

174.   R: Is that the ugly girl?

175.   Chorus: Yes

176.   P3: The story of the visit to the Vic Falls

177.   P4: Pangolin

178.   R: That's royal meat

179.   I would like to thank you for talking to me. Have a good day.

Appendix E8: Dimbwa Teacher 1 Learner Interviews

1. R: I just wanted to start by asking how many languages are spoken in this school.
2. P1: English
3. R: Another one?
4. P2: Shona
5. R: Another one
6. P3: Content
7. R: Content is not a language. What other language?
8. P4: Ndebele
9. R: Which one do you speak?
10. P4: English
11. R: English and?
12. P4: Shona
13. R: And you?
14. P1: English, Shona and Ndebele
15. R: And you
16. P2: Shona
17. R: And you
18. P3: English and Japanese
19. R: English and Japanese!
20. T: Which language do you speak most of the time when you are in school?
21. P4: I speak Shona and English
22. R: And you
23. P2: English
24. R: English most of the time
25. When you are in school here which language do you speak most of the time?
26. P3: English
27. R: So most of you speak English but at home which language do you use to speak at home?
28. P4: Shona

29. R: And you

30. P2: Shona and Ndebele

31. R: And you

32. P1: Shona

33. R: And you

34. P3: Shona

35. R: If you are talking to your friends outside school what language do you use to talk to each other?

36. P1: Shona

37. R: And you

38. P2: Shona

39. R: And you

40. P3: Shona

41. R: And you

42. P4: Shona

43. R: When you are speaking Shona outside there is it the same Shona that we use to learn here or it's a different kind of Shona?

44. Do you think the Shona we speak when we are at home helps us to learn here?

45. P1: Its different

46. R: Which one do you want?

47. The one spoken at home or the one spoken in school?

48. Chorus: The school one

49. R: At home, do your parents ever say what language they want you to use when you are learning at school?

50. P2: Yes

51. R: What do they say?

52. P2: Speak English most of the time

53. R: And you

54. P4: They say I must learn to speak in English because when I go to other countries they don't know Shona language but can speak in English so I can speak in English.

55. R: And what do your parents sometimes say?

56. P3: They say you must speak English.

57. R: And you

58. P1: My parents say you must learn English very well

59. R: In your class what language do you use most of the time to learn?

60. Chorus: English

61. R: Then when doing group work which language do you use when talking to your teacher?

62. P3: English sometimes Shona

63. R: And you

64. P2: English

65. R: And you

66. P4: English

67. R: You talk to your teacher in English?

68. If you are talking to your friends during group work what language do you use?

69. P2: Shona

70. P3: English

71. P4: English and Shona

72. P1: English

73. R: English only?

74. You never talk to your friends in Shona?

75. P1: Uuh sometimes

76. R: Which language do you want the teacher to use when teaching maths and science?

77. Chorus: English

78. R: Why?

79. P1: She wants us to learn English.

80. R: How well do you understand the teacher when she uses English only?

81. Do you sometimes have problems in understanding what she will be saying?

82. P1: I understand

83. R: And you

84. P2: I understand

85. R: And you

86. P3: I understand everything

87. R: That is quite good

88. But are there any times when you say I think the teacher must have spoken in Shona here?

89. P2: Uuh

90. P4: Yes

91. R: Like what time

92. What will have happened?

93. P1: When we are learning Shona

94. R: Suppose you are not learning Shona

95. Is there any time…ehe

96. P1: When we are learning maths

97. R: Why do you want the teacher to use Shona when you are learning maths?

98. P1: Because sometimes I don't understand.

99. P4: When we are doing content

100.   R: In this school are there any rules about the language you must use when you are in school or when you are in class?

101.   Chorus: Yes

102.   R: What is the rule?

103.   Chorus: To use English

104.   R: Even when you are on the play ground?

105.   P3: Sometimes

106.   R: Who makes these rules?

107.   Chorus: The headmaster

108.   R: What do you think about that?

109.   Are you happy to speak in English all the time?

110.   Chorus: Yes

111.   R: I see you guys love English.

112.   Imagine you were told you must learn everything in Shona or Ndebele.

113.   What would you think about that?

114.   P1: I will feel worried

115. R: Why would you be worried?

116. P1: Because when you don't have English and you go to other countries you will if you want to ask they do not understand.

117. R: And you what would you think if everything was top be done in Shona?

118. P2: Me I will feel sad

119. R: Why?

120. P2: Because I want to learn English because if there is no English everybody will not pass well

121. R: When you are in class do you find things easier to understand when they are explained to you in Shona or Ndebele or English?

122. P4: Shona

123. R: And you

124. P1: English

125. R: And you

126. P3: English

127. R: And you

128. P2: English

129. R: When you are in class and you are doing group work which language do you prefer to use when speaking to your friends?

130. Chorus: English

131. R: Suppose you are doing group work and somebody in your group uses Shona, what do you do?

132. P1: I will pronounce it in English.

133. R: Which language does your teacher ask you to use when you are doing group work?

134. Chorus: English

135. R: And what do you feel about that?

136. Chorus: Happy

137. R: What does the teacher do if you use language that she does not want you to use?

138. P4: She feels sad

139.   R: Does she ask you to stop using Shona sometimes?

140.   Chorus: Yes

141.   R: And what do you feel about that?

142.   Silence

143.   R: When you are asked a question by the teacher during lessons which language do you use to reply?

144.   P2: Sometimes I use Shona and sometimes I use English.

145.   R: And you

146.   P1: I use English but sometimes I use Shona

147.   R: And you

148.   P3: English

149.   R: And you English

150.   When you are talking to the teacher on the playing field when you are doing sports, what language do you use to talk to the teacher?

151.   P1: I use English

152.   R: And you

153.   P2: Shona and English

154.   R: And you

155.   P3: Shona

156.   R: And you

157.   P4: Shona and English

158.   R: When you meet the teacher outside at Muyambo shopping centre what language do you use to talk to the teacher?

159.   P2: English

160.   P1: Shona

161.   R: And you

162.   P3: Shona

163.   R: And you

164.   P4: Shona

165.   R: During break when you are playing outside what language do you use when talking to your friends?

166. Chorus: Shona

167. R: If you are talking to pupils from another school when they come here what language do you use when you talk to them?

168. Chorus: English

169. R: Why do you speak to them in English?

170. P1: Because they will think we learn a lot of English.

171. R: What language would you encourage your friends to use in class when not talking about school work

172. P2: Shona

173. R: You encourage them to use Shona?

174. P2: Yes

175. R: What books do you use to learn English?

176. Children whisper among themselves

177. R: The English in those books, what do you think about it?

178. Do you think it's easy or difficult?

179. Chorus: It's easy.

180. R: You understand everything that is in the books!

181. The stories

182. Do you find them interesting?

183. Chorus: Yes

184. R: Which ones do you remember?

185. P3: Don't forget

186. R: And you

187. P2: Our neighbours

188. R: And you

189. P4: (inaudible)

190. R: Are there any things in your books that you think should have been written in Shona?

191. P1: Yes

192. R: For example

193. P1: (inaudible)

194.   R: This morning what were we learning about

195.   Chorus: Ticks

196.   R: Are there any things that you might have wanted written in Shona?

197.   Chorus: No

198.   R: You want them all in English?

199.   Chorus:

Appendix E9: Dimbwa Teacher 2 Learner Interviews

1. R: I would like to thank you for coming to talk to me

2. There is no right or wrong answer

3. I just want to find out what your feelings are what your attitudes are towards what we will be talking about

4. When I ask a question we can go round like that or if you feel like answering you can just go like that there is no problem

5. How many languages are spoken in this school?

6. P1: Four

7. R: One

8. P2: Shona

9. P3: English

10. P4: Ndebele

11. R: You said four

12. Which is the other one?

13. Chorus: Aah three

14. R: Which language do you speak most of the time yourself?

15. P1: English

16. R: And you

17. P2: Shona

18. P3: English

19. R: What language do you speak at home with members of your family?

20. Chorus: Shona

21. R: And with your friends when you are playing outside?

22. P1: English

23. R: And you

24. P2: Sometimes English sometimes Shona

25. R: And you

26. P3: I mix

27. R: And you

28. P4: I mix as well

29. R: The Shona or Ndebele you speak when you are outside there is it the same Shona like the one you use here in school

30. P4: Not exactly

31. P1: Sometimes at home we mix with English

32. R: But do you think the Shona you speak when you are out there helps you to learn here?

33. Chorus: Uuh Not as such

34. R: When you are at home your parents do they say anything about using English to learn at school?

35. Chorus: Yes

36. R: What do they say?

37. P2: They say I must learn English more

38. R: And yours

39. P3: They say I must learn English because when you visit some of gthe countries they speak English

40. R: And yours

41. P1: The same

42. P4: They say that I must learn how to write an English composition so that I will be able to speak it

43. R: What of yourself?

44. Do you think we should use English to learn?

45. Chorus: Yes

46. R: In class, which language is commonly used by the teacher to talk to you

47. Chorus: English

48. R: What language do you commonly use to talk to your friends in class?

49. P2: The headmaster says we must speak in English

50. R: But what language do you sometimes use when you are in class

51. P4: English

52. R: You use English?

53. P4: Sometimes

54. R: And you

55. P1: Shona

56. R: And you

57. P2: Shona and English

58. R: And you

59. P3: I speak in English

60. R: You said the headmaster said you must speak so there is a rule about the language you must use when you are in class

61. Chorus: Yes

62. R: Is there another rule about the language you must use when you are oiutside there playing in the play ground?

63. P4: He just said that when you enter the school gate you must speak in English

64. R: So what do you think about that rule?

65. P1: It is right

66. R: Why do you say its right?

67. P1: Because you know how to speak in English

68. P2: Because everybody should be able to speak English

69. P3: Because some countries use English so if you visit them without knowing English you will not be able to speak to them

70. R: Yah you were going to say

71. P4: Cause English is just good for everyone because without English you can never find work

72. R: You said when you are talking to your friends in class you sometimes talk to them in Shona, why?

73. P2: Some of them do not understand English

74. R: Any other reason?

75. P3: Because some of the words we don't know them in English

76. R: So how well do you understand the teacher when she speaks in English only?

77. P1: Sometimes I understand when she is ....

78. R: Sometimes you understand but sometimes it is difficult

79. P1: Yes

80. R: And you

81. P2: Aah Sometimes I do sometimes I don't

82. R: And you

83. P3: Sometimes I understand but sometimes I don't

84. R: And you

85. P4: the same

86. R: What do you do when you do not understand?

87. P1: I ask the teacher for the meaning

88. R: Is that the same...

89. Chorus: Yes

90. R: Are there any situations when you ask the teacher to use English only?

91. P2: We just ask him to use English and Shona

92. R: Imagine you were told from today no learning in English and you will learn everything in Shona

93. How would you feel?

94. P3: Aah we would feel bored

95. R: Why?

96. P4: Because English is just good for everyone

97. R: Let us say we are doing maths

98. Do you find things easier when they are explained in English or when they are explained to you in Shona?

99. P1: I find it easier when he explains in English.

100.   R: And you

101.   P2: In English

102.   R: So when doing maths you want the teacher to speak in English all the time?

103.   Chorus: Yes

104.   R: When you are doing group work in class and you are speaking to others you said you sometimes speak to them in Shona isn't it?

105.   Why do you sometimes prefer to talk in Shona when you are doing group work?

106.   P3: Some of them do not know how to speak in English.

107.   P1: So that some of them can understand

108.   R: Which language does your teacher ask you to use when you are   doing group work in class?

109.   P2: English

110.   P1: It's English because we have classroom rules

111.   They say when we are in class we must speak in English

112.   P4: Except when we are doing Shona

113.   R: What do you feel about that?

114.   Being asked to speak in English all the time in class?

115.   P4: As for me I feel very excited

116.   P2: It's interesting

117.   R: What language would you prefer to use when the teacher asks questions in class?

118.   P2: English

119.   R: And you

120.   P4: English

121.   R: Suppose the teacher asks you in Shona during a maths lesson what language would you use?

122.   P1: English

123.   R: Suppose you are out there during sports, what language do you use to talk to your teacher?

124.   P1: You need to speak in English.

125.   R: So when you are doing sports you speak in English all the time?

126.   Chorus: Yes

127.   R: Suppose you meet the teacher at Muyambo shopping centre, what language would you use to speak to the teacher?

128.   P2: English

129.   R: So all of you would speak to your teacher at Muyambo in English?

130.   Chorus: Yes

131. R: Suppose you met the teacher in town on a Saturday morning would you still speak to her in English?

132. P1: English you just say morning sir

133. R: Suppose you meet the teacher when you are with your mother and father what language would you use to greet the teacher?

134. P4: English

135. R: And what language do you want your parents to use with your teacher?

136. Chorus: Speak in English.

137. R: So all your parents can speak English?

138. Chorus: Yes

139. R: The books you use

140. What do you think about the books you use in class?

141. P4: I think they are good

142. R: Any thing that you might say for example

143. P1: For example when you look at the glossary you see the words that you do not know their meanings

144. R: Anything else

145. P3: There are interesting stories

146. R: Give me one interesting story that you can remember

147. P3: The (inaudible)

148. P1: The story of Shatai

149. T: Are there any things in these books that you think should have been explained in Shona?

150. Things that you might find difficult that you might prefer to have been explained in Shona?

151. P1: Yes some words

152. R: If you were to choose

153. How many English books do you have?

154. Chorus: Two

155. R: Between those two which one do you prefer?

156. P2: The New Syllabus

157.   R: Why do you like that one?

158.   P3: Because it has got interesting English.

159.   R: What are your ambitions about speaking English?

160.   Do you hope to speak English like the English themselves?

161.   Chorus: Yes

162.   R: You have been really quite good

163.   This is exciting and really wish you well

Appendix F: Teachers' Interview Transcripts

Appendix F1: Chemhanza Primary School Teacher Interview

1. I just wanted to start by asking whether you and the children in your class speak the same home language

2. T: Yes

3. R: Which is?

4. T: At home they use Shona our mother language but when we are in class we are using English most of the time

5. R: Do you have any Ndebele speaking children in your class?

6. T: Yes I have them

7. R: Is there any difference in the way you interact with them, those who speak Shona and those who speak Ndebele

8. T: There is no difference when you are communicating in English but when we are communicating in Shona they have got difficulties even in learning or writing the Shona compositions

9. R: Would you be aware of what the Education Act says about the language we must use to teach?

10. T: Especially when you are teaching maths they expect you to use English from grade three going up but part of grade three you may mix Shona and English but when you are in grade four up to seven.

11. R: What do you think of that policy?

12. T: I think it's worth it because as we compare these pupils according to my class they had problems when I taught them from grade five expressing themselves

13. You can see that the child has got an answer but he or she cannot express it in English but when we introduced English even when they are communicating I think now they have improved much even in their exams they did well because of that so its better to use English.

14. R: Are you aware of the parents' desires?

15. What do they want their children taught in?

16. T: They desire them to be taught in English.

17. Because when they travel abroad that is the only language they can communicate with others which they can understand

18. R: Do you have any opportunities of finding out what parents want?

19. T: Yes especially when we have consultation days most of them they dish out that information

20. T: Is there a school language policy here?

21. T: No

22. R: Children are not expected to speak in English only?

23. T: They use any language

24. R: Do you have an English syllabus?

25. T: Yes we have

26. R: Your own copy or you share?

27. T: We share

28. R: When you are in class like we were today or when children are outside what language do you encourage children to use among themselves?

29. T: They use English especially my class

30. R: And in class?

31. T: Even whilst they are in the school grounds I encourage them to use English

32. R: What are your reasons for doing that?

33. T: To improve their communication skills

34. I have discovered they have problems in communicating

35. R: Suppose you were asked to teach all subjects in Shona what would you do?

36. T: I will try

37. R: What are your views about that?

38. T: Some of these things you cant even express them in Shona

39. Maybe you will not find suitable word to explain what you want to in Shona

40. R: When you are teaching these children are there any challenges you face when you are teaching any subject in English

41. T: Yes we have got challenges

42. Some of these pupils cannot even understand what you are trying to say

43. At times you end up forced to use Shona to express so that they can understand what you are trying to express especially when you are doing some of the ES questions

44. R: If I can take you up from there imagine a teacher realises that children are having problems understanding a concept then the teacher switches from using English to using Shona to make the concept clearer

45. What do you think of that strategy?

46. T: To use Shona throughout I think there is going to be a problem because when we are writing our examinations science is an English subject so they are going to be tested in English

47. So Shona is just there to assist them to understand the concept but you go back to English.

48. R: That teacher's children what do you think they will think?

49. T: Some will easily understand the concept then when you go back to English they will try to link the two

50. R: Suppose the head teacher or the EO walked in on that teacher what do you think would be their reaction?

51. T: The reaction might be bad because they expect us to teach in English.

52. But as a teacher you have to be resourceful to see things which assist pupils to understand things better so at times you are forced to do it but according to the curricula you have to use English.

53. R: On what occasions do you sometimes switch from English to Shona during the course of a lesson?

54. T: We use English only but some of the pupils after the delivery of the lesson they will pose a question

55. I didn't understand this one

56. You try to explain in English and you see that this kid is not understanding that's where you can use the Shona but as grade sixes you can easily take the maths lesson in English throughout without problems

57. R: When you ask pupils to use English during group discussions but they continue using Shona what do you do?

58. T: Mostly we emphasise use English. in my class I used to say if someone speaks to you in Shona just raise up your hand so using that system most pupils in the class they try their level best to use English

59. Even if it is broken English but they will force themselves to use English.

60. R: If children have some difficulties does the school give you guidelines on how to help them improve their English or you have to devise your own strategies?

61. T: They are always giving us advice to give them more of reading especially since we are in grade six but some of these grade six children they cannot even express or pronounce a single word so they advise us to give them short stories during library time for them to read

62. R: What do you think of this idea of testing children in English?

63. T: I think its good

64. I don't have any problems with that.

65. R: What books do you use to teach English?

66. T: As for me I use so many textbooks because I don't stick to one text book because it depends with the writer of the book

67. Maybe his favourite area is comprehension so that you find that three quarters of the book they are comprehensions

68. There are no language practices so I use different textbooks

69. R: What do you think about the level of English in these books?

70. T: To the ones that I use as compared to the ones we were using when we were using at school the language in these books is more simplified

71. R: Who writes these books?

72. T: Different authors

73. R: Do you think it would make any difference if teachers were involved in writing these books?

74. T: I think it was going to be more efficient and with much information because they are the ones that deal with the pupils

75. They know what they want and what they expect because some of the information in the textbooks you find that they are now relevant

76. R: With regards to English do you have any personal convictions about the role of English in teaching?

77. T: As for me I would like English to be taught while the child is born because most of the time wherever we go we use English.

78. Our mode of communication even if you move around in rural areas we try to communicate with people in English

79. R: Does the Shona pupils speak in the community help them to learn at school?

80. T: Not really because some of the Shona these days it's mixed

81. They take the English words and try to put them into Shona and some of them are vulgar words they use in the community especially if you live in locations you can see the type of Shona they speak its not proper.

82. R: So it's a new development we have?

83. T: Yes it mixed its not proper Shona

1. R: Do you and the children you were teaching there share the same home language?

2. T: No. I have one. You know we have inclusive education here.

3. So I have one who is deaf and cannot speak Shona

4. He speaks Ndebele so usually I use English most of the time so that I accommodate him but still because he cannot hear I have to do sign language and face to face teaching

5. So sometimes when I am teaching the whole class I will exclude him then later on after the lesson then I will take him and teach him alone

6. R: Do you think there might be a problem if you spoke a different language from the rest of the class?

7. Let's say they spoke Ndebele and you didn't speak Ndebele

8. Do you think there would be problems for you teaching using English?

9. T: Using one language?

10. R: Yes

11. T: Using English only

12. Yah there would be some problems because it's not all of them who understand English.

13. So you may have difficulties here and there but you can teach them

14. R: Apart from that boy do you have any other Ndebele speaking children

15. T: No. It's only that one

16. R: The way we use English when we teach is determined by the Education Act.

17. Are you familiar with what it says?

18. T: Not so sure

19. R: They say from grade one to three you can use the language used in the community and from grade four onwards you must use English

20. That is the language in education policy of the country

21. Would you have any comments about that?

22. T: I think its ok

23. R: The parents of the children that you teach, would you by any chance be aware of the language they want you to use when you are teaching?

24. T: Yes

25. R: What language do they want you to use?

26. T: They want English.

27. R: How do you come to know about their desire for you to use English?

28. T: It's like when they come for consultations they normally say you should speak in English

29. What ever you say you have to say it in English

30. So they admire that most of the time when they come for consultation days

31. R: So when you are designing your language policy in the classroom do you take their views into account?

32. T: Yes we do

33. R: Is there a language policy in this school?

34. Like what language you should use when you are in class and what language the children should use when they are inside the school?

35. T: Yah its there but its only that with our community at times we don't take it seriously but its there

36. R: What do you think of that policy?

37. T: I think it's a good one

38. R: What advantages do you think..

39. T: They improve the... they can improve the standard of English

40. Because if you want to check our grade seven results most of the children they don't do good in English and maths

41. R: Do you have an English syllabus of your own?

42. T: Yes I have one

43. R: Do most teachers have a copy?

44. I think everyone must have a copy

45. We were given them last year

46. What language do you encourage children to use when they are in class?

47. T: They must use English but when it's a Shona lesson then they have to use Shona

48. And when they are out during break what language do you encourage them to use?

49. T: They should also use English

50. R: When they are doing group work what language do you encourage them to use?

51. T: English

52. R: What do you do if they speak in Shona?

53. T: Like I used to have a card where I write outcast then at the end of the day

54. In fact there are five cards then at the end of the day you will see the children with those cards then I will give them some form of punishment

55. Like sweeping in the classroom or watering flowers

56. R: If you were asked to teach everything in Shona

57. What are your views about that?

58. T: To teach Shona?

59. R: Everything in Shona

60. T: To teach everything in Shona!

61. Ah I wouldn't do that

62. R: Any reasons?

63. T: There are some words which may be difficult to say them in Shona but easy in English especially to those young ones

64. R: Are there any challenges that you face when you teach these children in English?

65. T: Yah

66. R: For example?

67. T: For example they do not comprehend especially English

68. They may not comprehend some texts and will fail to answer questions

69. R: If you teach them using Shona are there any challenges that you face?

70. T: They are there but they are fewer as compared to English.

71. R: The Shona that they speak when they are at home is it of any use when you are teaching?

72. T: No. You see with this generation that we have they can have some words which they can use especially in composition writing which are not worth saying

73. They are not pure Shona like slang like you

74. R: I will just give you a scenario. Just imagine you are a teacher teaching maths

75. And the teacher realises that the pupils are not grasping the concept and then switches from using English to using Shona in order to help the pupils to understand the concepts

76. What are your views on that kind of strategy?

77. T: I think its ok because those who fail to master it in English maybe take it from the Shona

78. R: What do you thin parents would think of that?

79. T: I think they will like it.

80. R: And the pupils themselves?

81. T: I think they will like it

82. R: What of the EO or head?

83. T: Ah partly

84. They have to (laughter). They have to because at times there will be no option

85. R: Are there any occasions when you might change from using English to Shona during the course of a lesson?

86. T: Yes

87. R: At what point?

88. T: Especially when the children have failed to grasp the concept you may switch on to Shona

89. R: Let's say you give pupils group work

90. You ask them to use English during group discussions but they continue using Shona

91. What would you do?

92. T: I think you have to keep on reminding them that we have to do it in English.

93. At the end I think they will do.

94. R: The children are tested in English in all the subjects except Shona.

95. What are your views about that?

96. T: I think its ok

97. R: Does that influence the way you teach?

98. T: Yes it does

99. R: In what way might that influence the way you teach?

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100. In what way does that influence the way you use English.

101. R: If these children have problems in English does the school give you guidelines on how to help children or you have to use your own initiative?

102. T: I have to use my own devices so far they haven't taught us how to handle those children

103. We just use our general knowledge maybe from college

104. R: Which books do you use to teach English for your class?

105. T: I use New Zimbabwe Primary English

106. R: How do you find the language in that book?

107. T: I think it's a good one

108. R: Is it at the level of the children

109. T: Yes it is

110. R: Do you think the books you have are relevant to the needs of the children?

111. T: Partly because some of the subjects we do not have good text books

112. Like maths the book that we have that we were given by UNICEF, it doesn't have much content than the New Venture Primary Maths which we have but in limited quantities

113. R: Who writes these books?

114. T: We have from Longmans

115. R: would it make any difference if teachers participated in the production of these materials?

116. T: Yes I think it does

117. R: What difference do you think that would make?

118. T: May be the content we can add some of the content in those text books

119. R: Do you have any particular views about using English as medium of instruction in our primary schools?

120. Do you have any views you might want to share?

121. T: I think we have to use English maybe three quarters of our time at school we should be using English.

122. R: Any reason for that?

Appendix F3: Chemhanza Primary School Teacher Interview

1. R: I just wanted to start by finding out whether the children you have in that class have the same home language as yours

2. T: Most of them speak Shona

3. R: Do you have Ndebele Speakers?

4. T: I have Ndebele Speakers

6. R: Is there any difference when you are teaching them English or when teaching using English

7. Is there any difference in the way they respond?

8. T: No there isn't much

9. T: The Education Act says you should teach in English all subjects except Shona

10. Are you familiar with that requirement?

11. T: Yes

12. R: What do you think of that?

13. The fact that you should teach from grade four onwards in English

14. T: We are so much used to it

15. R: Is it a good thing?

16. T: To us it has become more of a routine now because that's what we have been doing since training

17. R: Are there any difficulties that arise from that?

18. The fact that you have to use English?

19. Do you sometimes face any challenges?

20. T: Of course there are times you can use vernacular language to elaborate

21. R: The parents of these children, are you aware of what language they want you to use when you are teaching their children?

22. T: Not very much

23. We have never asked them

24. We simply impose what we want

R: The school, does it have a language policy?

25. T: Yes

26. R: What would it be?

27. T: It's not a policy as such but we are encouraged to teach in English to use English mostly in all the other subjects

28. R: And the children?

29. T: They also encourage the children to say we should encourage them even to talk during break time in English only that because of their background they are not so much used to it

30. R: Is it something the head imposed or it was decided by the staff as a whole?

31. T: It was not sort of an imposition but was his suggestion

32. He also told the children but they don't do it

33. But they speak when they are in the classroom during teaching but when they are playing they go back to the vernacular language

34. R: I was wondering whether you have got an English syllabus

35. Your own copy?

36. T: No we have the school copy

37. R: And when you want to consult you to go to the office to look for it?

38. T: Yes

39. R: What language would you encourage pupils to use when they are talking to each other in class?

40. T: It depends

41. During learning or during play?

42. R: When they are just talking

43. T: Like I said like the wish of the school we want to encourage them to speak in English since most of the subjects 99% of the subjects its English because Shona is only one period and all the other subjects it's English

44. So for the sake of them being able to answer even the maths questions

Appendix F4: Njanja Primary School Teacher Interview

R: I wanted to begin by asking whether in that class the children you have there whether you and them speak the same home language.

T: Yes

R: All of them?

T: Yes

R: What the majority language spoken?

T: At home?

R: Yes

T: They speak Shona

R: Do you have any Ndebele speaking children in there?

T: Some yes

R: When you look at the way you teach them is there any difference between the way you interact with those that speak Shona and those that speak Ndebele at home?

T: No there is no difference

R: The Education Act, are you aware of what it says about the language we should use to teach?

T: (Teacher laughs)

R: From grade one to three and from grade four onwards?

T: I think for the infant grades it stresses the mother language then it moves on to L2

R: What do you think about that?
The fact that some people are required to learn in Shona while others are required to learn in English?

T: I think its ok because for the infants they have to get used to their language first before they move on to English

R: This idea of teaching in English does it make it easy for you to teach?

T: Yah it's easy for me to but at times I encounter problems with the children because a number of them they don't understand English
You find that most some of them they are not even able to read properly
They are not good readers.

They can't read so when you talk to them they just look at you

R: Would you be aware of the parents' attitudes towards your using English to teach their children?

T: I don't think there is a problem because when they come for consultation mostly they look at English and even the content subjects because we teach those subjects in English as well

R: Is there a language policy in this school?

T: Yes

R: What would it be?

T: Use of English

Pupils are supposed to use English

R: All the time

T: All the time

R: In and out of class?

T: Yes

R: Did you participate in this or when you got here it was here?

T: When I got here the policy was there

R: What do you think about that policy that children should speak in English as soon as they get through the gate?

T: I think its a good thing because it will also enhance their language as they are learning because you will find that if they don't use English mostly when you are doing English lessons even maths or any other lesson participation becomes low

But if they use it always then we will not have problems like I have this girl

I have a girl Lisa the one who moved in front and bounced the ball she speaks good English

She came from Shabani Primary

She transferred in this year

She is so good you communicate with her easily and she is also confident and she is free

You can talk whatever

R: Do you have a copy of the English Syllabus?

T: No I do not have a personal copy

R: Are there some in the school?

T: There should be

R: Let me move on to the way you talk with your pupils

I noticed that you were talking in English right through and you did not switch to Shona

What language do you encourage them to use when they are talking to you in class

Not during English but any other class time

T: They use both languages (Laughter) because I have realised that some pupils those who are not able to use English they become shy

They actually stop communicating with me so I encourage them the use of both languages.

And we have also realised that these children most of them they are not also good in Shona

We are having problems in Shona with them

Their Shona is bad

R: And when they are doing group work

What language do you encourage them to use?

T: I encourage English

If it is an English lesson or any other lesson which is not Shona I encourage English.

R: Suppose you were asked to teach all subjects in Shona except Shona?

T: Uuh it will be difficult because Shona doesn't express well

There are some things that you want to express in English and when you come to Shona there no Shona words for the (inaudible)

Shona is difficult

R: Let me give you just a scenario

Imagine you see a teacher who is teaching and she realises that children are having problems in understanding then switches to Shona in order to make the concepts clear

What do you think of that strategy?

T: (Sigh) I discourage it because mostly pupils will resort to that

Especially with our student teachers nowadays most of them they do not use English through out the lesson.

Even the one whom I have right now he cannot use English throughout the lesson

I have even tried to encourage him to use English

Even when he writes on the chalk board you have to check before the kids start writing because you find that their tenses are bad, their plurals are bad

I don't know what's happening.

But the majority of the student teachers even if you look in their plan books their English is not good

T: Talking about the same teacher who switches

What do you think the children she will be teaching will think when she changes to Shona in order to make life easier for them?

T: They become happy especially those who are not well versed with English.

R: And the parents what do you think they would feel?

T: Most of the parents whom we have around here they are a bit negative about education

Maybe they don't have the know how or I am not very sure what their problem is but I have realised that most of hem they have negative attitudes so they will not mind.

R: What of EOs and headmasters what will they think about the teacher?

T: Ah they will not be amused because they follow the policy

R: But yourself are there ant occasions when you change from English to Shona when you are teaching?

T: It's rare. Rarely mostly I use English because I want these children to be geared to like the language

R: So if you were moving around during group work like you were doing and you found some children using Shona or Ndebele would you tell them to stop using it or you would encourage them to use English.

T: Yes I will tell them to use English.

R: All these children are tested in English in all the subjects except Shona

What are your views about that?

You said these children's English is not that good yet in all subjects they are tested in English. Do you have any views about that?

T: I think it's ok because there is no way we can teach science in Shona or teach Social Studies in Shona.

As I once said Shona has limited vocabulary

So the use of English I think is ok.

T: The school, if you have children with difficulties in English does it help you with remedial work or you have to think of that on your own.

T: We have to think of that on our own to remedy the situation.

R: There are no guidelines?

T: No there are no guidelines but I understand the grade fours they are the ones who go for remediation in English and maths.

R: What of the books?

Which books do you use for English?

T: There is this book written by Longmans Step In New Primary English

R: Do you have adequate books?

T: yah they are adequate

UNICEF supplied us with books (laughter)

R: What do you think of the English in those books?

T: The vocabulary at times is higher than the pupils' levels

Maybe because we used to have problems with text books because some three four years ago you would get into a class where you get only a copy or two but since UNICEF gave us the books I think we are ok and we are expecting to find great changes within our children.

R: These English resources you have here do you think they are relevant to the needs of your children?

T: Yah because they even have stories they are Zimbabwean stories

And the language you would find out that I think they are ok

R: You said these books are written by publishers, Longman for example, do you think teachers should participate in the production of these materials?

T: Yes they should

R: What difference might that bring?

T: Because teachers are on the ground

They know the levels of the pupils so it will be better if they are made to take part.

R: Generally what do you think about the language level of the children in the school when it comes to English?

T: It is low

Its very low

Maybe if we could have a lot of library books we could be somewhere

There is no reading material except just for the textbooks

If you get into the library the books are scanty

We don't have enough materials

R: Do you think it could be helpful to have an English Shona dictionary?

T: Yes (Laughter)

R: That's brilliant

Do you have anything about the use of English that you might want to share with me?

T: (Laughs) I was thinking that when we went to school we were taught using structures and this functional approach somewhere somehow is failing to meet the demands of the language

Appendix F5: Njanja Primary School Teacher Interview

1. R: I just wanted to start by finding out whether the children you have in that class have the same home language as yours

2. Whether they speak the same language at home like your first language.

3. T: Most of them

4. R: Most of them?

5. T: Yes. Most of them speak Shona

6. R: Do you have Ndebele speakers?

7. T: I have Ndebele speakers

8. R: Is there any difference when you are teaching them English or when you are using English to teach

9. T: No. There isn't much

10. R: This is a grade five class and the Education Act says you should teach in English only all subjects except Shona (inaudible)

11. Are you familiar with that requirement?

12. T: Yes

13. R: What do you think of that?

14. T: What is it?

15. R: The fact that you should teach from grade four onwards in English

16. T: We so much used to it such that

17. We are so much used to it

18. R: Is it a good thing?

19. T: To us it has become more of a routine now because that is what we have been doing since training

20. R: Are there any difficulties that arise from that?

21. The fact that you have to use English

22. T: (silence)

23. R: Do you sometimes have any challenges

24. T: Of course there are times when you can use vernacular language to elaborate

25. R: The parents of these children, are you aware of what language they want you to use when you are teaching their children?

26. T: Not very much we have never asked them

27. We simply impose what we want

28. R: The school does it have a language policy?

29. T: Yes

30. R: What would it be?

31. T: It's not a policy as such but it encourages us to teaching English

32. To use English mostly in all the other subjects

33. R: And the children?

34. T: They also encourage children to talk

35. We should encourage them even during break time to talk in English.

36. Only because of their background they are not so much used to it.

37. R: Is it something that the head imposed or it was decided by the staff as a whole?

38. T: It was not sort of an imposition but it is a suggestion

39. R: A suggestion from the head and everybody (teacher interrupts)

40. T: We simply tried and we also even told the children but they don't do it.

41. But they speak in the classroom during teaching but when they are playing they go back to the vernacular language

42. R: I was wondering whether you have got an English syllabus

43. Your own copy

44. T: No we the school copy

45. R: If you want to consult it you have to go to the school office to get one?

46. T: Yes

47. R: What language would you encourage children to use when they are talking to each other in class?

48. T: It depends, during learning or during play?

49. R: When they are just talking

50. T: Like I said like the wish of the school we want to encourage them to speak in English since most of the subjects 99% it's English.

51. Because Shona is only one period and all the other subjects it's English so for the sake of them being able to answer even maths questions it's English.

52. R: It's English?

53. T: Yes

54. R: And when you give them group work, what language do you want them to use?

55. T: We give them instructions using English unless it is Shona

56. R: Suppose you were told from today every subject you are going to teach using Shona. What would you think?

57. P: Provided the exams will also come in Shona

58. If the exams also come in Shona there will be no problem

59. But if they say teach in Shona and the exams come in English then there is a contradiction

60. R: No problems teaching maths in Shona?

61. T: Aah but if the Chinese are doing it why can't we?

62. R: That's interesting

63. T: Other people are doing it

64. It's only that its neo-colonialism that we accepted English to dominate but with time may be our grand children will appreciate Shona.

65. R: I suppose the thing is (teacher interrupts)

66. T: We are a British colony

67. You see this year's syllabus if you have not noted it

68. This year they have in the examination for grade sevens they are introducing Tonga, Bemba something some languages in Shona

69. That means we are also looking at our culture

70. To value our own languages

71. This valuing of English it was like an imposition from the colonial past which we have

72. R: It was. Don't we ourselves want it to stay that way?

73. T: Because if someone speaks in Shona even if addressing people undermine him

74. T2: yes they undermine him because it has been within us especially our generation

75. That if someone speaks English (mwanawangu murungu iyeye) (my child is a white man)

76. T: Yes but do we want to remain like that?

77. T2: It's a tool of oppression

78. T: Yes

79. R: I was going to ask the next thing.

80. This is an imaginary situation.

81. Suppose a teacher is teaching

82. She realises the children are not following what she is teaching

83. They are not grasping the concept

84. She switches to Shona in order for the children to understand the concept better

85. What do you think of that strategy?

86. T: Switching off completely or mixing?

87. R: She switches to Shona

88. T: The unfortunate thing is that the way children will interpret it if you continue to teach in Shona

89. That's when they will even fail to construct proper sentences

90. Because the way you explain in Shona and the way you explain in English are two different things

91. R: What of parents if they were to know that you switch to Shona

92. What do you think they will think?

93. T: Looking at our catchment's area I don't think they don't have any problem with that.

94. They will be delighted that their children are being taught in Shona

95. They will think it will make their children's life easier in Shona than in English according to our society

96. R: What of the head or the EO if they found you doing that?

97. T: I think it will be a crime (Laughter)

98. But I liked the way you put it

99. You said I am teaching in English handiti (isn't it)

100.   During the course of teaching you realise that the pupils are not following you

101.   Then in my class I decide to explain that in vernacular language

102.   I see the children really lively

103.   At times we meet that because we meet these challenges.

104.   If you try to explain one or two things in Shona then they realise ok we are going in this direction then they see the light then themselves they start responding in English.

105.   In the end I see as if it's better to explain in English but if you see the children do not understand explain in the way they understand soc that you get to what (teacher 2 interrupts)

106.   T2: But is it completely teaching the whole lesson in Shona?

107.   T: No

108.   T2: So that is exactly what is happening in class

109.   R: Following on that, on what occasions would you switch from using English to Shona?

110.   T: When the children do not understand

111.   R: Suppose you ask pupils to use English during group work but they start using Shona

112.   They are doing your work but they start using Shona

113.   T: Encourage them to use English.

114.   R: Encourage them to use English?

115.   T: Because it depends on the work you have given them

116.   Is it supposed to be answered in Shona or English?

117.   R: In English

118.   T: Because they are supposed to respond in English

119.   So the response they are going to give me is going to tell me whether they have been using Shona or English.

120.   R: We talked about testing before

121.   What are your views about testing children in English in all the subjects except Shona?

122.   T: The exams?

123.   National exams or whatever?

124.   R: What are your views about that?

125.   Do you think it is a good thing?

126.   T: Currently it's a good thing because all subjects are taught in English

127.   R: Would it make any difference if the exams were in Shona?

128.   T: Some. Especially maths like you said

129.   R: We probably would find the language

130.   We have got Chimhundu's duramazwi (dictionary)

131.   If there were more of those we would (teacher interrupts)

132.   T: Our at the same time our children no longer speak the actual Shona that we want

133.   R: That is the next thing that I was going to ask whether the Shona that they speak out there do you find it useful when you are teaching.

134.   T: It is even confusing them

135.   Even when they are writing Shona

136.   Ndakaenda na mhamha kutauni (I accompanied mother to town)

137.   T2: But that is the language they are using when it's mixed like that

138.   R: Oh! They have it like that?

139.   T2: The new text books Shona text books yes

140.   R: Does this school have some guidelines on how to help children with language problems?

141.   T: Do they have what?

142.   R: Some guidelines

143.   Say if you have got a problem with a child then do this do this

144.   Do they give some guideline or you have to use your own initiative?

145.   T: To individual classes or to the whole school?

146.   R: Is there a school guideline like this is how you help children with language problems?

147.   T: At times we discuss that in our meetings

148.   R: Then I wanted to talk about books which you talked about.

149.   Which books do you use for English?

150.	T: New Primary English

151.	R: What are your views about the level of English for your learners?

152.	T: It's ok.

153.	R: Who produces these books?

154.	T: Longman. Most of our school books they order from Longman

155.	R: Would it make any difference if teachers participated in the writing of these books instead of publishers doing it on their own?

156.	T: I think if teachers publish the better because teachers know the content better than the publishers because the publishers they merely look for money

157.	R: In that case do these books really meet the needs of the children since they are designed by publishers?

158.	T: Some do the others I think that is why there is competition on publishers

159.	You will have to compare

160.	While this publisher might be having good material in maths it might have very poor material in English.

161.	So you have to compare

162.	Shallow material and whatever

163.	R: Thanks. Generally that's what I wanted to ask but if you feel that there is something you need to raise there is no problem

Appendix F6: Njanja Primary School Teacher Interview

1. R: I just wanted to find out if you have the same home language as these children?

2. T: Yes I do

3. R: Which is?

4. T: Shona

5. R: Do you have any Ndebele children in here?

6. T: A few, about two

7. R: Two. Do they relate to you in English in the same way as those who speak Shona?

8. T: Yes. Those Ndebele speakers they actually are more like they now know Shona so it makes no difference

9. R: The Education Act says these children you are teaching now you should teach them in English only except when you are doing Shona.

10. What do you think of that?

11. T: Aah! Its quite difficult because you find out that most of the children will come up to grade five will not have mastered most of the things.

12. So from one time to the other you have to go back to the mother language to explain to them.

13. So in class of mixed ability you find out that you can do that to about half the class may be you can do with English throughout but the rest you have to use the mother language

14. R: The parents for these children, what language do you think they want you to use when you are teaching?

15. T: The parents would want their children to really understand but because English is a requirement they will have to let you use English

16. R: Is there a language policy for the school?

17. T: Uuh! The policy is there but not everybody adheres to it.

18. We should really like to have pupils communicating in English all the time but its not so

19. R: Do you think it's a helpful policy?

20. T: Yes it is because it will help pupils to be confident

21. Yes we would really like to have all our children communicate in English

22. I think it's a healthy policy

23. R: And do you have your own copy of the English syllabus?

24. T: No

25. R: You use the...

26. T: We use the school syllabus

27. R: What language do you encourage children to use when they are in class not necessarily doing work but they are talking among themselves?

28. T: Aaa I really ...any language

29. R: And when they are doing group work like they were doing?

30. T: When they are doing group work I will encourage them to use English.

31. R: And when they are outside?

32. T: Outside aah this school community is in the high density areas so you find out that if the school isn't using English so for your class only to be speaking English at break time it won't be good.

33. R: Suppose you were told that you should teach all subjects in Shona

34. What would be your view of that?

35. T: That wouldn't be quite good because you find out that the exams will be in English

36. May be if the exams would be in Shona then that would be no problem. So for them to read the books and everything I think using English is quite ok

37. We would prefer using English.

38. R: Suppose ....This is a theoretical thing.

39. Imagine a teacher is teaching and she realises that children are not following what she is saying

40. They are not understanding the concepts then she switches and starts using Shona to make the concept clear to the pupils

41. What would you think of that kind of strategy?

42. T: It's ok.

43. I think it will be ok because in the end the pupils will understand.

44. R: What do you think the pupils themselves would think?

45. T: The pupils aa well they will just think the teacher wants us to really understand what she is explaining

46. R: And the parents?

47. T: The parents

48. Well the parents' main aim is to have the child really grasping concepts so I don't think they will really mind.

49. R: What of the EO?

50. T: Ooh the EO wouldn't like that at all but then if you find a situation when more than half the class does not understand then it will be no use going on in English when you know they don't really understand

51. R: So when you are teaching sometimes are there occasions when you change from English to Shona?

52. T: Yah there are.

53. R: On what kind of occasions do you sometimes do that?

54. T: When you really see that the children are not following

55. R: Ok

56. T: Yes

57. R: Suppose when you give them group work you give them instructions in English.

58. You ask them to discuss in English but as you move around you see them using Shona

59. What would you do?

60. Would you tell them to stop using Shona and use English?

61. T: I will tell them to do so because you would really want them to construct sentences in English.

62. So it is best to do so

63. R: You talked about testing

64. What are your views about children being tested in English in all subjects of the primary school except Shona?

65. What are your views about that?

66. T: Aah I think its ok

67. It's ok because English is really our official language unless if we change that

68. R: Does this influence the way you use language inside the class, the fact that they have to be tested in English?

69. T: Yes

70. R: You said sometimes children have got difficulty in English

71. Does the school give you guidelines on how to assist these children or you have to use your own initiative?

72. T: The school does. For example they encourage us to ( ) they give us words which the school wants a certain grade to master and then you have to give the children those words and they learn those words and make sentences

73. The school really tries something on English

74. R: Ok I notice that you have (lifting a book)

75. T: This is the teacher's

76. R: Do you have another book besides this one?

77. T: Uuh No.

78. We really would want to have more

79. R: So what are your views about the level of English in this book?

80. T: In this book

81. You will find out that eh at times the material is shallow.

82. I mean like for this comprehension I would have to add some more questions

83. They don't give enough range

84. R: Do you think the language in this book is relevant to their needs

85. T: I think it's quite ok but if there were more questions and more exercises

86. R: Who produces these books?

87. T: This one is from Longmans

88. R: Do you think it would make any difference if you as teachers participated in the production of these books?

89. T: Uhu (Yes). For example that point which I was making of having more questions

90. I think we would put it in

91. R: That's quite a valid observation which you make there

92. About the way we use English are there any other views that you have about the use of English to teach at primary school?

93. T: I think we should really try to do more so that we end with pupils who are able to understand, read and so on so that when they go to secondary school they will not have any problems

94. I think we really need to do more

95. The other thing is that if we had maybe books for library so that class will have a library in the corner so that when pupils are free they read

96. So we lack reading materials as a result the standard of English is really down.

97. R: I would like to thank you very much for your time

98. You made very interesting observations

Appendix F 7: Dimbwa Primary School Teacher Interview

1. I wanted to find out whether you speak the same L1 (first language) as the kids in the class.

2. T: Yah But some of the pupils I have to mix so that they understand.

3. R: The majority of the learners do they speak Shona or Ndebele?

4. T: Shona

5. R: Most of them?

6. T: Yes

7. R: Do you have any Ndebele speakers?

8. T: Both

9. R: Is there any difference in the way they use English those who have Shona as the home language and those who have Ndebele as the home language?

10. T: I think for the Ndebeles they are one or two then one from Botswana who can't even speak Shona

11. R: The Education Act

12. We are talking about grade three has some things it says about language

13. Are you aware what the Education Act says about language, the language used to teach?

14. T: Meaning in Zimbabwe?

15. R: In Zimbabwe yes

16. T: English is the official language

17. R: But in class?

18. T: It's English but for Shona I have to be strictly doing Shona

19. So I face problems when is teach Shona because at times I put in some English and I always get penalised for that

20. R: Do you think its fair for the Education Act to require these children to use English?

21. T: To learn Shona or what?

22. R: To learn in English.

23. T: Yah English should be a must

24. R: The parents of these children, what language do you think they want you to use when you are teaching their children?

25. T: English.

26. R: Do you have any way of finding out whether that's what they want?

27. Do you get any opportunities to talk to them about that?

28. T: Yes because last parents' visit one parent was encouraging me to help the child to communicate in English.

29. R: Is there a language policy in the school?

30. To say what language children should speak.

31. T: Since I came here they are not strict because at some schools if you communicate in Shona you are punished for that.

32. R: Do you have an English syllabus of your own?

33. T: No we take them from the school office.

34. R: But there enough copies?

35. T: Ah they are not enough

36. R: Suppose you are teaching Science or Social Studies, what language do you encourage the children to use when they are doing group work? T: It's English.

37. R: And when you give them group work and you find them using Shona, what do you do?

38. T: I will discourage them because right now ZIMSEC when they are now marking their papers at grade seven level they penalise Shona words so we have to encourage them to use English.

39. R: Suppose you were told you should teach everything in Shona, what would you think of that?

40. T: I will disagree.

41. R: Any reason for that?

42. T: For example when they visit these other countries how will they communicate with other people? So they have to use English so that they can be able to communicate with others from the different countries.

43. R: Suppose you...

44. It's an imaginary situation this one

45. Suppose a teacher realises that when she is teaching children are not following and she changes from English to Shona so that the children can understand the concept.

46. What would you think of that strategy?

47. T: Its ok and we are encouraged to do it but not always.

48. R: What do you think will be the feeling of the children if you do that?

49. T: May be the teacher doesn't know English.

50. R: You think they will think the teacher does not know English?

51. T: Or she doesn't understand

52. Why is she changing from English to Shona?

53. R: And the EO or headmaster, what would they think of that?

54. T: They will really penalise you for doing that.

55. I have to change

56. Maybe I was at a higher level so I have to drop may be to grade one level for them to understand

57. R: Which books do you use, English books in this class?

58. T: Our main book New Primary English but then we have other sources like English Alive

59. We can take some of the activities there and use them

60. R: And what do you think of the language in there?

61. Do you think it's suitable for these children?

62. T: For the grade it's ok

63. R: It's ok?

64. T: Yes but then sometimes I disagree with the passages.

65. They are too long for the children

66. If they shorten then ask the questions then maybe the children will understand.

67. R: Who write the books?

68. T: Aah! It's Longmans.

69. R: Do you think there would be a difference if you as teachers were asked to participate in the production of these books?

70. Would it make any difference?

71. T: I think so

72. R: For example?

73. T: Short passages and try at the level to simplify the what the level for the grade so that they master the language

74. *A visitor comes in and interrupts the interview*

75. R: You talked about ZIMSEC

76. What do you think of this practice of testing children in English?

77. In Science, in Social Studies, what do you think of that?

78. T: It's good. Yes it good but then I think ZIMSEC should stop the multiple choice and concentrate to have the children express themselves

79. That one is really a test.

80. R: So the fact that they are tested in English does it influence the way you teach the various subjects?

81. The language you use when teaching the different subjects?

82. T: Uhu (yes)

83. R: Do you have to teach in English because exams are in English?

84. T: Yes I have to for the sake of (what) examinations

85. Teach using that language so that children will be able to answer the questions.

86. R: Is there anything that you feel should be done about the way we use language

87. For example when should we start using English only

88. T: I like that one

89. As early as the toddler

90. For example I have a grand daughter

91. She is here doing grade one

92. She is a star

93. She understands and she can communicate in English and if you give her a passage in English she can answer

94. So if they start at an early age I think we will be somewhere

95. R: Thank you very much. That's what I wanted to find out

96. Your views about language

Appendix F8: Dimbwa Primary School Teacher Interview

1. R: It's just generally about sometimes the way we use language

2. Teachers generally, not you as a person, that I want us to go through and think about

3. I wanted to begin by finding out in your class there whether you and all the children there speak the same language

4. Home language that is

5. T: Home language everyone speaks Shona as the home language

6. R: Do you have any who speak Ndebele in you class?

7. T: Aah no

8. R: Suppose you were not a Shona speaker, do you think there would be any problems in you teaching those children?

9. T: Yah there can because not all of them understand the English language

10. So sometimes we have to use the vernacular here and there

11. R: You are teaching grade 5 so sometimes the language you use to teaching various subjects is determined by the Education Act

12. Would you be familiar with what the Education Act says about the language of instruction in schools?

13. T: Not exactly

14. What do you mean?

15. R: Like the Education Act says from grade one to three you can use the first language of the class and their home language in all subjects except in English but from grade four onwards everything except Shona should be taught in English

16. T: Yes exactly that what it should be

17. Everyone should have to speak in English but at times you find that there are problems here and there

18. Some of the pupils do not understand

19. R: So you are happy with the idea that the Education Act says from grade four everybody English

20. T: Yah so that every one can learn to speak English

21. R: But does it make it easy

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22. The requirement that you teach in English

23. Does it make your job easy?

24. T: Not exactly because there are challenges

25. R: Would you have any examples of the challenges you might face

26. T: The challenges!

27. R: Yes

28. T: One of the challenges is that not all the pupils understand the language

29. R: Do you think there would have been a difference if teachers had been consulted about how language should be used

30. T: Yes otherwise

31. R: What would you have wanted to see yourself?

32. T: Otherwise because they have to (inaudible) the teachers otherwise they have to make some amendments here and there so that pupils can learn better and understand better

33. They have to find out how best they can teach

34. R: The children you teach

35. Their parents, are you aware of their attitudes towards the use of English for learning?

36. Would you say you know what they feel and say?

37. T: Yah a few of them would want the pupils to use English but some can I use the word negative

38. They are negative

39. R: How do you become aware of these negative few?

40. T: The negative parents?

41. R: yes

42. T: Because at times when we call them to come to school if there are nay problems they don't only a few suppose you have a consultation day

43. You invite the parents to come here they don't especially those with children who are slow learners

44. They don't even come

45. R: Is there a language policy in this school?

46. T: Yes it is there

47. R: What would it be?

48. T: We use English

49. R: For everything?

50. T: Yes

51. R: Is it something that came from above or did you participate in drawing up that policy?

52. T: Yah we take part

53. R: What do you think are the advantages of the English only policy?

54. T: It's like it will teach pupils to have confidence in expressing themselves

55. R: Do you have an English syllabus?

56. The national English syllabus

57. T: Yes we have one

58. R: Your own copy?

59. T: Yes

60. R: If you are in your class what languages do you encourage the learners to use when they are inside the classroom?

61. T: I normally prefer them to use English when we are doing other subjects except for Shona.

62. I only want them to talk in Shona when they are learning Shona

63. R: Suppose they are doing something they find challenging in English but they are doing group work what do you do if you find them speaking Shona but still doing the work?

64. T: You just have to still keep on encouraging them

65. I will encourage them to continue speaking in English.

66. R: You teach using English.

67. Are there any specific challenges that you face when you teach using English?

68. T: Yes sometimes the pupils don't understand some of the words that we might be talking about of which we have to jump onto using the vernacular language so that otherwise they would understand better

69. R: I just want to give you a scenario. Probably it will never happen or might have happened. Imagine a teacher is teaching and he realises the children are not

understanding what he or she is talking about and she switches from using English to using Shona so that children can get a clearer understanding of what is involved. What do you think of that as a person? What would you think of that strategy?

70. T: Otherwise I will have to re-teach again after having taught in vernacular.

71. I have to find some other time so that I can teach them again.

72. R: Parents, if they got in there and found the teacher switching to Shona to make pupils understand what do you think they will feel?

73. T: They might feel whatever they might feel but I as the classroom teacher I know the weaknesses of my class and I would be the one who would exactly know what I am doing with my class

74. R: The head teachers and Eos what is their feeling towards you teachers....

75. T: If they would like to know why I am using the vernacular myself I will tell them

76. R: Generally what is their attitude towards a teacher mixing the two languages?

77. T: They will not be happy half the times because they would want us to use English mainly

78. R: Whereas you want to use English most of the time, are there any specific times when you say no this one I will do in Shona?

79. T: Specifically when we are doing Shona?

80. R: No with Shona that's fine

81. Are there any occasions when you are teaching and you say this one I know my children will find problems

82. I will teach it Shona and not in English?

83. T: Eeh I have never done that.

84. R: During group discussion you are going around

85. You see children talking to each other in Shona

86. Would you encourage them to stop?

87. Would you tell them to stop or encourage them to talk in English?

88. What would you do?

89. T: I won't tell them to stop but I will just encourage them to keep on practising talking in English.

90. R: Everybody wants children to do well in tests.

91. What do you think of this idea of testing children in primary school in English in all subjects except Shona?

92. What's your view about that?

93. T: That's a good idea.

94. They have to be tested in English because that's the most common language otherwise.

95. R: Would you say it's the most common language in Zimbabwe?

96. T: Yah that is should I say that is our second language that we have to learn

97. R: So why shouldn't we test them in the first language?

98. T: In the first language? They have to be tested in first language only in Shona.

99. T: The fact that tests are in English do you think it influences the way teachers think about English?

100.   T: The what?

101.   R: The fact that testing is in English only do you think it influences your views about English?

102.   T: Yes sure because we have to give more time to English so that in due course we would have enough practice talking and writing in English.

103.   R: Suppose you have children that have problems with English is there a school policy guiding you on how to help those children?

104.   T: Yes they have a special class where such pupils are taken to and they are taught

105.   R: Is there a special teacher

106.   T: Not yet its just something that is in progress so that we can have one a special teacher

107.   R: Which books do you use for English?

108.   T: Step In New Primary English and New Primary English

109.   R: What are your views about the level of English those two books?

110.   T: Generally it is good for the grade level

111.   R: Do you think it meets the needs of your learners?

112.   T: Yes sure

113.   R: These books who writes them?

114.   T: The authors

115.   R: Would it make any difference if teachers had an input in the writing of the books

116.   T: Sure. The teachers are the ones who spend most of the time with these pupils so they would know the weaknesses or the areas which need improvement or the areas which are good.

117.   R: Would you have any areas in the books which you think could have been done in this way?

118.   T: Yes writing of compositions because in those books they are just given about one topic of which they should have some hints here and there on how best they can write those compositions

119.   R: Do you have any strong feelings about the use of English or Shona in teaching that you might want to share with me?

120.   T: Mostly I would say I would like all the students prosper in speaking in English unlike Shona because we often use Shona even there at home unlike English.

121.   R: It's very interesting...

Appendix F9: Jemedza Primary School Teacher Interview

1. R: If I could start by asking whether you speak the same language as the learners that you teach?

2. T: Yes

3. R: Which one is that?

4. T: Shona

5. R: I have just found out that there are some Ndebele speaking learners in the class

6. Do you find any difference in the way you relate to them in English, those who have a Ndebele background and those that have a Shona background?

7. T: Ah no there is no problem at all but those that speak Ndebele they find it difficult when we are doing Shona

8. But when you are using English to teach other subjects there is no difference

9. T: You are teaching grade six and the Education Act wants you to use a particular language when you are teaching

10. Are you aware what that language is?

11. T: It's English

12. R: What do you think of that the requirement that you use English top teach all subjects?

13. T: We find it difficult when we are teaching maths

14. There is a point we want to emphasise for pupils

15. Sometimes we end up speaking in Shona so that they understand better

16. R: Do you think it would have made a difference if teachers had been consulted about the language that should be used to teach different subjects?

17. T: I think something should have been done to consult them

18. R: What language do the parents of these children want you to use to teach the children?

19. T: Uuh I haven't asked them but some they like English.

20. R: Is there any language policy in this school?

21. T: It was implemented that is English when you are speaking

22. Sometimes we find it very difficult

23. Pupils end up speaking in Shona

24. That's their home language

25. R; But what do you think of that policy yourself?

26. T: It's ok but they have to mix a little bit with the Shona

27. Why?

28. Our Shona is dying

29. Mutauro (language)

30. R: Do you think the Shona children speak outside helps here in school?

31. The kind of Shona that they speak with their friends is it the kind of Shona that you would like to use for learning in the school?

32. T: Ah no there is deep Shona which we use

33. For example if you ask them nzvimbo inorasirwa madota (the place where you throw ashes) they find it difficult

34. R: And the tendency to use slang?

35. T: Yes when they are writing compositions they say zvakanaka futi ende (its ok as well and)

36. It's a little bit mixing

37. R: Do you have a copy of the English syllabus for yourself?

38. T: I have it but now I don't have it in the classroom

39. R: Do all teachers have a copy each?

40. T: Ah yes

41. R: What language do you encourage pupils to use when they are talking to you inside the class?

42. T: I prefer them to use English when there is a lesson in Shona they can speak in Shona

43. R: When they speak to you outside the class what language do you encourage them to use?

44. T: English.

45. R: When they are talking to other learners during group activities what language do you encourage them to use?

46. T: English

47. R: suppose when you have given them group work you find that they are actually doing the work but they are using Shona what do you normally do?

48. T: I don't discourage them

49. It helps them to understand each other

50. R: Suppose you were told from next term everything will be taught in Shona, what would you think of that?

51. T: I will find it difficult in science and Social Studies

52. It will be difficult for me to express some of the words

53. R: Are there any challenges you face when you teach in English only?

54. T: Yes we find challenges when some they do not understand that language English

55. Some of the words so you have to explain them in Shona

56. Yes they find it difficult

57. R: That leads me to my next question

58. A teacher is teaching but she finds that pupils do not understand and switches to Shona in order for the pupils to understand the concept better

59. What do you think of that strategy?

60. T: To me I found it good for my class

61. I will be emphasising the point for them to understand

62. May be they don't know that word in Shona so I have to tell them "in Shona tinoti zvakati" (in Shona we say

63. R: What do you think the parents would think about that strategy?

64. T: I think it ok to them

65. R: What of the EO and the head master what will they say?

66. T: Its ok to them so long the children understand

67. R: Suppose as you move around during group work you find learners using Shona

68. Would you:

69. Tell them to stop using Shona

70. Explain why they should use English during group work or

71. Just let them continue using Shona?

72. It depends with the lesson

73. I will let them continue

74. R: What do you think of the idea of testing primary school children in English?

75. T: As I said earlier our Shona language is dying

76. I think they have to mix like what they do in South Africa

77. R: Does the school help you to guide pupils who have problems with English or you have to improvise on your own?

78. T: You have to improvise

79. R: Which books do you use for English?

80. T: We use English in Action then New Primary English

81. R: What do you think about the level of English in those books for your learners?

82. T: Comparing to those books we did in our early education its totally different

83. R: Is it difficult or it's too easy?

84. T: It's too easy

85. R: Generally the language that is in these materials do you think it is relevant to the needs of these children?

86. T: Its not

87. Referring to ES its not

88. Some of the language its not

89. R: Who writes these books?

90. T: Some of the authors are Zimbabweans

91. R: Do you think it would make any difference if teachers were asked to participate in the production of these materials?

92. I think it will be a good help

93. Giving ideas what to write and not to write

94. R: At what point do you think we should start teaching children in English?

95. T: I think ECD (Early Childhood Development) level

96. R: So you want them to start even earlier than they are doing now?

97. T: Yes

98. R: Are there any advantages which can be got from that?

99. T: I think they will improve their language when they are speaking to others

100.   I think it will be much help yes

Appendix F10: Jemedza Primary School Teacher Interview

1. R: I just want to start by asking whether you speak the same home language as the learners you teach in this class.

2. T: Yes I do

3. R: Which language is that?

4. T: Shona

5. R: Do you have any Ndebele learners those who have Ndebele as their home language?

6. T: No I don't have

7. R: Suppose you were a Ndebele speaker would that make any difference in the way you interact with these learners in English?

8. T: Not really since we have English as the common language for communicating

9. R: You are teaching grade five

10. Are you aware of what the Education Act says about the language you must use to teach grade five?

11. T: I think so

12. R: Which language must you use?

13. T: English.

14. R: What do you think of that policy that you must use English to teach all the subjects except Shona?

15. T: I think it's a good policy the literature is written in English

16. Everything else is just English except maybe for Shona and Ndebele which are in those languages

17. R: Would it have made a difference if teachers had been consulted about the language to be used for teaching?

18. T: I think it would make a difference because the first person who feels the pinch of the shoes is the person wearing them so the teachers would know what can be included what can be done what can be excluded since they are the ones dealing with the learners in the classroom

19. R: The parents of the children you teach would you happen to know the language they would prefer you to use when teaching their children?

20. T: That I wouldn't know

21. R: So there are no opportunities for you to know their attitudes towards the use of English for teaching

22. T: Generally they want their children to speak English

23. Not knowing if they want the same English to be used to teach the other subjects

24. R: Is there a language policy in this school?

25. T: I can say not really

26. R: Other schools say once you go through the gate English only

27. Is that not the case here?

28. T: Some schools do that but here now its not enforced

29. R: Do you have your own copy of the English syllabus?

30. T: I have it but its at home

31. R: What language do you encourage learners to use when they are talking to you in class?

32. T: English

33. R: When they are talking to you outside class?

34. T: English

35. R: And when they are talking to each other during group work?

36. T: Some tend to use Shona but I always encourage them to use English.

37. R: When they are talking to each other during break or during sports what language do you encourage them to use?

38. T: Mostly Shona

39. R: Suppose you were told next term when you come back every subject will be taught in Shona, what would you think?

40. T: Wow! That would be a challenge for me because I did Ndebele at school and now I am teaching Shona so if I have to do everything in Shona that would be kind of challenging.

41. R: What difficulties might you encounter if you were to teach using Shona?

42. T: There are some subjects like science whereby you need to explain some things I don't think there are Shona names or terms.

43. R: Let me give you an imaginary situation

44. Suppose a teacher is teaching science and she realises children are not understanding a concept then she switches to Shona or Ndebele to make the concept clearer

45. What do you think of that strategy?

46. T: Well at times if you see that they do not understand you can switch to Shona the language they understand

47. I have done that some time

48. I do that at times when I see that their minds are blank then switch to Shona then they kind of understand

49. R: What of the pupils do you think they like it?

50. T: Uuh I don't know if they would like it but from what I get from their reaction they tend to understand if I put it in Shona rather than English

51. R: What do you think their parents would say about that strategy?

52. T: Some want their children to be actually taught in English and they don't like this Shona and some would welcome it

53. R: What do you think an Education Officer would think if she found you switching from English to Ndebele to make the learners understand?

54. T: I don't know how they would react I don't know

55. R: Would they be positive about it or would they say how dare you?

56. T: I think they will be positive because they will like maybe see the situation that the kids are not understanding

57. What option do I have?

58. That's the option I have to use Shona to make them understand

59. R: I was going to ask if there any occasions when you might change from English to Shona during gather course of the lesson but you have already answered that.

60. T: Especially if I see that we are not together

61. R: In class during group work you ask pupils to use English during group work but they continue to use Shona.

62. Would you:

63. Ask them to stop using Shona and use English or

64. Let them continue using Shona to do the group work or

65. Explain to them why they should use English to do group work

66. Which strategy would you adopt?

67. T: I just keep encouraging them to use English.

68. R: Would there be any problem in their using Shona?

69. T: At times if they use Shona it will be difficult for them to report back in English.

70. R: It's interesting that the other children I was talking to said that they would talk in Shona but write down in English and report back in Shona but we will have done the work in Shona.

71. T: I encourage mine to just interact in English

72. R: Children are tested in English in all the subjects except in Shona.

73. What do you think of that practice of testing primary students in English?

74. T: I think it's good

75. R: What advantages do you think can be got from testing them in English?

76. T: I think English as the official language if they are tested in English it does not give them problems in future.

77. They are able to communicate whatever read and speak English.

78. R: Lets say you have problems with a child whose English is not up to scratch does the school provide you with guidelines on how to help such learners or you have to use your own strategies?

79. T: You have to use your own

80. R: Which English books do you use to teach English?

81. T: There is a book English in Action and there is New Primary English and there is this book by Richards Junior English

82. R: What are your views about the level of English in these books?

83. T: There are some books that have little language exercises so then you have to use other books

84. R: Do you think the English is too easy or too difficult?

85. T: I think for their level its ok but sometimes the language exercises will be very little and you need to add more.

86. R: Do you think the language teaching materials available in this school are relevant to the language needs of your learners?

87. T: Yes

88. R: Do you think teachers should participate in the production of teaching and learning materials such as books?

89. T: Yes

90. R: What advantage can be got from teachers participating?

91. T: I think teachers can use their experience for in put for what needs to be included or what needs to be excluded?

92. R: What is the problem with people who are outside schools writing books for schools?

93. T: They might not be really knowledgeable on what to include, how learners behave, what they want, what activities to be done and all that.

94. So they won't really know what is needed in the teaching and learning of that English.

95. R: At what point do you think learners should start using English for learning?

96. T: Age or a grade?

97. R: A grade let's say.

98. T: Maybe around six years old

99. R: Six years they will be in grade?

100. T: Grade one.

101. R: So you want them to start using English for learning when they are in grade one?

102. T: Yes

103. R: What are the advantages of doing that?

104. T: I think language acquisition skills are more what can I say?

105. Kids are more they can pick up the language when they are still kids rather later

106. R: What of Shona?

107. T: Well they speak Shona at home

108. R: Do you think that the Shona that they speak at home is relevant to learning at school?

109. T: Not really.

110. When it comes to language because spoken Shona and the Shona language zvinana tsumo and nyaudzosingwi (including proverbs and idioms) they are quite different

111. The only advantage would be maybe they are able to read and understand because they speak Shona at home.

112. R: The Shona that that they speak in the streets does it give you problems when it comes to learning?

113. T: Yes it does

114. R: Interestingly when I asked the students what language they would use when they meet a teacher at Groombridge they said they would use English.

115. What language would you want them to use?

116. T: English

117. R: Any particular reason?

118. T: My reason is English is the official language in the country

119. R: During sports, what language do you use to talk to these children?

120. T: English

121. R: If they speak to you in Shona what do you do?

122. T: I just respond but at the same time encourage them to use English.

123. R: Thank you very much you have really helped me

Appendix F 11: Jemedza Primary School Teacher Interview

1. R: I was going to start by asking if you speak the same language as the learners that you teach in your class.

2. The home language that is.

3. T: The home language alright

4. My home language is I am a Karanga. Ndiri mukaranga (I belong to the Karanga tribe) Shona

5. R: And what of the learners?

6. T: Most of them their first language is Shona

7. It's all of them

8. R: Suppose your home language was Ndebele and you were teaching Shona children do you think there would be any problems in teaching them in English only?

9. T: Yes I once taught Ndebele in Zhombe so I think there would be no problem at all.

10. R: You are teaching grade four

11. The Education Act says you must use a particular language

12. Are you aware what the language is?

13. T: Yes especially the type of school we are in we are encouraged to use English.

14. R: What do you think of that requirement to use English to teach grade four children?

15. T: Ah at some point it's good but you see the majority of our children you see their level of English is bad.

16. R: Are there any specific problems that you come across because of this requirement to use English?

17. T: Ah specific problems there are none at all.

18. R: The parents of these children what language do you think they want you to use when teaching the children?

19. T: The parents, most of our parents are gardeners so their wish is that we must teach their children English.

20. R: Do you get any opportunity to hear their views?

21. Do they sometimes come to school on consultation day?

22. T: Yes they come on consultation days some of them just visit

23. R: Is there a language policy in this school?

24. T: Aah not at all but they encourage us to talk English to let the children talk in English.

25. R: Do you have a copy of the grade four English syllabus?

26. T: I don't have but I am sure the school head has one.

27. R: But you can get access to it if need be?

28. T: Yes

29. R: What language do you encourage pupils to use when they are in class?

30. T: Mostly I encourage English but when it is Shona time that's when we talk in Shona.

31. R: When they are outside what language do you encourage them to use?

32. T: I want them to talk in English.

33. R: When they are doing group work what languages do you want them to use?

34. T: Most times we encourage them to talk in English so that they will be used to talk in English.

35. R: Suppose when you come back next term you are told everything should be taught in Shona

36. What would be your reaction?

37. T: To me it will be ok

38. That is my major language

39. So I have no problems English or Shona no problems

40. R: The Shona that the children speak outside the school do you think it helps them to learn here in school?

41. T: Ah no it does not at all you find that most of the Shona these children speak I can say is slang like

42. It's not pure Shona

43. That's where the problem is and you find that when it comes to the end of grade seven our pass rate its not that satisfactory but last year I was a grade seven teacher we produced pleasing results

44. R: That's pleasing to hear.

45. Let me give you a situation

46. A teacher is teaching lets say science and realises the children are not following and switches to Shona in order to make the concept clear to pupils, what do you think of that strategy?

47. T: I think there is no problem at all

48. At times we do that

49. You find that you are teaching especially ES and the children do not understand at all you have to switch to their first language so that they can understand the concept better.

50. R: What do you think the children themselves would think when you do that?

51. T: Most of the children will understand there is a problem here.

52. R: And the parents if they were to hear that's what you do what do you think they would feel?

53. T: I don't know but most of the parents they encourage us to teach in English.

54. They want their children to perform better when they go for entrance tests.

55. That's where the problem is.

56. R: Suppose an EO walked in while you were doing that what do you think the EO will do?

57. T: Teaching in Shona?

58. R: Explaining in Shona

59. T (Laughter) I don't know but as a teacher he has to understand there is a problem somewhere so the teacher is trying to make the children understand better.

60. We are encouraged to do that in the content subjects.

61. R: Are there any specific occasions when you change from English to Shona during a lesson?

62. T: Yes especially these content subjects ES, RME then Maths

63. You find that you have explained a concept children look confused they have not understood the concept so I have to switch onto Shona

64. Aiwa ndirikureva izvi. Ukatora izvi zviri zvitatu ukatora izvi four ukazviwedzera zvinenge zvavazingaani pamwechete? (What I mean is, if you add four to three what is the answer?)

65. R: Suppose you ask pupils to use English when they are doing group discussions but when you go round you find that they are using Shona.

66. What do you normally do?

67. T: We normally encourage them to speak in English but our class is a mixed group

68. We have those children who can excel better but some of them have challenges

69. Some of them serious challenges

70. So you find that they have found out that their colleague has not understood the concept so may be that's the problem why they have switched to Shona

71. R: What are your views about testing children in English throughout the primary school?

72. T: I have no problem its good for them and you find that when they are in grade six, seven they are supposed to be interviewed in English

73. They are supposed to write entrance test in English.

74. Suppose a parent wants to transfer a child from here to another school that's where the problem comes in

75. So it's better

76. R: you have said there some children whose level of English is not quite good does the school give you guidance on how to help those children or you have to rely on your own strategies?

77. T: At times you are left to your own devices as a teacher but we have a special class where those children who have serious challenges and the psychological services have tested them they are then screened they go to a special class to be helped there

78. R: Which books do you use to teach English?

79. T: We have these UNICEF

80. We have English in Action then we have English Primary revised

81. R: What do you think of the level of English in those books?

82. T: Yah they are better

83. R: In general the teaching and learning materials in the school do you think they meet the language needs of the learners?

84. T: Ah no that is a serious problem

85. It hinders our work.

86. The teaching learning materials are not enough at all

87. The teacher you find your self looking in the bin searching for whatever is available so that you can help the pupils.

88. R: The writing of books and material do you think if teachers were involved in the writing of these books would that make a difference?

89. T: Yes I think it would make a difference because teachers are the ones involved in the learning of the children so if they are involved in the writing of those books it would be much better.

90. At times you find that the book does not tally with the syllabus or the syllabus may be outdated so you see that there is a serious problem

91. For example we have RME

92. If you take the syllabus, the teachers' book and the pupils' book you find that you cannot understand the syllabus at all and you are confused you are lost

93. R: At what level do you think children should start using English to learn?

94. T: English to learn ah to me from ECD level

95. R: What do you think are the advantages of doing that?

96. T: The advantages are many.

97. We see that here in Zimbabwe we use English for communicating at various levels so if you catch them young it will be better.

98. R: What of this idea that children in primary school should learn using the mother tongue and should only use English when they go to secondary?

99. T: When they go to secondary!

100.   R: Yes

101.   T: I am afraid there will be a disaster there

102.   R: I would like to thank you very much for your ideas

Appendix F 12: Rusvingo Primary School Teacher Interview

1. R: I was just going to start by asking whether you speak the same language as the learners you teach in this school.

2. By same language I mean whether you speak the same L1 or home language.

3. T3: I speak Ndebele

4. R: You speak Ndebele

6. And the majority of the learners don't speak Ndebele

6. (To teacher 4) What language do you speak?

7. T4: I am a Ndebele speaker

8. R: You are a Ndebele speaker but you teach Shona children?

9. T4: Yes

10. R: Is there any difference or do you face any difficulties in teaching using English because you are Ndebele speaking and the children are Shona speaking.

11. Are there any difficulties you face because you have different home languages?

12. T3: Yes. There are some words

13. You find that there are some words you can't explain it in English you have to use their mother language but to me it is difficult because Ndebele they don't understand some of the words

14. R: Oh ok.

15. (To T4) Would that be a similar situation for you?

16. T4: Uuh I think the pronunciation differ

17. R: OK

T4: Some of the words they differ

18. R: Ok

19. T4 (Inaudible)

20. R: How do you sometimes try to overcome the challenges you have just

21. T3: Let me say if you read a word like is it question (pronounced kweshen)

22. Right and in Ndebele we say question and if you say question they will say aah

23. Then you have to explain

24. R: ok

25. T4: Even when we look at the numbers

26. They say seventy and they say seventy (voiced v)

27. There is a difference

28. But if they laugh I can explain to them that the pronunciation is differ because I speak Ndebele and they are using Shona

29. R: Ok.

30. When you are teaching here I think the Education Act requires you at this level to use a particular language to teach all the subjects.

31. Are you aware which language you must use to teach?

32. T3: Yah. We have to use English

33. R: What do you think of that?

34. Is that...

35. Does that create any difficulties for you as a teacher?

36. Or does it make your teaching easier having to use English?

37. T4: It depends with the kids

38. Especially here in Avondale they feel free even if you speak to them using English

39. But some schools like in (referring to the other teacher) where is it?

40. T3: Kuwadzana.

41. T4: Some pupils may not understand well so you have to use their mother language

42. R: What of the parents themselves?

43. What language do you think they want you to use to teach their children here?

44. T3&4: They want English.

45.0R: Is there any opportunity for you to know their attitudes towards English?

46. Are there any opportunities in the school when they can talk to you about that?

47. T3: I think on consultation days

48. R; On consultation days, ok

49. Is there a language policy at this school on what language to be used by teachers and learners when they are on site?

50. T4: Yes

51. We have to use English

52. R: Is that something that was agreed by staff or you found it here or it's the head's rule?

53. Who makes that policy?

54. T3&4: We don't know

55. T3: We found it here

56. R: What do you think of that policy?

57. What are your views about that policy that says once you get through the gate English only?

58. T4: It's not English only as such

59. R: You can use any language?

60. T3&4: You can use any language

61. R: Do you have an English syllabus copy of your own?

62. T4: Yes. In the office.

63. R: Oh in the office but not a copy of your own?

64. T3&4: Some of the teachers have personal copies

65. R: What language do you encourage your learners to use when they are in these situations:

66. When they are inside the classroom not necessarily doing English but any subject? 67. What language do you encourage them to use?

68. T4: We have to use Shona because you find that some of the children you find that in Shona they are lacking because when they are at home they use English and when they come to school they always use English.

69. R; If these pupils are talking outside like they are now, do you encourage them to use any particular language?

70. T3&4: Any.

71. R: They can use any language

72. Uuh Teaching English they may be good at it.

73. Are there any challenges you face when you use English to teach children in your class?

74. T4: For the teacher or the pupils?

75. R: For you as the teacher

76. T3: not really

77. R: Not really

78. I was going to give you this as an example

79. Suppose a teacher finds that when teaching Social Studies children are not able to understand a concept and switches from English to Ndebele in order for the children to understand the concept.

80. What are your views about that strategy?

81. T4: I think its ok because some of the pupils can't understand some of the words especially in Environmental Science and Social Studies.

82. T3: So you have to use their mother tongue

83. In other subjects there are some words which you can use better you can explain better using English than using Shona since they are embarrassing

84. So it's better to use English especially if you are talking about sexual what ever

85. R: What do you think the parents would think about that strategy?

86. There is a problem you switch to Ndebele. What do you think the parents would say?

87. T3: Some of the parents have a negative attitude towards the use towards the mother language but they don't know the effects of that because that negative attitude it would be a disadvantage to the child.

88. Or he or she (inaudibleT3&4)

89. R: What of the EO?

90. T3&4: (Laughter).

91. R: How would the EO react to a situation like that?

92. The teacher is trying to help the learner by switching to Ndebele.

93. What do you think would be the reaction of the EO if he or she is observing that?

94. T3. In fact they are encouraging that

95. R: Ok.

96. T3: Yes

97. T4: Because there are cases that you can fail in grade seven you cannot live with the concept again

98. R: When you are teaching in a subject are there any occasions when you have to switch from English to Ndebele or Shona during a lesson?

99. Are there any particular occasions

100. Whenever this occasion comes I switch to Ndebele?

101. T3: Depending on the subject

102. R: As long as it is not Ndebele.

103. As long as it is another subject

104. Are there any particular occasions when you switch?

105. T3&4 (Silence).

106. R: Suppose you (hesitation) Lets say on Monday when you come back you were told every subject except Ndebele must be taught in Ndebele

107. What would be your reaction?

108. T3: Ah

109. T4: It's very difficult

110. T3: Science! Social Studies! Maths in Ndebele!

111. T4: You have to teach it in Ndebele?

112. R: It's a hypothetical situation.

114. Suppose you were told everything must be taught in Ndebele

115. T3&4 Oh

116. R: What are the likely difficulties?

117. T3: The background of the children

118. T4: Some of the pupils don't speak Shona at home.

119. R: ok

120. T3: Yes.

121. They speak English throughout.

122. R: And those who speak Shona

123. The Shona they speak outside the school is it the same as the Shona you teach in the school?

124. T3&4: No

125. R: Makadii mhamha (*How are you mother?*)

126. T4: They mix.

127. Their Shona is not proper even their Ndebele at home is not the proper one

128. R: Does that create problems when you are in school?

129. T4: Yes because they take that and write as it is in books

130. R; Ok. Uuh

131. I was going to ask.

132. Here you have got obviously children from different backgrounds.

133. Some of them might have difficulties in English.

134. Does the school provide you with guidelines on how to assist these learners or you have to depend on your own initiative?

135. T3: The school assists.

136. R; The school assists.

137. I was just going to ask about the books you use.

138. Which books are you using at the present moment in English?

139. T3&4 Step In

140. R; Step In

141. What are your views about the level of English in that book?

142. T3&4: It's ok

143. T4: For the level of the pupils it's ok

144. R: And is it relevant to the language needs to the needs of the children?

145. T3&4: Yes.

146. R; Who writes these books?

147. T3&4: (Laughter)

148. R: Would it make a difference if teachers were asked to participate in the writing of these books?

149. T3&4: Yes.

150. T4: Because they realise some mistakes or something which can help pupils better than the written one

151. R: (To teacher 3). What do you think yourself? Not everybody but teachers being selected to participate in the writing of books. What do you think?

152. T3; It's ok because they have sort of experience

153. R: Ok.

154. Of what goes on in the classroom?

155. T3: Yes

156. R: Ok.

157. Language policy of the education system in general in Zimbabwe

158. What do you think of it?

159. T3: What do you mean?

160. R: Like the idea of saying from grade one to three you must teach using the first language of the community in which you are then from grade four onwards you must teach in English only?

161. T4: Ah but it would be very difficult to change them from grade one to three using their own language

162. R: From grade one to three they use their own language.

163. That's what the Education Act says isn't it

164. T3&4: Uuh

165. R: Then from grade four onwards you must use English. Do you think it a good policy?

166. T3; I think its ok

Appendix F13: Rusvingo Primary School Teacher Interview

R: I just wanted to start by finding out whether you and the children in here speak the same home language.

1. Whether they all speak Shona and do you speak Shona

2. T: Yah we have only one who is a Tanzanian

3. He is learning Shona

4. Speaking one or two words in Shona yah

5. So mostly we use English so that he also benefits

6. But when its Shona lesson

7. R: But all the children speak Shona

8. T: Yes

9. R: The Tanzanian child and the other children

10. T: Yes

11. R: Is there any difference in the way they relate to English when you are teaching them?

12. T: No

13. R: It's just the same?

14. T: Yes.

15. It's just the same

16. R: Aah Ok

17. The way we...

18. You are teaching at an interesting level grade four where the Education Act says you must teach all subjects in English

19. T: Yes

20. R: What do you think?

21. What do you feel about that?

22. T: I think it's a good idea and so far it's working quite well

23. R: Does it make your teaching easy using English?

24. T: We are used to it now (laughter)

25. We are used to it now

26. R: Aah. You were told that this is what you must do teaching English from grade four onwards

27. Do you think it would have made a difference if teachers had been consulted?

28. Do you think the policy would have been different?

29. T: I think it's good that there is eeh the tone of the school

30. It helps to maintain the tone of the school

31. R: What of the parents?

32. Are you aware of their attitudes towards...

33. T: They are happy with them speaking in English

34. Yah they are happy

35. R: So you take their views into account when you....

36. T: Yes I take their views into account when teaching

37. R: So is there any language policy for the school?

38. T: We mainly have to communicate in English.

39. R: In English?

40. T: Yes but if it's a Shona lesson you have to use Shona.

41. R: Is this was this just decided by the administration or all teachers were involved in deciding on the policy?

42. T: We also like it because it also puts our school on the map.

43. R: Do you have a copy of the English syllabus yourself or it's in the office?

44. T: We go and collect from the office because they are not enough for everyone

45. R: During class like this, what language do you encourage pupils to use?

46. T: English

47. R: English

48. When they are talking among themselves? Suppose they are not talking about class work

49. What language do you encourage them to use?

50. T: I encourage them English

51. R: Suppose on Monday you came here and the school head said all subjects are to be taught in Shona

52. T: Uuh (laughter)

53. R: How would you feel about that?

54. T: It would be very difficult especially in maths yes sometimes it is very difficult to express especially numbers big numbers like hundred

55. R: Ok

56. T: Yah

57. R: Are there...I can see your children are very fluent in English some of them but are there any challenges you face when you are teaching in English?

58. T: Yah. There are some who are slow in picking up concepts but generally we understand each other

59. R: Just taking on from what you said that there are some who are slow in picking up concepts.

60. I'll give you a theoretical situation that a teacher realises children are not understanding a concept then switches to Shona and explains that concept in Shona so that the children can understand

61. T: Yes

62. R: What do you think of that?

63. T: I think it's a good idea but mainly when they write exams its in English so we mainly want to dwell on the English part because its like if you explain the bible in Shona then they get the test and there is no Shona there

64. So we try to hammer it home in English so that it will be easier for them when it comes to examinations

65. R: What do you think if the teacher did that what will the learners themselves feel?

66. They are finding problems in understanding and the teacher uses the language which they know

67. What would the learners feel?

68. T: They will (inaudible) (laughter)

69. R: And their parents?

70. T: Their parents (hesitation) they feel if you are teaching them in English the standard is very high

71. R: What if the EO found such a teacher doing that?

72. T: Teaching Shona?

73. R: No teaching in Shona

74. T: Yes

75. R: Explaining a concept in Shona, not in English

76. T: They don't much encourage that because they want us to use the language suitable for that subject

77. R: But your learners probably are good at using English but are there any occasions where you might change from using English to using Shona during a lesson?

78. T: Rarely

79. R: Just as you were walking around looking checking on the learners when they were doing group work

80. Suppose you have given them instructions to talk in English but you find them talking in Shona

81. (Teacher laughs)

82. What would you do?

83. T: I will emphasize to them to use English

84. R: If I can go back to testing again that you talked about earlier

85. You said they are tested in English

86. What are your views about testing primary school children in English in all subjects?

87. T: I think it a god idea

88. R: It's a good idea

89. T: Yah

90. R: Does this influence they way you use English in class the fact that they have to be tested in English?

91. T: Yes

92. R: There may be some learners who have problems with English. Does the school provide with guidelines on how to help those learners or you are left to your own devices?

93. T: Uuh (teacher hesitates)

94. R: I s there a set way of saying if a child has got these problems this is what you have got to do or you just have to decide on your own what to do?

95. T: You have to decide on your own

96. R: I notice that things have really changed all over

97. Which books do you use for teaching English?

98. I saw Musara's.

99. T: New Step in Primary English but you can get other books and use them

100.　　　 Yah

101.　　　 R: What is your view about the level of English in that book?

102.　　　 T: I think it's suitable for the grade and the questions they vary.

103.　　　 It's not like they are all a,b,c,

104.　　　 There are also they why questions, how the what yah

105.　　　 R: The reading materials you have do you think they are relevant to the language needs of these learners?

106.　　　 T: Yah

107.　　　 R: Who write these books?

108.　　　 T: (Silence)

109.　　　 R: Do you know who S Musara is?

110.　　　 T: No I am not quite sure (laughter)

111.　　　 T: She teaches at the University of Zimbabwe

112.　　　 T: (laughter)

113.　　　 R: She was in the curriculum development unit some years ago

114.　　　 Maybe the real point I wanted to ask is do you think it would make a difference if teachers participated in the production of these books?

115.　　　 T: I think it would make a difference.

116.　　　 R: In what ways do you think that would be helpful?

117.　　　 T: You also suggest some of the things that you feel should be in

118.　　　 R: Generally, what are your views about using English to teach?

119.　　　 At what level do you think we should start using English?

120.　　　 T: From ECD (Early Childhood Development).

121.   R: Any particular reasons?

122.   T: It will help communication with the kids because long back its like there was no much emphasis on teaching the English and we would and teachers would struggle here to communicate with them

123.   It would drag you back to complete the syllabus

124.   R: I would like to thank you very much for your time. You have raised some very interesting issues.