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Implementing Namibia's language policy: a case study of classroom practices and language beliefs in rural and urban Namibian schools

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Declaration

I confirm that this is my own work and the use of all material from other sources has been properly and fully acknowledged.

Selma Ashikuti

Abstract

This thesis explores the enactment of Namibia's national language-in-education policy (LiEP) in junior primary schools with particular attention to the differences between urban and rural contexts. Namibia is a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural country marked by extensive linguistic diversity. At independence in 1990, Namibia adopted English as the official language. With regard to education, the government established the *Language Policy for Schools in Namibia*, which states that "the mother tongue/predominant local language should be the medium of instruction (MoI) at Junior Primary level - Grades 1-3" (MEC, 1993, p.2). English is a compulsory school subject throughout the school system, and from the fourth grade until tertiary level, it is the MoI (MEC, 1993).

While the important role of indigenous languages in education is recognized in this LiEP, the existing literature suggests that enacting mother-tongue education (MTE) policies in sub-Saharan Africa remains a challenge. This study adopted an ethnographically informed case study approach, and questionnaires, interviews and classroom observations were used to explore policy interpretation and appropriation at classroom level and to examine teachers' and principals' belief about the role of English and indigenous languages in education. In total, 173 participants completed the questionnaire; 22 participants were interviewed and two classrooms (one urban and one rural) were purposively selected for observation.

The study found that LiEP interpretation, appropriation and enactment differed between urban and rural contexts. Linguistic diversity at classroom level, exposure to the MoI, and availability of teaching resources were key factors in policy engagement. While some schools had adopted the MTE policy, some, especially in urban areas, had adopted English as a medium of instruction (EMI) policies. The adoption of EMI policies was resultant from language beliefs amongst teachers and parents that favoured English, unavailability of indigenous language resources including teachers. At classroom level, however, language practices were characterised by the adoption of a translanguaging pedagogy as a means of mitigating the communication barrier between teachers and learners. As a result, teachers transformed national and institutional LiEPs at classroom level in order to meet their own and their learners' linguistic needs.

List of abbreviations and acronyms

BoN	Bank of Namibia
EMI	English Medium Instruction
ELP	Ethnography of language policy
ETSIP	Education and Training Sector Improvement Programme
HoD	Head of Department
HPP	Harambee Prosperity Plan
LiEP	Language-in-education policy
LPP	Language policy and planning
MBESC	Ministry of Basic Education Sports and Culture
MEC	Ministry of Education and Culture
MoEAC	Ministry of Education Arts and Culture
MoF	Ministry of Finance
MoI	Medium of instruction
MT(s)	Mother tongue(s)
MTE	Mother tongue education
NIED	National Institute for Educational Development
NPC	National Planning Commission
NSA	Namibia Statistics Agency
NSAT	National Standardised Achievement Test
SADC	Southern African Development Community

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Dedication

With immense love and gratitude, I dedicate this thesis to the incredible women who raised me to be the woman I am today: my beloved late mother mee Kaunapawa Leena-Lisa Shipanga, my late great-grandmother kuku Ida Imene ya Kalonda and my late grandmother kuku Nangula Esther Shimbingo. Although departed, your guidance and wisdom continue to lead me; all I am I owe to you. In equal measure, I dedicate this thesis to my dear departed friend, Simon Dhimbulukweni Lumbu- an epitome of kindness, humility, selflessness and an absolute legend. What you have done for me so generously and freely, I am eternally grateful for. I will forever love you all. With this, I honour you all.

1 Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Context of the study

1.1.1 English Medium Policies in Sub-Saharan Africa

In many sub-Saharan African countries including Botswana, Nigeria, Namibia, Kenya, Uganda, Zimbabwe and Malawi, English is the medium of instruction either at secondary school level or throughout schooling. In these highly multilingual countries, English is believed to be a safe choice because "it does not privilege any specific ethnic group; rather, it disadvantages everyone equally both socioeconomically and politically" (Kamwangamalu, 2016, p.14). Given the countries' colonial histories, the focus, at LiEP policy adoption, has typically been on uniting the citizenry in the post-colonial era, and language choice has been seen as one such means.

However, the act of adopting English as the medium of instruction (EMI) policies in African schools disregards the presence and value of the many indigenous languages spoken on the continent. Indigenous languages are the primary means of communication, knowledge transfer and socialisation in most sub-Saharan African households. These languages have the potential to be primary means of knowledge transfer in the classroom as well and by extension drivers of national development. Furthermore, it disregards the fact that, typically, in these countries learners have little to no exposure to English prior to schooling and outside the school environment. Studies including Altinyelken, Moorcroft & van der Draai, 2014; Arthur, 2001; Baldauf Jr & Kaplan, 2007; Barongo-Muweke, 2016; Bunyi, 2005; Mokibelo, 2016; Probyn, 2005 have highlighted the pedagogical implications of such a decision as often learners and teachers alike struggle to learn via the English medium.

In Tanzania, Brock-Utne (2007) found that the use of English as a MoI was "inefficient as it slows down the learning process considerably" (p. 35). Similarly, Mchombo, (2014) notes

that the use of English in African classrooms has aggravated failure rates and inevitably subverted national development plans. Holmarsdottir (2007) posits that in Africa, teachers and learners' exposure and use of English outside the classroom is limited, and this result in limited English proficiency among both. As a result, they adopt code-alteration strategies in an attempt to enact EMI policies.

1.1.2 Education expenditure in Namibia-an overview

With a population of 2.2 million people and approximately 27 languages, Namibia is a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural country marked by extensive linguistic diversity. Since the dawn of independence in 1990, the government has prioritised education. To this end, it allocated between 21% and 28% of the country's national budget to education between 1990 and 2015. Budgetary allocations to the Ministry of Education remained the highest amongst all national sectors between 1990 and 2015 (Bank of Namibia (BoN), 2001; Ministry of Finance (MoF), 2014).

Studies such as Fischer, n.d; Kgabi, 2012 have reported that the Namibian government is not receiving good returns from its investments into education. According to BoN (2001), "despite massive monetary injections into the sector, the output of the education system remains fairly low and incomparable to other low-income countries in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region" (p.19). The low educational achievement has urged policy makers, scholars and practitioners to identify the underpinning issues in Namibia education system.

A key concern in this regard is the quality of education at junior primary level at which the country's language policy mandates the use of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction (MoI) (Ministry of Education Arts and Culture (MoEAC), 2015). Owing to Namibia's multilinguistic nature, quality early education is highly related to what language is

used in education, and whether learners have access to the language. Any discussion of Namibia's education system will inevitably lead to an assessment of its language policy.

1.1.3 Language Policy in Namibia

Namibia does not have an official national language policy in place; however, Article 3 of the country's constitution addresses language related matters. The constitution establishes English as the country's official language. In short, the government stipulates English as the official language and indigenous languages as national languages (Fourie, 1997). As the country's official language, English is the language of business, education, science, government and the courts, so it is inevitably linked to upward social mobility in the country. Given the country's socio-political history discussed in Section 1.14, Afrikaans and German are also high varieties, and indigenous languages largely remain low varieties. Overall, English is the most powerful language in the country, and such importance is witnessed in the education domain too.

Despite the lack of a national language policy, Namibia has an official language-in-education policy (LiEP)- the *Language Policy for Schools in Namibia.* The policy supports the establishment of English as an official language and advocates that "the establishment of English as the official language would take place in the classroom" (Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC), 1993, p. 2). According to the official LiEP, English is a compulsory school subject throughout the school system, and it is the MoI from the fourth grade until tertiary level (MEC, 1993). That is, although the policy has officially set indigenous languages as MoI, English is a prescribed compulsory subject throughout schooling.

Concerning indigenous languages, the policy identifies the need for learners to "ideally become proficient in at least one Namibian language, especially their home language" as an objective (MEC, p.2). To this end, the LiEP has set "the mother tongue/predominant local language" as MoI at junior primary level -Grades 1-3 (MEC, 1993). The policy recognises

thirteen (13) languages- eleven (11) indigenous and English and German- as languages that may be used in schools either as MoIs or as taught subjects. The inclusion of German is rooted in Namibia's socio-political history as discussed in Chapter 2.

Notwithstanding the official policy, there is consensus amongst researchers into Namibian's education sector and LiEP that underperformance in the education sector is both rife and far reaching (cf. Ausiku, 2010; Cantoni, 2007; Diallo, 2008; Frydman, 2011; Garrouste, 2011; Harlech-Jones, 1990; Harris, 2011; Kgabi, 2012; Marope, 2005; Nicodemus, 1997; Otaala & Plattner, 2013; Simasiku, 2014; Simasiku, Kasanda & Smit, 2015; Swarts, 2001; Wolfaardt, 2005).

The country's LiEP appears to support and encourage mother tongue education and support the country's multi-ethnicity and linguistic diversity. However, despite important policy stipulations concerning mother tongue education (MTE), the junior primary phase is marked by the underperformance. MoEAC (2015) identified high repetition and dropout rates as major challenges. In the same vein, the fourth interim progress report on Namibia' s achievements of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) identified high repetition rates, high dropout rates and low attendance and survival rates in primary education as some of the pertinent challenges facing the education sector (Republic of Namibia, 2013).

The education sector is one of the key driving forces behind the countries' national development, so educational underperformance can be directly linked to development or lack thereof (cf. Bamgbose, 1991; Batibo, 2005; Brock-Utne, 2007; Mchombo, 2014). In section that follows, I briefly discuss the roles of English and Afrikaans respectively in Namibia's education sector from a historical perspective.

1.1.4 English and Afrikaans in Namibia

During the 75-year South African apartheid rule leading up to independence, English was a co-official language with Afrikaans; however, Afrikaans enjoyed more power during this era

(Fourie, 1997; Haacke, 1994; Jansen, 1995). Educational resources and trained teachers were therefore available for education in Afrikaans, but not necessarily for English education (Jansen, 1995; Maho, 1998). Afrikaans was the MoI in virtually all schools, and was set as a prerequisite for entry into higher education (Maho, 1998). English was thus not used much-not in government neither in schools where Afrikaans was the main language nor in homes where indigenous languages were the main languages.

At independence, English became the sole official language since Afrikaans was seen as the "language of oppression" and English was considered the "language of liberation" (Fourie, 1997; Frydman, 2011; Maho, 1998). The decision to adopt English as the official language was based on the country's socio-political situation at the time (Harlech-Jones, 1990; Frydman, 2011). Particularly influential in this decision were factors related to the need for national unity, political stability and the international reach of English (Frydman, 2011; Maho, 1998; Otaala & Plattner, 2013).

Today, as noted earlier, English is a compulsory school subject, and a MoI from the fourth grade onwards. The transitional bilingual education model adopted by Namibia may, at face value, appear to be a laudable effort in the promotion of bilingual education. However, it is important to note that the use of English as a MoI at upper primary level and poor English teaching practices in African countries where exposure to English beyond the classroom is limited, especially in rural areas, often results in learners' failure to learn content knowledge presented in English at subsequent phases of schooling (Altinyelken et al., 2014). Therefore, it is fair to say that the adoption of English as official language and a MoI in schools from early on in schooling in Namibia is a pedagogical challenge to many and at different levels (Haacke, 1994).

The challenges presented by the teaching of English as a compulsory school subject and its use as a MoI in present-day Namibia particularly concern the availability of teaching material, availability of qualified teachers, low parental involvement and general lack of English fluency among learners and parents (Diallo, 2008; Haacke, 1994; Harris, 2011; Harlech-Jones, 1990; Jansen, 1995; Otaala & Plattner, 2013; Simasiku, Kasanda & Smit, 2015; Wolfaardt, 2005).

1.1.5 Indigenous languages and education in Namibia

Given the historical and current power and influence of ex-colonial languages on African education, the question arises as to what role(s) indigenous languages serve in African classrooms. Typically, Southern African countries have LiEPs that designate the role of MoI to indigenous languages at least at primary school level (Kamwangamalu, 2012). Whether classroom practices are in accordance with official policies is a pertinent question. The impact of MoIs on school performance and overall educational attainment should, however, not be undermined. Tollefson & Tsui (2004) stated that MoIs cannot only maximise classroom performance, but they can also generate and maintain social, political and economic inequality. Cummins (2015) argued that, in order to transform underperforming educational systems, the inclusion of teachers and learners' multilingual repertoires is vital.

In Namibia, as national languages, in urban areas, indigenous languages are mainly used in informal domains of language use such as the home domain and informal markets. However, in rural areas, indigenous languages are the main means of communication across all domains since most rural areas are virtually monolingual (Maho, 1998). Even when multiple "languages" are spoken in rural areas, these are typically mutually intelligible dialects and not different languages per se. It is important to note that although urbanisation is on the increase in the country (Indongo, Angombe & Nickanor, 2013), about 57% of the country's population still resides in rural areas (NSA, 2011).

It is worth asking then what challenges the designation of English as a MoI from the fourth grade onwards may present to learners and teachers in Namibia's rural areas. In this regard, Frydman (2011) advanced the view that, "it has been demonstrated over the last two decades that for the rural as well as uneducated populations in Namibia, in which exposure to and opportunity to use English is minimal, English has not become a useful means of communication" (p.183). It is for this reason that, as will be discussed in the next section one of the objectives of this study is to explore how urban and rural classroom practices and language beliefs support or undermine linguistic diversity and the teaching-learning process.

1.2 Significance of the study

This study comes at a time when Namibia's education system is at the crossroads and is undergoing major reviews aimed at improving productivity and educational outputs. For instance, the government's major intervention into education underperformance, the Education and Training Sector Improvement Programme (ETSIP), is in progress alongside other national plans such as the Harambee Prosperity Plan (HPP) and Visions 2030.

Adopted in 2006, ETSIP is a national development strategy whose aim is to transform the country's education sector so as to deliver economic growth and equitable social development (Education and Training Sector Improvement Programme (ETSIP), 2006). The programme notes several key sector weaknesses including: "low quality and effectiveness; persisting inequalities; low efficiency in resource use; low system delivery capacity; inadequate financial resources, and low capacity for knowledge creation" (ETSIP, 2006, p. 2). Responses to these weaknesses were developed and outlined in the program document for implementation.

The Harambee Prosperity Plan (HPP) was initiated by Namibia's current president Hage Geingob in 2016. The plan articulates the government plans to fast-track the country towards development. The plan specifically targets areas where major shortcomings have been noted

over the years and where progress is lacking. The plan is built on four pillars namely: effective governance, social progression, economic advancement and infrastructure development (Harambee Prosperity Plan (HPP), 2016). In education, the plan specifically identifies vocational training and training as a focal area.

In 2015, the Ministry of Education Arts and Culture (MoEAC) reinstated that it was striving "for continuous improvement in inclusive quality education, teaching and learning, improved learning outcomes, and the production of an educated and skilled workforce needed for a productive and competitive Nation" (MoEAC, 2015, p. 3). This is an important time and development as dialogue on the country's education reform is unfolding. To inform current and future policy discourse concerning language use in education, an empirical investigation into classroom practices is necessary.

The official LiEP of multilingual Namibia supports mother tongue education, yet studies including Frydman, 2011; Harris, 2011; Kgabi, 2012 have proven that mother tongue education does not appear to be taking place consistently. In summary, there appears to be a gap between the official LiEP and its enactment. This study examines current classroom practices vis-à-vis policy stipulations concerning the use of indigenous languages and English respectively in education. In addition, the study explores what classroom practices exist and what language beliefs teachers hold towards educational use of indigenous languages and English at the junior primary level.

Whilst there exists past studies addressing the enactment of Namibia's LiEP, there are few studies that have explored classroom practices and teachers' language beliefs at the junior primary level with regard to official LiEP enactment from an ethnographically informed perspective. Even less attention has been paid to teachers as key social agents in policy interpretation and appropriation. From a methodological perspective prior studies (Ausiku,

2010; Cantoni, 2007; Dlamini, 2000; Harlech-Jones, 1990; Harris 2011; Wolfaardt, 2005), mostly adopted questionnaires and interviews as data collection methods, so few studies have employed classroom observation and or adopted an ethnographically informed approach. Furthermore, the focus of most studies has been teacher and resource availability, parents' and learners' language beliefs and experiences of the policy and the adoption of EMI policies. Diallo's (2008) study whilst ethnographic considered the implementation of Namibia's LiEP, but focused on secondary schools in an urban setting.

Attempts to ascertain the impact of the current LiEP on urban and rural areas have generally resulted in studies exclusively focusing on *either* urban or rural areas. Studies such as Ausiku (2010) focused exclusively on rural areas while Diallo (2008) focused on urban areas only. Harris (2011) while focusing on both urban and rural areas employs a different methodological approach to this study.

As will discussed in Chapter Four, in order to provide a holistic picture and in-depth description of LiEP enactment and language beliefs at junior primary level, the present study adopted a quant →QUAL approach in which questionnaires, interviews and classroom observations were employed as methods of data collection. Document analysis served as a subsidiary method which was undertaken with the aim of supplementing findings from the three other methods. Together, the methods were used to triangulate the complexity and depth of LiEP enactment in multilingual classrooms and of language beliefs.

This study contributes to the field of language education broadly in three aspects:

1. It contributes to the few studies in Namibia regarding language beliefs and classroom practices in urban *and* rural areas vis à vis the official language policy at junior primary level;

2. The study adds to existing literature on teachers' engagement with official LiEP and their beliefs towards the use of indigenous languages and English in education in post-colonial EMI contexts, and
3. Methodologically, it contributes to the few mixed-methods, ethnographic or ethnographically informed studies on teachers' language policy engagement and language beliefs from an insider's perspective.

1.3 Positionality Statement

Social research cannot be undertaken without an influence from social processes and personal characteristics (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). The data collection process involves interaction with participants, and these interactions are not free of influence or effect (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). It is possible therefore for researchers, due to the knowledge, background experiences etc., to have an influence on participants and the data they collect. To mitigate this influence, researchers should exercise reflexivity by "reflecting about how their role in the study and their personal backgrounds, culture and experience hold potential for shaping their interpretations, such as the themes they advance and the meaning they ascribe to the data" (Creswell, 2014, p.186). I have to acknowledge however, that undertaking the study interacted with some of my own prior and current personal experiences and realities.

I am a native speaker of Oshiwambo, specifically the Oshindonga dialect, and I am fluent in Afrikaans, French and English. Before I transitioned to the compulsory English-only phase from Grade 4 onwards, my first three years of schooling took place at a rural school where my mother tongue, Oshindonga, was the MoI. I have since formally learned other languages including Afrikaans and French as second and foreign languages respectively at subsequent levels of schooling. My exposure to and proficiency in Afrikaans and French have given me

an understanding and appreciation of the nature and value of multilingualism and linguistic diversity that I would otherwise not have. Nonetheless, having experienced MTE in the first three years of my schooling, I have had first-hand insight into the value of MTE and am aware of the solid foundation it has laid early on in my education. Other than my personal experiences, research indicating that MTE is best for learners especially in the early years of schooling exists (Cummins, 2001, 2015; Mchombo, 2014). My experiences of MTE and empirical studies such as identified earlier have influenced my beliefs, and I often experience tension between training English teachers in a country where indigenous language teachers are in short supply. I do acknowledge this tension and its influence on this study. However, I locate myself in the belief that both English and indigenous languages have roles to play in a modern and globalised world. I thus am not of the "either or" orientation in which it is either English or indigenous languages. I fully understand and appreciate the role of English in Namibia both as the country's official language and the lingua in many social interactions. In the same vein, I am aware of the role that MTE can play in transforming education.

Having attended primary school in a rural area, I was curious to understand how Namibia's LiEP is interpreted, appropriated and enacted in urban and rural schools because urban and rural contexts in Namibia vary greatly both sociolinguistically and socioeconomically. The curiosity is to uncover ways in which learners, teachers and principals and schools constructed their realities regarding the LiEP in their specific contexts. My experience of MTE has led to my belief that indigenous languages are untapped resources in education in sub-Saharan Africa and that MTE can lay a good foundation for learning. Although these are my beliefs, I chose to assess other people's beliefs regarding the role of indigenous languages and English respectively in teaching and learning. This, I believe, would display various beliefs and experiences from urban and rural contexts.

In my current role as a university English lecturer, I am directly involved in the training of English teachers. My career has given me the opportunity to interact with students from MTE and EMI schools in Namibia and abroad. My students are a reflection Namibia and Africa's much-spoken about linguistic diversity and multilingualism. Through these interactions, I have come to understand that both approaches (MTE and EMI) have their merits and that neither is inherently flawed nor inherently destined for success as there are numerous variables involved in the successes and failures of EMI and MTE LiEPs. This belief is based on first-hand experience in which some of my students from both EMI and MTE backgrounds succeed while some struggle with tertiary education. Equally, I have seen how students often ask me to translate or explain class content in languages such as Oshiwambo and Afrikaans.

The above-stated personal experiences, values and beliefs are both strengths and weaknesses for this study, and I acknowledge the fact that there is thus a potential bias in the interpretation and presentation of my study. After all, researchers' social status, backgrounds and environments do interact with research (Clark & Creswell, 2015). Similarly, research is a process, and Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) posit that "social researchers are part of the world they study" (p.14). To minimise and monitor researcher influence, I considered, and reflected on my own "interactions with participants, reactions, roles, biases and any other matter that affect the research" (Cohen et al., 2007, p.172). To do this, I kept a self-reflective journal throughout the data collection process recording personal feelings experiences and thoughts. Ortlipp (2008) comments that a reflective journal is useful in acknowledging, disclosing and recording one's experiences, opinions, feelings and thoughts and recognising their role in the research design, data collection and analysis processes.

My role as a researcher differed between the two schools that constitute the case study of this research-Uushimba PS and Omukunda PS. At Omukunda PS, I was an insider since the

school is located in a village in which I had lived before. I was familiar to most teaching staff members and community members. The insider role may be viewed to be accompanied by a disadvantage of possibly being biased during the data analysis stage (Bryman, 2012). However, I was aware of this specific disadvantage during the analysis stage; hence I read transcripts thoroughly and multiple times and made notes before interpreting the data.

I acknowledge that I bring with to this research my lived-experience. As a Namibian, first-language speaker of Oshiwambo and a speaker of Afrikaans, I have a shared linguistic and cultural identity with some of the participants, and I therefore, in many respects, have insider knowledge. In addition, as an English language lecturer at the University Namibia and a language-teacher trainer, my theoretical knowledge of language, pedagogy and literacy acquisition influence my beliefs on language teaching and learning differently from the participants. This difference may render me an outsider to certain degree thereby complicating my insider status. Overall, I am unable to completely claim the complete outsider status at either of the schools.

I ensured that I re-checked my insider knowledge with the teachers by seeking their confirmation of what I assumedly knew. In the interview, I also asked what may be seen to be unnecessary *why* and *how come* questions. These questions include: what is the most common language in the school community; what is the medium of instruction at the school; why do learners have to leave their books at school? Although, as an insider, I may have known answers to these questions, I needed to confirm and double-check whether my insider knowledge was (still) accurate or not.

In conclusion, given that in this study, I studied subject matter that I interact with in my professional life, and I brought with personal experiences and values regarding the subject

matter to the study, it is important that I reflect on and recognise possible biases as I have done in this section.

1.4 Research aims and questions

The study aims to explore how Namibian junior primary level teachers engage with and respond to the country's LiEP. In particular, it aims to examine teachers' language beliefs towards the use of indigenous languages and English in education respectively. The study focuses on the junior primary level as it is the level at which the official LiEP advocates for the use of indigenous languages as MoIs. To achieve the research goals, three key research questions guided the study:

1. What are teachers' beliefs towards the role of indigenous languages and English in education?
    - What are the socio-political and historical processes that lead to the perceptions of the teachers about indigenous languages and English, language users and language education in Namibia?
2. In what ways is Namibia's official LiEP interpreted, appropriated and implemented in classrooms?
    - To what extent do teachers accept, follow, resist or implement the policy?
    - To what extent does linguistic diversity impact classroom practices at junior primary level?
3. How do classroom practices and teachers' language beliefs differ between urban and rural schools?
    - What are the characteristics of classroom practices in urban and rural schools?

The objectives of the research are:

- to explore how junior primary teachers interpret and appropriate of Namibia's LiEP;

- to examine teachers' language beliefs towards the use of indigenous languages and English in education and how such beliefs influence policy enactment in rural and urban areas;
- to investigate how existing classroom practices and teacher language beliefs support or undermine linguistic diversity,
- to understand how existing classroom practices and teacher language beliefs support or undermine the teaching-learning process ,and
- to provide critical information for countries similar to Namibia which have EMI policies.

The status quo in many African countries where many children continue to be taught in unfamiliar languages (Kamwangamalu, 2012) especially early on in their education necessitates an investigation into classroom practices at all levels of education. As long as educational attainment is being potentially undermined by the issue of language use in education, research needs to be undertaken in these contexts to inform and influence LiEP dialogue and decision making. This study is also expected to contribute to the academic discourse on LiEP and classroom practices in sub-Saharan Africa.

1.5 Structure of the thesis.

This dissertation is divided into nine chapters. The outline is described below.

Chapter 2: Namibia – a historical and sociolinguistic overview

The chapter provides a historical and sociolinguistic overview of Namibia. The chapter aims to provide background information on the history of Namibia's language policy through the years. Key language policy events from the Missionary era, the German colonial era and the South African apartheid era are explored. To conclude, the chapter presents an overview of Namibia's current sociolinguistic landscape, and this includes a discussion of the country's education system and current language policy.

Chapter 3: Literature review and theoretical framework

In this chapter, a discussion of literature concerned with language-in-education policy from the sub-Saharan Africa context and other contexts is presented. Simultaneously, the chapter discusses the historical development of language policy and planning by looking at the prominent approaches to language policy and planning namely: Haugen's (1987) Language Policy Framework, Cooper's (1989) acquisition planning, language-in-education policy and Spolsky's (2004) language policy framework. The chapter continues with a look at language beliefs and mother tongue education with a particular focus of the sub-Saharan Africa region. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the ethnography of language policy approach to LiEP studies and Ricento & Hornberger's (1996) LPP onion metaphor.

Chapter 4: Research design

Chapter 4 outlines the research methods and methodologies employed in the study. The case study and ethnographically informed approaches are discussed. An overview of the research design is undertaken by addressing issues such as participants, sampling and the research phases and research tools- questionnaire, interview, classroom observation and field notes. In addition, issues pertaining to sampling and gaining access to participants are addressed. To conclude, matters concerning data analysis procedures, the pilot study, data validity and reliability, ethical considerations and limitations of the study are explored.

Chapter 5: Questionnaire findings

This chapter is the first of three findings chapters in this study. It presents findings from the data gathered from the first phase of data collection- the questionnaire phase. The chapter provides quantitative data.

Chapter 6: Interview findings

The chapter provides data from interviews conducted with teachers and school principals. Key findings from the interviews are presented and analysed in detail alongside excerpts from the interviews. Teachers' and principals' language beliefs and language practices are explored in this chapter.

Chapter 7: Observation findings

Findings from classroom observations are presented in this chapter. The data is presented and analysed in detail with the support of excerpts. The chapter discusses teachers' classroom language practices, language beliefs and factors influencing them.

Chapter 8: Discussion Chapter

Key findings from the previous chapters are discussed in view of how they relate to language policy enactment in Namibia. The findings are discussed in comparison with literature on language policy enactment in the sub-Saharan Africa region.

Chapter 9: Conclusions and recommendations

The chapter summarises major conclusions and recommendations of the study. In addition, the chapter examines the study's limitations and suggests areas requiring further research. To conclude, the study's implications are presented.

2 Chapter 2: Namibia-A Historical and Sociolinguistic Overview

2.1 Introduction

This chapter follows on from the previous chapter which laid the foundation to the present study's exploration of language policy in Namibia. The chapter presents an overview of the historic, social and linguistic environment in which the present study is situated. The chapter begins with a brief overview of the evolution of Namibia's LiEP. The country's sociolinguistic profile is then presented with a focus on its languages and language varieties. The chapter concludes with an overview of the current language policy with a focus on the challenges encountered in interpreting and enacting it.

2.2 Namibian language policy through the years

Namibia's history can be sub-divided into four main periods namely: the Missionary Era (1800-1884); German Colonial Rule (1884-1915); South African Apartheid Rule (1915-1990), and Independent Namibia (1990-Present). In what follows, I will offer brief discussions of language policy in Namibia during these periods.

2.2.1 The Missionary Era

The first recorded missionaries in Namibia arrived in the country in 1806 (Buys & Nambala, 2003). Christian missionaries had the mission of spreading the gospel in Namibia as they did across the globe. To achieve this, missionary societies sought to translate the Bible and hymns into indigenous languages (Buys & Nambala, 2003; Maho, 1998). Owing to the fact that any indigenous languages required codification at the time, translating the Bible required missionaries to engage in the codification of some indigenous languages (Buys & Nambala, 2003; Fourie, 1997; Maho, 1998).

Furthermore, in order to ensure that the spreading of the gospel was done not only by missionaries but by indigenous people as well, missionaries emphasised the study of indigenous languages both by missionaries and indigenous people (Buys & Nambala, 2003). Indigenous language grammar books and dictionaries were therefore produced during this

period, and eventually the Bible was translated into languages such as Oshindonga, Oshikwanyama, Otjiherero, Khoekhoegowab and Setswana (Buys & Nambala, 2003; Maho, 1998). Having learnt indigenous languages, the missionaries adopted an MTE policy, and mother tongues were largely used as media of instruction (MoIs) (Maho, 1998). Education was considered an important part of spiritual conversion and was therefore emphasised. Reading, writing and arithmetic were core subjects of the curriculum, but education was of a very poor academic standard (Buys & Nambala, 2003).

Buys & Nambala (2003) credit missionaries with the establishment of Namibia's first language studies, and educational institutions amongst others. However, Maho (1998) argued that education had been in Namibia prior to this period, and what missionaries introduced was rather "formal education in the Western sense" (p.177). Overall, although the texts were largely limited to religious language, missionaries played a pivotal role in the development and preservation of indigenous languages, and many grammar books developed during this era have been used to further develop and codify indigenous languages (Buys & Nambala, 2003; Maho, 1998).

2.2.2 German Colonial Rule

During the infamous "Scramble for Africa" and following the Berlin Conference, Namibia, then known as "South West Africa", became a German colony in 1884. The interest of the German rulers lay in the exploitation of the country's natural resources, and there was minimal interest in the development of the country's human resources (Hishongwa, 1992; Okupa, 2006; Wallace, 2011). Racism and segregation were key factors underpinning policies and resource allocation in this era (Daniels, 2003; Wallace, 2011).

Education was also segregated on racial grounds, and German was the sole official language at the time and the MoI especially in "white schools" (Pütz, 1995). Black education was mostly left in the hands of the missionaries, and continued thus to be offered mainly via the

mother tongue with some schools teaching in German. Harlech-Jones (1990) noted that due to limited school attendance, social instability and a limited number of years spent at school, the introduction of German as a MoI during this era had minimal impact on the black community. In addition, the schools were poorly funded, poorly maintained and teachers were largely un/underqualified (Maho, 1998). It is from this context that inequality in Namibia is essentially historical. Germany's occupation of Namibia ended in 1915 following the outbreak of the First World War (Katjavivi, 1988).

2.2.3 South African Apartheid Rule

In 1915, Namibia was occupied by South Africa, and would be under its apartheid rule until 1990. The apartheid government continued the racial segregation and exploitation that had begun during German rule. It was during South African rule that The Bantu Education System was introduced in Namibia (Hishongwa, 1992; Katjavivi, 1988). During the apartheid era, education provision was rooted in white supremacy and ethnic segregation with non-whites receiving substandard education (Jauch et al., 2009; Katjavivi, 1988). Primarily aimed at providing cheap labour to the white community, education provided to non-whites was not only kept at a basic level, but it was also poorly funded, poorly delivered and functioned within a restricted curriculum and limited to the first four-five years of schooling (Ejikeme, 2011; Hishongwa, 1992; Herbstein & Evenson, 1989; Katjavivi, 1988). Basic reading, writing, and arithmetic skills were taught in the mother tongue to black people, and much superior education was made available to the white community (Hishongwa, 1992; Katjavivi, 1988). English and Afrikaans were minimally taught; enough was taught to enable black people to "follow oral and written instructions and to carry on simple conversation with Europeans about work and subjects of common interest" (Katjavivi, 1988, p.28).

Language was an important tool for oppression, and it was used to keep the black community segregated (Harlech-Jones, 1990, 1995; Hishongwa, 1992). As part of their "divide and rule"

strategy, the black population was segregated not only from the white population, but from each other on ethnic and tribal grounds (cf. Herbstein & Evenson, 1989; Hishongwa, 1992; Katjavivi, 1988; Wallace, 2011). Herbstein & Evenson (1989) noted that tribal segregation was also present at school level as ethnic education departments were established and learners sent to schools based on their linguistic backgrounds. The provision of MTE was a means of isolating communities from each other since unity among the black community was regarded as a threat to white rule (Herbstein & Evenson, 1989; Katjavivi, 1988). Linguistically, Trudgill (1974) as cited in Benjamin (1994) noted that this resulted in the black community "regarding mother tongue instruction not as a valuable democratic right, but as an attempt to isolate them from the ruling elite" (p.103). It can be argued that MTE became synonymous with intellectual oppression, and in most parts of Africa, this particular negative attitude has not changed much since (cf. Adegbija, 1994; Bamgbose, 1990; Kamwangamalu, 2012).

Officially, English and Afrikaans were the co-official languages during this period. However, Afrikaans enjoyed most prestige and power (Fourie, 1997; Haacke, 1994; Harlech-Jones, 1995; Nicodemus, 1997). Mandatory use of Afrikaans in most domains was therefore common (Herbstein & Evenson, 1989). For instance, Afrikaans fluency was a minimum requirement for employment. Indigenous languages on the other hand had no socio-economic power as they were regarded only as tribal/ethnic languages (Fourie, 1997; Sukumane, 2000). It is a result of practices such as this that Afrikaans gained the reputation of the "language of oppression" (cf. Fourie, 1997; Frydman, 2011; Harlech-Jones, 1995). The association of Afrikaans with oppression is still prevalent among black communities in Namibia, Botswana and South Africa.

In this section, I have shown that the evolution of language policy is largely marked by unequal distribution of resources in education and oppression through language. I have also

shown that educational inequalities prevalent in Namibia today are historical and based on past race relations. I will now move on to present Namibia's sociolinguistic profile.

2.3 Namibia Today: A Sociolinguistic Profile

Namibia is a vast yet very sparsely populated country (the population density is 2.6 /km2) with a surface area of 824, 292 km2 and a population of 2.2 million people (Namibia Statistics Agency (NSA), 2011). Like all African countries, Namibia is a multilingual, multicultural and multi-ethnic country. *Ethnologue* identifies 27 languages in Namibia, of which 22 are indigenous and five (5) non-indigenous (Ethnologue, 2016). The main languages are Oshiwambo (48.9%), Khoekhoegowab, also known as Damara/Nama, (11.3%), Afrikaans (10.4%) and Otjiherero (8.6%) (NSA, 2011). It is important to indicate here that the total number of languages is debatable if we are to consider the languages versus dialects debate.

While I do not wish to dispute census data, I argue that caution must be applied in interpreting it. Census data is not indicative of *language varieties*, rather the wording of the national census questionnaire lists names of *dialect clusters* instead of names of language varieties. Resultantly, some of what the census reports as "languages" are dialect clusters representing multiple language varieties. Specifically, the terms "Caprivi languages, San languages, Kavango languages, Otjiherero languages and Oshiwambo languages" mask many language varieties. Namibia's Population and Housing Census Report of 2011 summarised the country's linguistic makeup as shown in Table 1 below.

Main language spoken	**Number of households**	**Percent**
Namibia	464 839	100.0
Oshiwambo Languages	227 103	48.9
Nama/Damara[1]	52 450	11.3
Afrikaans	48 234	10.4

[1] Nama/Damara was used in the past to refer to what is today officially known as Khoekhoegowab. The official and correct name is thus Khoekhoegowab.

Otjiherero Languages	40 000	8.6
Kavango Languages	39 566	8.5
Caprivi Languages	22 484	4.8
English	15 912	3.4
Other African languages	5 795	1.3
German	4 359	0.9
San languages	3 745	0.8
Other European Languages	3 306	0.7
Setswana	1 328	0.3
Asian Languages	461	0.1
Don't know	92	0.0

Table 1: Namibia's linguistic makeup (Source: NSA 2011)

In total, eight indigenous languages (Oshindonga, Oshikwanyama, Rumanyo, Thimbukushu, Khoekhoegowab, Otjiherero, Ju|'hoansi, Setswana and Silozi) are codified and are used in formal education and in radio and television broadcasting in addition to English, German and Afrikaans. Some languages found in Namibia are cross-border languages. For example, Oshikwanyama is spoken in Angola, Setswana is an official language in Botswana and South Africa, Thimbukushu and Otjiherero are also spoken in Botswana, and Silozi is a major language in Zambia.

It is important to note here that Oshindonga and Oshikwanyama are mutually-intelligible Oshiwambo dialects. In Namibia, as is the case in most sub-Saharan African countries, in rural areas, indigenous languages are the main means of communication across all domains since most rural areas are virtually monolingual, and even when multiple "languages" are spoken in rural areas, these are typically mutually-intelligible dialects and not different languages per se (Maho, 1998). Before proceeding to examine the official language policy, it is necessary to provide an overview of the country's education system.

2.4 Namibia's Basic Education System: a brief overview

At independence, the new government abolished the Bantu Education System and began the process of providing education equitably to all Namibians. Four main education goals were set: *access*, *equity*, *equality* and *democracy* (Ministry of Basic Education, Sport and Culture (MBESC), 2002).

Basic education is subdivided into five stages: Pre-Primary -Grade 0; Junior Primary - Grades-1-4; Senior Primary- Grades 5-7; Junior Secondary- Grades 8-10, Senior Secondary – Grades 11-12. According to the official LiEP, transition from junior primary school should be accompanied by transition from MTE to English-only instruction.

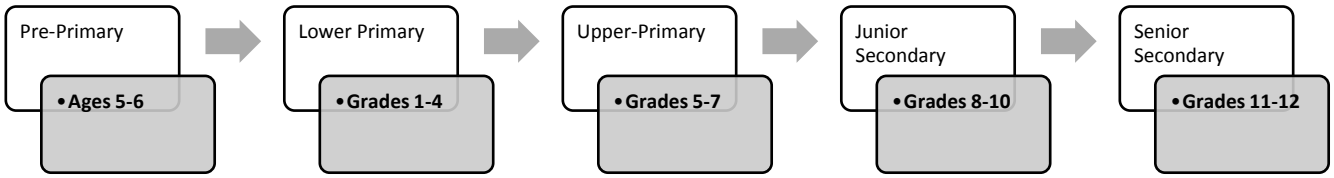

Table 2: The Structure of Basic Education in Namibia (Based on, NIED, 2008)

Recent studies into Namibia's education indicate that the basic education phase of education faces underperformance across all phases. This raises questions about causes of underperformance in basic education which will be briefly discussed in the next section.

2.4.1 Underperformance in Basic Education

With an 89% adult literacy, Namibia has one of the highest literacy rates in Africa (NSA, 2011). However, generally, the education sector faces the quadruple challenge of high repetition rates, high drop-out rates, high failure rates and a generally poor-quality education (cf. Ausiku, 2010; Cantoni, 2007; Frydman, 2011; Harris, 2011; Jauch et al., Kgabi, 2012; Marope, 2005; Otaala and Plattner, 2013; Simasiku, Kasanda & Smit, 2015; Swarts, 2001; Tötemeyer, 2010; Wolfaardt, 2005).

To illustrate, results from the National Standardized Achievement Test (NSAT), which assesses Grade 5 and 7 learners' overall Mathematics, English and Natural Science performances, illustrate some of the challenges clearly. In 2014, Grade 5 NSAT results indicate that the national averages were as follows: English 44%, Mathematics 47%. Grade 7 national averages were as follows: English 49%, Mathematics 48% and Natural Sciences is

58% (MoEAC, 2015). The scores are mostly below the expected average of 50% and are indicative of underperformance, high failure rates and a poor quality of education that is likely to contribute to a low throughput at this phase.

In the *State of Education* address in 2015, the Minster of Education Arts and Culture stated that "limited textbooks available for teaching indigenous languages, shortage of qualified teachers, limited parental and community involvement and limited psycho-social support for learners" are some of the key challenges facing the ministry (MoEAC, 2015, p. 7). It can be argued that underperformance in basic education should be expected since three key requirements for education provision and success, namely: availability of qualified teachers, teaching material and parental involvement are challenges facing the ministry all at once.

Before proceeding to examine the aforementioned factors as precursors to educational underperformance in Namibia, it is necessary to provide an overview of the current LiEP. An understanding of the current LiEP is important to not only understanding the context of this study, but to understanding underperformance in education.

2.5 The Language Policy for Schools in Namibia: an overview

In this next section, I will briefly discuss the policy and the setbacks that it has suffered in recent years with regard to interpretation and enactment. As seen in the previous chapter, Namibia' official LiEP is based on transitional bilingualism model where learners go through first three years of education in MTE and move to EMI in the fourth grade. In transitional bilingual models, learners are taught in the first language(s), and in this case, English is concurrently taught as subject. The aim is to teach learners in a language they best understand whilst, at the same time, preparing them to be proficient enough in English to enable them to interact with peers and teachers, and to function in mainstream education (Baker, 2011). The ultimate aim is to, at the end of the MTE phase, move learners from MTE to mainstream education. Specifically, Namibia's LiEP employs an early-exit approach where learners exit

MTE at the third grade. Late-exit approaches typically last until the sixth grade. In 2003, a review of the 1993 language policy was undertaken as part of planned policy monitoring and evaluations set out in the 1993 policy. The current policy lists three broad goals:

> 1) to enable learners to acquire reasonable competence in English, the official language and, and be prepared for English medium instruction throughout the secondary cycle; 2) to promote the language and cultural identity of learners through the use the mother tongue as medium of instruction in grades 1-3, and the teaching of mother tongue through formal education, and, 3) to ensure that schools offer not less than two subjects from Grade 1 (MBESC, 2003, p.3).

Following the policy review, three changes were made. The changes concern: 1) the strengthening of mother tongue education in Grades 1-3 through material development and teacher training; 2) the emphasis of teaching of mother tongues as first languages in grades 1-3 and 3) emphasis on the need for ministerial approval to be sought should English need to be used as MoI at Junior Primary level (MBESC, 2003). Following these changes, four key policy stipulations have emerged. The policy outlines the stipulations as follows:

> Grades 1-3 will be taught either through the mother tongue or a predominant local language. Grade 4 will be a transitional year when the change to English as medium of instruction must take place. In Grades 5-7, English will be the medium of instruction. Grades 8-12 will be taught through the medium of English and the mother tongue will continue to be taught as a subject (MBESC, 2003, p.4).

Recent studies on the current policy including (Harris, 2011; Wolfaardt, 2005) have suggested that the current policy is contradictory and vague thereby making it prone to

misinterpretation and inconsistent enactment. Perhaps the most apparent areas of vagueness and contradiction are the policy goals and policy stipulations.

Policy goals present a conflicting picture regarding transitioning from MTE to EMI. Whereas policy stipulations identify Grades 1-3 as the grades at which MTE should be offered and the fourth grade as the transitional grade, the first policy goal states that learners should "be prepared for English medium instruction *throughout the secondary cycle*" (MBESC, 2003, p.3). This is perplexing since the secondary cycle begins at the eighth grade, and not the fourth. Are learners expected to be ready for English only instruction at the fourth or eighth grade? That is, should transition occur at the fourth or eighth grade? It appears that the policy goals and policy stipulations are in contradiction with each other. How then are schools and teachers meant to interpret the policy given this contradiction?

Concerning vagueness, whereas the second policy goal is clear that the mother tongue should be taught as a subject throughout formal education, the third goal is rather vague as it simply states that schools should offer "not less than two languages as subjects from Grade 1" (p.3). It is unclear from the third goal as to what level (first, second or foreign language) the two languages are to be offered. It is important to note that policy stipulations and the national curriculum are uncompromising in that English is a *compulsory* school subject throughout formal education (MBESC, 2003; National Institute for Educational Development (NIED), 2009), and that this leaves space for only one more language.

It is equally important to understand that the curriculum only allows a maximum of two languages to be taught as subjects, and included in the curriculum are indigenous languages, non-indigenous national languages (German) and foreign languages (French, and Portuguese) (NIED, 2009). What then is the actual position of the teaching of mother tongues as subjects

in the country? If the emphasis is on MTE, how are teachers to interpret and enact the policy such that such the goal is realised given the ambiguous wording?

In view of the fact Namibia's LiEP has allocated the role of MoI to indigenous languages, it is generally viewed to be supportive of MTE. However, successful provision of MTE has been questioned. For example, Batibo (2005) concludes that the policy has done little to ensure the maintenance of indigenous languages, and is at best simply symbolic. The causes of policy failure with regard to MTE have been the subject of much debate in recent years. In the section that follows, I will discuss shortcomings of the official LiEP and the challenges that undermine the provision of MTE and basic education.

2.5.1 Implementing the language policy: challenges

Existing literature indicates that, 1) resources; 2) teacher quality; 3) learners' exposure to English are the major challenges that inhibit policy failure and general underperformance at basic education level. These factors do not only undermine the general provision of basic education, but they also hamper the enactment of the official policy. This section describes the three factors in relation to LiEP.

2.5.1.1 Availability of Resources

Although the policy advocates for the use of indigenous languages in education, resources have not been available for the realisation of the stipulation (cf. Cantoni, 2007; Diallo, 2008; Dlamini, 2000; Harris, 2011, Kgabi, 2012; Mostert et al., 2012; Sukumane, 2000).

Harris (2011) investigated the relationship between educational achievement and language use in Namibian schools using questionnaires, interviews and focus group discussions. She found that the material necessary for effective teaching and enactment of current policy were in short supply. In their explorative case study involving interviews and observations into parents', teachers' and principals' views and preferences with regard to the official policy, Mostert et al. (2012) revealed that there was insufficient material for teaching in general, and

learners often had to share textbooks in class and could thus not take them home. These views are supported by Cantoni (2007) who employed interviews, observations, document analysis and a case study to assess the interplay between MoI and educational attainment in Namibian schools. Cantoni found that there was a general lack of teaching material, and this impacted the quality of education.

Inevitably, the paucity of indigenous languages material can lead to policy violations. Policy violation in this case can mean lack of MTE provision or an inability to teach English or indigenous languages as per policy stipulations. In a case where MTE is not provided, it is likely that English, as the official language, will become the default MoI. In a study based on literary and statistical analysis of library sources, Dlamini (2000) carried out an investigation into the cost effectiveness of the current policy. Evidence from this study suggests that there may be a link between paucity of teaching material, the diminishing role of indigenous languages in education and an increased significance of English in Namibia. Spolsky (2004) states that in addition, to material availability, the availability of qualified teachers is essential for policy enactment.

2.5.1.2 Teacher Quality

To explore teachers' understanding of the policy, Wolfaardt (2005) employed group interviews and a questionnaire. Her findings show that teachers across all phases struggled to teach via the medium of English, and teachers at the lower levels faced most difficulty in using English. This is compounded by the fact that teachers, especially those based in rural areas were generally un/underqualified to teach. Un/underqualified teachers at the lower levels of education impact the quality of education that learners receive as they are expected to prepare learners for English-only instruction and teach English as a subject as per policy stipulations. Similarly, Nicodemus (1997) undertook observations, interviews and document analysis in her study of teachers and principals' roles in LiEP enactment. She found that

teachers at junior and senior primary level were neither proficient in English nor qualified to teach. These findings are consistent with findings by (Cantoni, 2007; Dlamini, 2000; Harris, 2011; Kgabi, 2012; Mostert et al., 2012). The question remains, how then policy is to be enacted if two resources necessary for policy enactment, textbooks and trained teachers, are not available? As key agents in policy enactment, teachers need to not only have the requisite language skills for policy enactment, but as well have the necessary resources in implementing the policy.

2.5.1.3 Learners' Exposure to English

Concerning learners' exposure to English, researchers found that, the fact that learners had little to no exposure to English before school and outside the classroom presented yet another challenge in the use of English in schools (cf. Cantoni, 2007; Garrouste, 2011; Harris, 2011; Kgabi, 2012; Mostert et al., 2012; Nicodemus, 1997; Simasiku *et al*. 2015; Wolfaardt, 2005). Thus, concerns have been raised about the gap between the "home-school language gap" when MTE is not provided. The term "home-school language gap" is commonly used in reference to the language gap between learners' home languages and the languages used in schools especially as MoIs.

For many learners, their first encounter with English is in classrooms and their exposure to it is also limited to the classroom because the common languages of communication in most parts of Namibia are indigenous languages. In situations where the transitional bilingual model is used, the transition from MTE to EMI has been found to be challenging for teachers and learners alike.

Simasiku *et al.* (2015) used a questionnaire and classroom observations to examine the use of English as MoI in Namibian schools. They concluded that the use of English as a MoI restrained learners' classroom participation, and this in turn could result in low overall performance. This is supported by Garrouste's (2011) study on the link between language

skills and mathematics achievement in Namibia which used multilevel analysis (Hierarchical Linear Modelling) which found that low English proficiency and poor resource allocation contributed to poor performance in Mathematics.

Some researchers have questioned the use of English as a MoI in a linguistically diverse Namibia arguing that it was unplanned for (Diallo, 2008; Haacke, 1994; Harris, 2011). The "home-school language gap" has been observed in other post-colonial African contexts. In Ghana, Opoku-Amankwa (2009) used observations, interviews and focus group discussions to assess the effectiveness of the then newly-introduced English-only policy. She found that the use of English, an unfamiliar language to many learners, slowed down learning and classroom interaction. In South Africa, using a questionnaire, classroom observations and interviews, Da Rocha (2010) sought to assess the relationship between school language policy and literacy. He observed that the use of an unfamiliar language at junior primary level resulted in learners facing "a double barrier to learning"- learners have to learn the language and learn in it (p.75).

The relationship between the use of ex-colonial languages and educational underperformance in Africa is well-documented. For instance, Brock-Utne (2007) describes the use of unfamiliar languages as MoI in Africa as inefficient noting that "it slows down learning process" (p.35). Similarly, Mchombo (2014) posits that the use of English in African classrooms has aggravated failure rates in schools and inevitably subverted national development in African countries.

2.6 Summary

This chapter has outlined the historical and sociolinguistic context in which Namibian education and language policy are situated. The chapter then presented a brief overview of the Namibia's education system and the current official language policy. To conclude, pertinent threats that undermine education provision and language policy interpretation in the country have been considered.

Having contextualised the study, the following chapter presents the study's research design. The chapter discusses the study's methodological approach, sampling, data collection and data analysis methods. To conclude, ethical considerations and the study's imitations are accounted for.

3 Chapter 3: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

3.1 Introduction

Language policy and planning (LPP) has evolved relatively rapidly over the years primarily as a result of changes in global socio-political circumstances. This chapter presents brief discussions of the historical development of LPP as a field of enquiry as well as a review of some prominent theories that have and continue to frame it.

In order to understand the interplay between language policy and its enactment, I outline three models of LPP which will guide this research: 1) a language planning model by Haugen (1987); 2) a language policy model by Spolsky (2004), and 3) an ethnography of language policy model by Hornberger and Johnson (2007) and Ricento and Hornberger (1996). The three models have served as theoretical frameworks for various studies across different countries and regions. Alongside the discussion of the three models, I provide a critical review of the existing policy studies with a focus on sub-Saharan African countries. To conclude, I justify my selection of ethnography of language policy as a theoretical framework for this study.

3.2 Historical development of language policy and planning

From the onset, scholars have posited that language decisions greatly impact the social, political and economic fabrics of developing nations in Africa and Asia following their emergence from colonisation in the 1950s and 1960s (cf. Ricento, 2006). In these post-colonial countries where multiple languages co-existed with the colonial languages, the newly independent governments had to make decisions concerning the use of languages in different domains and decisions concerning educating their multilingual citizens (Phillipson, 2003). For example, in sub-Saharan Africa, the question as to which languages, indigenous or ex-colonial, were to be used as official languages and MoI needed to be addressed.

During this period the focus of sociolinguists was on solving "language problems" in African and Asian countries. Linguistic diversity was one of the "language problems" as it was misconstrued to be a hindrance in achieving national development. To achieve national development and linguistic homogeneity, colonial rulers and western sociolinguistics strategically adopted European languages (English, French and Portuguese) as official languages and relegated indigenous languages to informal domains (Ricento, 2000). This marked the beginning of a tradition of using European languages in high domains like education, science and technology and indigenous in informal ones (Ricento, 2000, 2006). As languages of education and employment, European languages were associated with upward social mobility, and as a result, Africans began to adopt negative beliefs towards their own languages seeing that these languages held minimal economic power (Bamgbose, 1999).

By the mid-1970s, LPP had moved beyond focusing on "language problems" in newly independent countries to language issues globally (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). Today, LPP research has evolved to address questions pertaining to language ideologies and beliefs (Baker, 1992; Ruiz, 1987); educational language planning (Cooper 1989); language shift and endangerment (Fishman, 1991); linguistic imperialism (Philipson, 1992), and linguistic human rights (Skutnabb-Kangas, Phillipson & Rannut, 1994) amongst others. Much of the current literature has advanced from viewing language planning as an activity solely undertaken by authorities to the current understanding that LPP is a multi-layered, multi-context and dynamic process involving multiple agencies (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996).

Thus far, I have shown that the focus of LPP has shifted from 1) being focused on Asia and Africa to being globally focused, and 2) from being primarily centred on solving "language problems" to exploring various language-related subjects. I have also shown that negative language beliefs by Africans towards their own languages are rooted in historical LPP practices. Whist these are important developments in LPP, the interest of this study is on

language-in-education policy. What follows is a discussion of the early development of the LPP theories and its related concepts and frameworks.

3.2.1 Haugen's Language Policy Framework

Einar Haugen coined the term *language planning* which takes into consideration "all conscious efforts that aim at changing linguistic behaviour of a speech community" (Deumert, 2009, p.371). In order to achieve changes in linguistic behaviour, Haugen identified status and corpus planning as the two language planning activities.

Status Planning

In Haugen's model, status planning is the first step involved in language planning process which refers to the language planning activity that allocates roles to languages in different domains (Haugen, 1987). For example, the allocation of the English as the official language of communication in all legislative, business and education settings and the designation of indigenous languages as national languages in Namibia are status planning activities. In education, policy stipulations calling for the use of mother tongues as the medium of instruction (MoI) at the junior primary phase in Namibia are status planning operations.

Hornberger (2006) urged us to think of status planning as the efforts aimed at allocating functions to languages/literacies in speech communities. Status planning is done for different reasons and at different levels; however, essentially it aims to increase a language's reach thereby increasing its value. Such a reach would entail efforts aimed at increased use of the language in more domains especially contemporary and powerful, formal domains such as broadcasting (Baker, 2011). Status planning in education in Namibia resulted in the allocation of the role of medium of instruction to mother tongues (for the first three years of schooling) and English for all subsequent years. The effectiveness of this bilingual program is discussed in Chapter Two.

Corpus planning

Corpus planning refers to the standardisation and codification of a language (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). Corpus planning is concerned with the internal structure of languages such as: the morphology; syntax; pronunciation; vocabulary development, and the development of literature of a language especially for teaching and learning purposes. Similar to status planning, corpus planning is typically not undertaken at grassroots level; rather it is undertaken by qualified professionals in consultations with authorities. For example, in Malawi, a Chichewa (language) Board was established to work on the orthography of the language and to enhance the use of "correct" Chichewa (cf. Kayambazinthu 2004). In Namibia, much has been done to codify indigenous languages, and such activities have included the publishing of indigenous language dictionaries, grammar books and similar literature. However, indigenous languages such as Ju|'hoansi lag behind in this regard as material development in the language has been rather slow. Historically, given the focus of racial language policies, efforts in corpus planning focused primarily on English and Afrikaans and largely ignored indigenous languages (Jansen, 1995). However, the country's official LiEP has called for "the strengthening of mother tongue instruction in Grades 1, 2 and 3 through materials development and teacher pre- and in-service training" (MBESC 2003, p. 3). It is thus anticipated that, in Namibia, corpus planning with regard to indigenous languages will grow from strength to strength.

3.2.2 Acquisition planning (Cooper 1989)

Cooper (1989) found Haugen's model to be lacking in accounting for language planning activities in education; in response, he introduced what is considered the third activity of LPP- acquisition planning. In his book, *Language Planning and Social Change*, Cooper (1989) offers a new definition of language planning which extends language planning in that, as an activity, it is done both at grassroots (individual) level and at the top. This aspect

differentiates acquisition planning from status and corpus planning which are undertaken by those in authority or with linguistic expertise. He further advances the ideal that language planning does not aim to *change* human behaviour; rather it aims to *influence* it.

Acquisition planning refers to (language) planning activities aimed at increasing the number of users, speakers, writers, listeners or readers of a language (Cooper, 1989). Such activities include the teaching of a language at domestic level to family members and at school level. It is generally understood that acquisition planning at family level is an important first step in language planning which is later supplemented by acquisition planning at classroom level. Chua and Baldauf Jr (2011) use the terms *infra micro-planning* and *micro-planning* in reference to language planning at family level and institutional/local level respectively. They argue that although micro planning can effect change in infra micro-planning, choices made at infra micro-planning level remain essential in general language planning. In Namibia, the designation of roles such as medium of instruction to different languages in the official LiEP can be understood to be an acquisition planning measure at school level. Furthermore, a key acquisition planning change introduced in the language policy calls for "more emphasis for the mother tongues to be taken as First Language subjects from Grade 1 through to Grade 12" (MBESC 2003, p. 3). This change outlines acquisition planning at school level.

Acquisition planning should be viewed as an extension and or continuation of status planning. That is, status planning increases the *domains of language use (uses)* and acquisition planning increases the *number of users*, and the two activities are thus complementary of each other and are equally important in language maintenance. Garcia & Menken (2010) as cited in Johnson (2013) identify an important limitation with Cooper's conceptualisation of language acquisition. They establish that Cooper fails to acknowledge the significance of language planning processes (creation, interpretation and implementation) and the role of educators as policy agents in language planning.

Policy creation refers to the production of a policy as done either at macro (top) or micro (local) level. Policy interpretation on the other hand is the process of making sense of the policy, i.e. people's perceptions and understanding of a policy. Appropriation refers to "what happens when a language policy is put into action at the local level" (Johnson, 2013, p.236). Johnson (2013) explained that interpretation and appropriation are interlinked since policy appropriation is based on policy interpretation. However, whereas appropriation can only occur following policy enactment, interpretation takes place both before and after creation. That is, "creators interpret what they are creating before it is put into practice and then creators and everyone else interprets the product" (Johnson, 2013, p.233).

3.2.3 Language-in-education policy

In education, acquisition planning takes on the form of mother tongue education /first, second or foreign language learning. As a formal and prestigious domain, education is essential in increasing the uses and the number of users of languages. In addition to acquisition planning, the terms *language education policy*; *educational language policy* (Shohamy, 2006; Johnson, 2013); *language policy in education* (Tollefson, 2002), and *language-in-education policy* (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997; Liddicoat, 2013) are sometimes employed interchangeably in reference to the role that language policy plays in education. This study adopts the term language-in-education policy (LiEP), defined by Kaplan & Baldauf, (1997, p.122) as "a sub-set of general language planning and a key enactment procedure of language policy that solely operates in the education sector". In short, LiEP is the aspect of LPP concerned with the *educational* use of language. Schools and classrooms in particular have become the focus of much LiEP research, and studies such as Chimbutane, 2011; Martin-Jones & Jones, 2000; Saxena & Martin-Jones, 2013; Wenglinsky 2004 have illuminated the importance of exploring language practices at classroom level in multilingual settings. These studies have explored day-to-day practices, beliefs, and general student-teacher interactions.

Wenglinsky (2004) explored the relationship between classroom practice and middle-school racial achievement gap in the United States. Employing a technique called multi-level Hierarchical Linear Modelling, he sought to uncover what instructional practices teachers used, if any, to reduce the perennial achievement gap between African and Latino learners and their white counterparts. Wenglinsky used teachers, school administrators and learners' questionnaires and assessed data from a national exam as data sources. In brief, he found that instructional practices can affect the achievement gap and can narrow it or widen it.

Studies such as Wenglinsky's demonstrated the importance of assessing classroom practices in different contexts. However, a more comprehensive picture would have emerged had he employed an ethnographic/ethnographically informed approach as it would have allowed him to assess the practices within their context. In the next section, I will discuss Spolsky's (2004) model of language policy.

3.2.4 Spolsky's language policy framework

Spolsky presents a three-component model that accounts for both linguistic and extra-linguistic factors not observed in Haugen's model. Spolsky's model adopts sociolinguistic perspective following his criticism of the "linguicentric" focus of prior models. He thus advanced the view that "language policy exists within a complex set of social, political, economic, religious, demographic, educational and cultural factors that make up the full ecology of human life" (Spolsky, 2004, p. ix). The three components are: language practices, language beliefs and language management.

Figure 1: Spolsky's Model of Language Policy

Source: Shohamy (2006:53), based on model in Spolsky (2004)

The three components are overlapping and interrelated. The main distinction between practices and management is that whereas language practices and language beliefs are not necessarily planned or intentional, language management is typically both planned and intentional (Johnson, 2013).

Language practices

Language practices refers to "the habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up a speech community's linguistic repertoire" (Spolsky (2004, p.5). In education, language practices may manifest in the language choices that teachers make in choosing a MoI- whether in compliance with or in defiance of official policies. Language practices do not exist in isolation; rather they are influenced by various factors such as beliefs towards languages (Baker, 2011).

Official policy stipulations and language practices in a speech community may not be in conformity with each other resulting in what is commonly referred to as the *policy-practice gap*. In education, the gap can be observed in the classroom- the prime setting for LiEP enactment. What follows is an account of the role of classroom practices in LiEP.

Classroom Practices

I define *classroom practices* as the activities, strategies, guidelines and procedures that regulate and are part of the teaching-learning process in the classroom. Classroom practices are underpinned by various factors including teachers' experiences, training, beliefs, resources at their disposal, and the policies and guidelines concerning teaching and learning.

Classroom practices may or may not reflect official LiEP due to the fact that, as active agents in LP, teachers may adopt various positions in response to policy stipulations. The agency of educators in LPP is discussed further in Section 3.4 in this chapter.

Throop (2007) reminded us that "teachers are not passive recipients of language policy, but rather, play an instrumental role in classroom language policy (re)creation" (p. 49. This is evident in Chimbutane's (2011) ethnographic research into the development of local bilingual education programmes in Mozambique. He found that the paucity of teaching and learning materials in indigenous languages influenced classroom practices and hampered the implementation of the bilingual program. In Namibia, Harris (2011) reported that classroom language practices were not in line with policy stipulations as some teachers taught in the mother tongue as prescribed whilst some taught in English. On the other hand, Simasiku *et al*, (2015) noted that although teachers had embraced English as the MoI at secondary school level, their language practices involved code-switching.

The question of MoI in multilingual classrooms is also central to classroom practices in multilingual societies. After all, learners' ability to communicate in the MoI is a crucial aspect of literacy acquisition, and the MoI is crucial for the realisation of literacy and learning goals (Opoku-Amankwa, 2009). I argue that in multilingual settings, the teacher-learner interaction is both complex and delicate considering that learners are "empowered or disabled as a direct result of their interactions with educators in the schools" (Cummins, 2000, p.47).

Poor learner performance in sub-Saharan Africa is often attributed to factors such as lack of infrastructure, un/underqualified teachers and inadequate psychosocial support (cf. Bamgbose, 1991; Chimbutane, 2011; Kamwangamalu, 2012; Mchombo, 2014). However, whilst these factors cannot be overlooked, I argue that classroom practices greatly impact learner performance. For instance, in a study of Ghana's then English-only LiEP on pupils' classroom communicative practices, Opoku-Amankwa (2009) found that teachers' expectations of learners to use only English in classrooms hindered classroom participation as learners from various linguistic backgrounds were unable to participate in class using an unfamiliar language -English. Instead, teachers disregarded the learners' proficiency in more

than one local language and classified learners as "weak". Practices such as described by Opoku-Amankwa create an unrealistic and uneven playing field where leaners' abilities are measured based primarily on their proficiency in a language foreign to them. The reality however is that in multilingual contexts, language practices are seldom monolingual as they typically involve simultaneous use of multiple languages. The language practices of bilinguals and their use of their entire linguistic repertoire to adapt to the linguistic realities is the concern of translanguaging.

Translanguaging

Garcia & Li (2014) define translanguaging as "new language practices that make visible the complexity of language exchanges among people with different histories and releases histories and understandings that had been buried within fixed language identities constrained by nation-states" (p.21). In this study, a broad definition of translanguaging is adopted. Hence, the practice of using more than one languages/ language varieties in the classroom, including translation and code-switching/mixing, will be referred to as translanguaging (Heugh, 2015).

Swanwick (2017) establishes that translanguaging is concerned with people's discourse practices and the use of language in a given social context. She further posits that translanguaging involves "two or more languages interacting for thinking, doing, engaging and learning" (2017, p. 83). In bilingual and multilingual contexts, bilingual children employ translanguaging as a means of learning language, learning through language and as a social act Swanwick (2017). However, Swanwick points out that translanguaging is no longer limited to children alone but is also a part of bilingual teachers' language practices too. Translingual practices are therefore to be anticipated in Namibia's typically multilingual classroom. That is, in multilingual contexts like Namibia, the presence of multiple languages

at classroom level is likely to result in their use during the teaching-learning process. Translanguaging has been lauded as a big step towards changing beliefs towards multilingualism and bilingual education as it explores the benefits of additive bilingualism in the classroom and beyond (Lewis, Jones & Baker, 2012). However, language practices do not exist in a vacuum, but are influenced by historical, social and political realities. This ethnographically informed study considers the interplay between these realities and classroom language practices. On translanguaging at classroom level, Garcia and Li (2014) posit that:

> Translanguaging allows teachers to engage each individual child holistically, and it is a way of differentiating instruction to ensure that all students are being cognitively, socially and creatively challenged while receiving the appropriate linguistic input and producing adequate linguistic output in meaningful interactions and collaborative dialogue, (p. 92).

Translingual practices are typically not explicitly prescribed in official LiEPs, but they have been noted to be part of multilingual classroom globally. Translanguaging practices are often observable in contexts where teachers and learners attempt to mitigate the language gap between them. In contexts with monolingual LiEPs, translanguaging practices may result in a policy-practice gap, but they facilitate the teaching-learning process by bridging the communication gap between teachers and learners. In Belgium, Rosier, van Lancker & Delarue (2018) noted evidence of translanguaging practices involving French and Arabic during engagement with curricular and non-curricular activities among teachers and learners, and this indicated deviation from the official Dutch-medium LiEP. In the Philippines, De Los Reyes (2018) demonstrated how teachers allowed their multilingual primary school learners to translanguage so as to enable them to effectively engage with the content during

ESL lessons. In Rwanda, Milligan, Clegg & Tikly (2016) assessed the benefits of language supportive textbooks in English medium instruction (EMI) schools. They concluded that the use of language supportive pedagogy helped learners to learn since English language proficiency was no longer a barrier to learning. The three studies above highlight the prevalence of translanguaging practices in multilingual contexts and demonstrate the pedagogical advantages of facilitating translingual practices in multilingual classrooms. In the section that follows, I will continue discussing Spolsky's model by looking at language beliefs as a component of language policy.

Language ideology and beliefs

Language ideology refers to the beliefs that people hold about language, language use and language users; the most important beliefs to LPP are the values or statuses that people assign to languages, language varieties and features (Spolsky, 2009). In this sense, language beliefs are an essential component of language policy influencing language practices and, by extension, policy enactment.

It is understood that everyone has beliefs and values towards different languages including their own. Phillipson (2003, p.15) posits that "language policy is decisively influenced by our beliefs to languages to beliefs about their power, their beauty, or utility and their role as national, ethnic or religious identity". Language ideology is "often seen as the driving force of language policy as language ideologies are based on the perceived value, power and utility of various languages" (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009, p.354). As such, language ideologies determine peoples' language beliefs towards languages including their own languages, which in turn, influence their beliefs towards MTE. In Namibia, the official LiEP, as well as studies such as Harris 2011, notes that English was the preferred MoI in the place of indigenous languages. The policy document states that, "policy implementers, due to misinterpretation

and manipulation, mainly preferred teaching through English rather than through the mother tongue" (MBESC 2003, p. 2).

3.3 Language beliefs and mother tongue education (MTE)

The term *mother tongue* is difficult to define and subject to debate. Amongst others, the term is seen to be gender exclusive, as it renders fathers invisible. The term "heritage language" has been proposed as a more inclusive one. However, in this study, I adopt UNESCO's definition- "a child's first language, the language learned in the home from older family members" (Bühmann & Trudell, 2008, p. 6). I view the definition to focus on the domain of language acquisition rather than the person(s) perceived to transmit the language. I define mother tongue education (MTE) as the provision of education (teaching and learning) via the medium of learners' first language.

Despite the difficulties in defining *mother tongue*, there is comprehensive empirical evidence and academic consensus that MTE is beneficial for, amongst others, the preservation of local/minority languages, cultural transmission, effective content subject learning and the overall improvement of learning outcomes for learners from minority language communities (Bühmann & Trudell 2008; Batibo, 2005; UNESCO 1953; 2011; 2014; Cummins, 2001, 2015). Cummins (2015) succinctly points out that:

> Research on bilingual education demonstrates unequivocally that L1 instruction entails no adverse effects on learners' academic development in the dominant school and societal language. In fact, learners in bilingual programs consistently demonstrate stronger academic performance over the course of primary education in comparison to similar learners in monolingual programs (p.274-275).

While studies have clearly and empirically made the case for MTE much more needs to be done to ensure its actual provision. Very often however, the provision of MTE in multilingual contexts is undermined by various factors. In what follows, I will discuss three factors that

interact with MTE in post-colonial African contexts; 1) financial cost, 2) complexity of MTE provision, and 3) negative beliefs.

The provision of MTE is a financially costly operation; for example, it requires acquisition of teaching material in multiple languages and training of teachers to teach in multiple languages. MTE requires that countries invest resources not in the development of material and training of teachers of *one* language, as would be in monolingual programs, but in *multiple* languages. As seen in Chapter Two, in Namibia, the paucity of trained teachers and teaching materials is a key factor subverting the implementation of the country's official LiEP. The cost of developing material and training teachers for MTE in these contexts is further aggravated by the competition that indigenous languages face from ex-colonial languages like English, i.e. it is cheaper to produce material for English on a large scale for larger markets than it is for local languages (Kaplan, Baldauf Jr & Kamwangamalu, 2011).

While some countries may lack the funds to produce indigenous languages material, for some political will is lacking, and this is often underpinned by negative beliefs. Kaplan, Baldauf Jr and Kamwangamalu's (2011) discussion of Asian governments' investment of resources into the teaching and learning of English at the expense of local languages shows how lack of political will can trump lack of resources in these situations. Probably more than any other factor, the lack of resources, financial and otherwise, is a prominent reason cited for lack of MTE in Africa (cf. Alexander, 1999).

Providing MTE can also be complex, involving various decisions at various levels. For example, decisions have to be made regarding which languages to teach at which level, for how long and which ones to use as MoI and for how long. Such decisions require careful planning and consultations without which implementation is prone to failure. Sensitivity in such consultations and planning has to be exercised with consideration of historical, political

and social contexts. For example, in countries like Namibia and South Africa, one language (Afrikaans) has been used an instrument of oppression in the past, so ideological associations of language with instability or oppression are legitimate (cf. Fourie, 1997; Haacke, 1994; Katjavivi, 1988; Wallace, 2011). Concerns of cost and complexity are even more significant in contexts such as Africa where resources are already stretched, and the fear of language-motivated political oppression is ever-present.

Further complicating and undermining MTE efforts in Africa are negative and sceptical beliefs towards indigenous languages that persist in most parts of the continent (cf. Adegbija, 1994; Batibo, 2005; Heine, 1990; Mchombo, 2014). One explanation for these beliefs comes from the historical lack of use of indigenous languages in formal domains. In short, indigenous African languages do not have a history of being used in official domains and are therefore commonly deemed incapable of functioning in education too. The view that MTE is a covert agenda to deny black people access to power, social mobility and prestige that comes with learning European languages is present in Sub-Saharan Africa (cf. Adegbija, 1994; Bamgbose, 1999; Batibo, 2005; Bokamba, 2011).

Batibo advances the view that, the beliefs that people hold towards languages are generally based on "the symbolic and socio-economic value manifested by each language" (p. 97). In Zimbabwe, Ndamba (2013) explored the experiences, beliefs and behaviour of teachers in primary schools using focus group discussions, interviews and a questionnaire. He found that while the country's language policy stipulates that the mother tongue should serve as the MoI in the first 7 years of schooling, schools predominantly use English as the MoI since learners and teachers held deeply-entrenched and uninformed negative beliefs towards MTE which made it difficult for the MTE program to be enacted.

Briefly, legislatively, provisions made in support of MTE may not necessarily be accompanied by resource provision or ideological support of MTE. So, although official language policies may support the teaching of mother tongues, governments often deter MTE by failing to allocate sufficient resources to the teaching thereof. This section has reviewed the three key factors that undermine MTE in Africa. In what follows, I will now discuss the third component of the model - language management.

Language Management

Spolsky's form of language planning is called *language management*. Spolsky (2009) defines language management as "the explicit and observable effort by someone or some group that has or claims authority over the participants in the domain to modify their practices or beliefs" (p.4). It is apparent from this definition that language management is a macro level (top-down) activity. Spolsky claims that choices made by an individual or groups of individuals are a result of language management efforts by those in authority. Language management is therefore most concerned with language choices (Kamwangamalu, 2011).

Language management aims to account for *how* people choose *what* language to speak, under *what* circumstances and *why* [emphasis added] (Kamwangamalu, 2011). Agents in language management exist at all levels, from the individual at an infra micro-planning level, to multi-national bodies at the macro level (cf. Chua & Baldauf Jr, 2011, Kamwangamalu, 2011). The need for management assumes that: 1) language choices can be modified, and 2) some language choices should be modified (Spolsky, 2005, 2009). For instance, political correctness is an attempt at language management, and language control agencies such as Académie Française are bodies that attempt language management at a macro level (Spolsky, 2005). Having defined *language management*, I will now move on to discuss the limitations of the concept. It must however be acknowledged that there is limited literature on the concept.

Limitations of language management

Spolsky's model presents language practices and language management as two separate components. However, a major drawback of the framework is that Spolsky fails to draw a clear distinction between language practices and language management. Particularly, Spolsky does not adequately account for language management in the classroom nor has he explained how language management is different from language practices in classrooms. For instance, how can we tell the difference between a teacher acting as a language manager and his/her language practices in the classroom? In other words, when is a teacher a language manager and when is s/he a language practitioner? Also, other than being language managers, can teachers take on other/different roles in multilingual classrooms?

Furthermore, Spolsky (2007) suggest that in attempting to modify the language choices of others, language managers impose language practices, however it could be said that it remains unclear as to whether language management, as done by an individual, is always a deliberate and conscious effort or not. Briefly, while Spolsky's work is insightful for language policy work in general, it does not provide a comprehensive discussion of language management in schools and the link between language management and classroom practices especially in multilingual settings.

While studies of LPP may be based on different theoretical models, the enactment process needs to take into consideration various factors in which policy work is situated. Ricento & Hornberger's (1996) framework views language policy as a multi-layered onion which is embedded in complex socio-cultural contexts and influenced by various factors. In the following section, I provide a discussion of the framework.

3.4 Ethnography of language policy

Ricento & Hornberger (1996) developed a model accounting for and contextualising the multi-faceted nature of LPP enactment. The metaphor highlights three key layers

(interpersonal, institutional and national levels) in LPP and underscores likely sources of success and failures of LPP and LPP enactment.

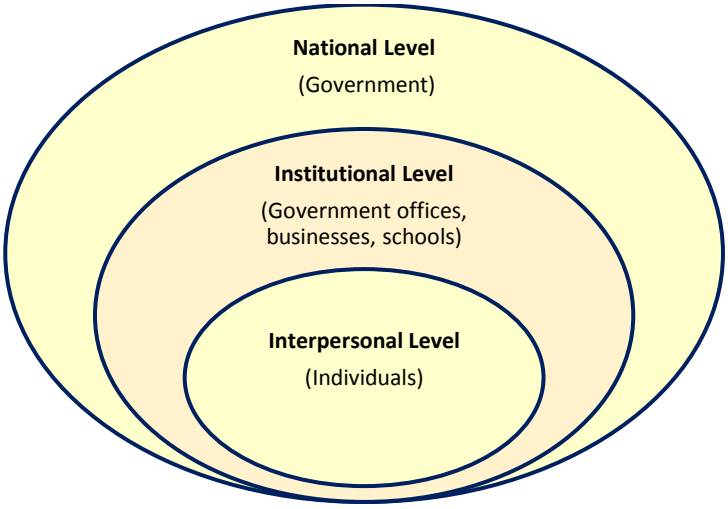

Figure 2: The LPP Onion (*Based on Ricento & Hornberger, 1996)*

The outer layer represents the national level at which authorities, especially governments, constitute nationally legislated language policy objectives which may then be operationalised in regulations and guidelines. It is at this macro layer that the language selection process takes place and policy is formulated. The second layer is the institutional setting comprised of varying contexts such as schools, government offices, and businesses where policies are interpreted and appropriated.

The inner layer is the interpersonal level which is the core of the LPP onion. Individuals have different experiences and ideologies; these in turn will influence their interpersonal interpretations and interactions. In education, teacher-learner interactions are examples of this micro layer of LPP. Classroom practitioners are placed at the centre of the LPP onion as the agents that are responsible for the implementation of policy decisions typically made by those above them. Interpersonal interaction is at the core of LPP as it dictates to what extent and under what conditions LP implementation takes place. The three layers are interrelated where national, institutional and interpersonal policy interpretation and modification takes place at each layer. In Namibia, the LiEP was set at national level by the Ministry of Education, and

the hope is that schools, as the institutional level, would adhere to national stipulations. Institutional adherence would be observed through teachers' classroom language practices, i.e. the use or lack of use of indigenous languages/predominant local languages as MoIs. This study focused on policy realisation and modification at the core level- the interpersonal level. Prior Namibian studies including Harris, 2011; 2012; Mostert *et al*., 2012; Wolfaardt, 2005 have found gaps between the three layers as schools and teachers often created school and classroom-specific policies in defiance of the policy set at national level.

The framework demonstrates the complexity of LPP showing that enacting language policy in different contexts is a process similar to peeling an onion. The frameworks proposed by Haugen (1987), Spolsky (2004) and Ricento and Hornberger (1996) remain essential to our understanding of language policy in different settings and provide crucial insight into language policy as a social phenomenon. However, Haugen and Spolsky's frameworks do not appear to provide analytical measures to look at actual LiEP enactment in classrooms. It is for these reasons that I have chosen to adopt an ethnographically informed approach to the present study.

3.4.1 Why an adoption of an ethnography of language policy?

As outlined in Chapter 1, the present study seeks to explore language policy interpretation and enactment at classroom level as well as individuals' beliefs. The study's questions take the following into considerations, 1) language policy processes are social phenomenon and should be explored in context (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996; Spolsky, 2004, 2007); 2) language use in multilingual settings in Africa is fluid , and in order to extend our knowledge of language policies and practices in Africa, we should analyse them with consideration of both the fluid and the complex nature of language use, and 3) educators are key policy agents and should be examined as part of language policy analysis (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996).

An exploration of LPP often includes an investigation of the language processes both at macro and micro level, yet Johnson (2011) rightly points out that making a connection between the processes has proven to be a challenge for researchers. In this study, Hornberger and Johnson' (2007) ethnography of language policy (ELP) filled this gap as it allows me to explore teachers and principals' language beliefs, micro-level policy creation, interpretation and appropriation both at classroom and school level (cf. Chua & Baldauf Jr, 2011).

ELP rightly establishes that the role of agents and contexts should be recognised in policy realisation. The present study's exploration of urban and rural contexts can only be authentic and reliable when consideration is paid to the influence of different socioeconomic, political and cultural contexts on classroom practices. In Namibia, urban areas differ greatly from rural areas, so the importance of context cannot be overemphasised in this study.

3.5 Summary

This chapter has discussed prominent models of language policy and planning. The chapter has demonstrated that LiEP enactment and MTE in sub-Saharan Africa continues to face multiple challenges the most prominent of which are paucity of resources and the generally negative language ideology towards indigenous languages. Although existing models of LiEP are valuable, they may not sufficiently account for classroom practices in multilingual settings. However, the ethnographic of language policy examines LPP from a holistic perspective, and is adopted for this study. The next chapter describes the procedures, methodology and methods used in the present study.

4 Chapter 4: Research Design

4.1 Introduction

This chapter describes and discusses the research approach and methods of the present study, and it is divided into four main sections. The chapter begins with a discussion of the research approach after which the research design is discussed. Subsequent to this, the sampling procedure and data collection methods are considered followed by a discussion of the data analysis methods. The chapter then outlines how reliability and validity are considered in the study. To conclude, the chapter accounts for the study's ethical considerations and limitations.

4.2 Research Approach

This study has five objectives: 1) to explore and understand how junior primary teachers interpret and appropriate Namibia's LiEP; 2) to examine teachers' language beliefs towards the use of indigenous languages and English in education and how such beliefs influence policy enactment in rural and urban areas, and 3) to investigate how existing classroom practices and teacher language beliefs support and or undermine linguistic diversity; to understand how existing classroom practices and teacher language beliefs support and or undermine the teaching-learning process ,and to provide critical information for countries similar to Namibia which have EMI policies.

In an attempt to realise these objectives, I have adopted a mixed method case study following an ethnographic approach. This method offers an effective way of realising my research objectives with consideration of the complexity and fluidity of the phenomena under study. However, this is a qualitatively driven study in which qualitative data is more prominent in comparison to quantitative data. The process of data collection involved a quan→QUAL approach where data was collected sequentially. As will be discussed later in this chapter, quantitative data was collected first through a questionnaire before qualitative methods, interviews and observations were employed. Quantitative data was gathered by means of a

questionnaire, and this data enabled me to understand trends and current practices and experiences. This was then followed by the collection of qualitative data via participant interviews and observations, and the aim of this process was to gain an in-depth and contextualised understanding of the dynamics involved in teaching and learning and engagements with LiEP. Much of the data was thus gathered qualitatively and the focus in data presentation and analysis in this study is too.

4.2.1 Case study

A case study is a research process that entails an *in-depth* and *detailed* investigation of a *single case* in *its context* [emphasis added] (Bryman, 2012; Cohen, 2011). Yin (2012) explained that, "case study research assumes that examining the context and other complex conditions related to the case(s) being studied are integral to understanding the case(s)" (p. 4). The overarching research question of this study concerns teachers' beliefs towards the role of indigenous languages and English in education. To answer the research questions, this study is both descriptive and exploratory in nature. A mixed-method case study approach ensured that descriptive (*what*) and explanatory (*why)* questions are answered (Check & Schutt, 2012; Cohen, Manion & Morrison; 2007; 2011; Yin, 2012).

4.2.2 An ethnographically informed approach

To understand what teachers do in their classrooms, I adopted an ethnographically informed approach. Ethnography and case studies encourage the creation of a thick-description, and the study of participants in their natural environment (Creswell, 2014; Check & Schutt, 2012, LeCompte & Preissle, 1993). Traditional ethnographic studies require an extensive immersion of the researcher into the community under study typically for months if not longer. Although this study employed ethnographic data collection methods, participant observation and in-depth interviews, it was undertaken within a limited scope and for a limited period of time in comparison to traditional ethnographic studies. Resultantly, interactions with the participants were limited time-wise and the depth of the resultant

interview and observational data is relatively not as thick when compared to traditional ethnographic studies. For example, a limitation of this study in view of traditional ethnography is that participant observations focused on classroom interactions during school hours instead of classroom and the wider communities in a longer daily timeframe.

Regarding interviews, whereas ethnographic interviews are typically recursive interviews in phase two this study were once-off. However, interviews with the observed teachers had a recursive aspect to them as structured interviews were accompanied by naturalistic, informal interviews during observations. For example, as part of the informal interviews, I asked participants to clarify or explain aspects of the classroom interactions that I had not understood during observation. This was important in ensuring that I would not misinterpret what I had observed nor was I allowing my assumptions, values and experiences to dictate research outcomes (See *Positionality Statement* in Chapter 1). The ethnographic activities involved in this study are:

- participant observations (case studies),
- one-on-one participant interviews,
- recording of interview and observational data, and
- description of participants and schools.

Extensive physical and social mapping of the community are some of the key activities involved in traditional ethnographic studies, but they were not undertaken in this study due to its limitations in scope and time. It is for these reasons that this study is considered ethnographically informed instead of entirely ethnographic.

In the field of LPP research, several authors have noted the benefits of an ethnographic approach to research. McCarty (2015) emphasised that LPP is holistic in nature and should therefore be assessed as part of a social cultural system and not outside of its context. Policy interpretation, appropriation and enactment do not occur in a vacuum; rather they occur

within existing and complex sociocultural, linguistic, political and economic contexts which are crucial to our understanding of the processes. In his analysis ethnographic approaches to LPP, Canagarajah (2006), advocated that due to its holistic and contextualised approach, ethnography is useful in examining all types and levels of LPP. Writing on research methods in LPP, Johnson (2006) concluded that an ethnographic approach is useful in highlighting how localised LPP and classroom practices relate to official policy. In this study, the complexity, fluidity and "situatedness" of language beliefs and classroom practices require that an extensive exploration of both phenomena be undertaken in their natural environment (Baker, 2006). This will not only provide an opportunity for the development of a thick description, but it will ensure a study of what Cohen et al. (2009, p.289) referred to as a study of "real people in real situations."

This study had a binary focus: examining- teachers' language beliefs and investigating language policy processes at school level. Employing an ethnographically informed approach allowed me to understand how such language beliefs are formed, and observe the process of language policy implementation. Concerning language policy processes, Johnson (2006) observes that "the focus on participant interpretation, patterns and processes makes ethnography particularly useful for studying how participants interpret, appropriate and instantiate language policy" (p.145). Similarly, Martin-Jones (2015, p.98) asserted that when studying LiEP processes the goal should be "to provide an in-depth account of the policy processes at work in classrooms" in the context under study.

Concerning language beliefs, Johnson (2006) recommended an adoption of an ethnographic approach in LPP research as it is appropriate in highlighting grassroots beliefs, beliefs about policy, LPP processes and classroom practice in relation to LPP processes, layers of policy texts, discourses and practices. In this study, participant observations, interviews and reflexivity were employed to provide an account of the ways in which junior primary teachers

and principals "accommodate, resist and make policy in everyday social practice" McCarty (2015, p.82). Overall, the scope, context and objectives of this study made a case study approach following an ethnographically informed approach to be the most appropriate approach.

Case studies and ethnography have been criticised primarily for lacking in objectivity and generalisability (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). In response, Murchison (2010) pointed out that a degree of objectivity is normally aimed for in ethnography; however, in order to understand society's complex aspects and culture in action, it is necessary for ethnographers to become relatively subjectively involved in such societies. Murchison concluded that absolute objectivity is thus both unfruitful and unrealistic in ethnography. Similarly, Cohen et al. (2007, p.19) posited that in order to understand people's behaviour researchers have to "share their frame of reference: understanding of individuals' interpretations of the world around them has to come from inside not outside." There is therefore no escape from subjectivity in the social sciences. Rather it must be understood that the ethnographer's role is to "understand, explain and demystify social reality through the eyes of different participants" (Cohen et al., 2007, p.19). People's realities, experiences and understandings are framed by various factors including their experiences, surroundings and beliefs and are therefore inevitably bound to be subjective and virtually ungeneralisable. Check & Schutt (2012) also point out that generalisability is not an objective in qualitative research.

4.3 Ontology and Epistemology

This study is rooted in the constructionist perspective. Epistemologically, the study is rooted in interpretivism. Constructionism allowed an exploration of language beliefs and classroom practices based on their sociolinguistic, socioeconomic and sociohistorical contexts (Cohen et al., 2011). These contexts are pivotal to an understanding of language beliefs and classroom practices. Interpretivism provides an opportunity to explore the fluid nature of language

beliefs and complexity of classroom practices from the perspectives of key policy agents-teachers and school principals. As Canagarajah (2006) explained in LPP, "community needs and beliefs may be ambivalent, the processes of implementing policy can be multifarious and the outcomes of policy surprising" (p.154). In this study, constructionism allowed an evaluation of the ambivalence of language beliefs and multifarious nature of policy engagement at classroom level since multiple realities were explored in context via multiple methods.

4.4 Research Design

This study adopted a mixed-method approach employing interviews, participant observations and a questionnaire as research tools. In addition, document analysis was used as a subsidiary data collection tool as Namibia's LiEP was analysed to understand its content and purpose. The mixed-method design is equally useful to this study as it allowed for a triangulation of data. Johnson (2006) asserts that in ethnographic LPP research, triangulation is both essential and useful noting that "it helps support findings" (p.241). Triangulation was undertaken by crosschecking interviews, participant observations, and questionnaires against each other. Furthermore, the scope of this study supports the adoption of a multi-method approach considering that the study considers various aspects of LiEP- interpretation, appropriation, and enactment and language beliefs. Baker (2006) remarks that, the use of a multi-method approach is a strength in language policy research because it enables researchers to reflect on various aspects of LPP.

4.4.1 Data Collection

Data collection took place in three phases namely: questionnaire, interview and classroom observations. The phases are discussed in later section in this chapter.

4.4.1.1 Participants and school profiles

The participants in this study were junior primary public-school teachers and school principals. Teachers were participants at all phases of the data collection process while

principals were only involved in the second phase- interviews. The total number of participants per research phase is indicated in the Table 3 below.

Research phase	**Participants (teacher or principals)**	**Number of schools**	**Number of teachers or principals**	
			Principals	***Teachers***
Questionnaire	Teachers and principals	38	0	174
Interviews	Teachers and principals	13	9	15
Observations	Teachers	2	0	2

Table 3: Number of participants per phase

Two schools were involved in the study at observation phrase. Omukunda Primary School (Omukunda PS) was purposively and conveniently selected as it was the only available rural school at the time of data collection, and that its mother tongue LiEP was aligned with the study's objectives and scope. Uushimba Primary School (Uushimba PS) was also purposefully selected owing to its linguistically diverse school population and EMI LiEP. The table below presents a summary of the two schools.

	Uushimba PS	**Omukunda PS**
Region (Urban/Rural)	Khomas Region (Urban)	Oshikoto Region (Rural)
Grades available	Grades 0-7	Grades 0-7
Number of learners in 2017	1300	217
Number of teachers in 2017	45	9
Medium of instruction	English	Oshindonga
Taught languages	English & Afrikaans	English & Oshindonga

Table 4: Summary of school profiles

In Namibia, legislation, (Education Act 2001, s 53) provided that learners should commence Grade 1 at the age of 6-7, and this is determined by their birth months (Education Act of 2001). Therefore, Ms Nangula's learners (Grade 1) were between the ages of 6-9 with the older learners having either repeated the Grade 1 before or having started school later than

the age of 7. At Omukunda PS, Ms Taati's learners (Grade 2) were between the ages of 7-11, and the older learners had either repeated the previous grade and or Grade 2 prior or commenced school late.

Table 5 presents the linguistic profiles of the two regions in which Uushimba PS and Omukunda PS are located respectively. The data is as recorded by Namibia's last National Population and Household Census of 2011 (National Planning Commission [NPC], 2011).

Region	**Khomas (Uushimba PS)**	**Oshikoto (Omukunda PS)**
Main language spoken at home	Oshiwambo 41%	Oshiwambo 86%
	Afrikaans 19%	
	Nama/Damara 12%	
	Otjiherero 10%	

Table 5: Linguistic profiles of Khomas and Oshikoto Regions

In comparison to Ms Nangula's class of 39 learners, Ms Taati had a smaller classroom size of 22 learners. Owing to high rates of urbanisation, urban classrooms are overcrowded in comparison to their rural counterparts (Indongo et al., 2013).

Whereas Uushimba PS is in an urban area, in Namibia's capital City-Windhoek, Omukunda PS is located in a village in Oshikoto Region. The locations of the schools reveal the socio-economic situations and linguistic profiles of their communities. That is, in Namibia, rural areas are virtually linguistically homogenous while urban areas are highly linguistically heterogeneous. Furthermore, rural areas face higher levels of poverty in comparison to urban areas (Indongo, Angombe & Bikaner, 2013). However, practices at the two schools should not be understood to be representative of practices in all urban and rural schools in Namibia because interactions with LiEP are context-specific.

School Profile: School 1 (Uushimba PS)

The urban school is in Katutura, a township in Windhoek- Namibia's capital city. Katutura's historical background is significant to Namibia's liberation struggle during the liberation struggle. In 1961, black people were forcefully moved from what was then known as the Old Location to Katutura. It is for this reason that to date, Katutura is predominantly inhabited by black people while white people primarily inhabit the city's suburbs including what was the Old Location- today Hochland Park.

Uushimba PS is a government (public) primary school, and it has been in existence since 1980. The school draws nearly all its learners from Katutura with many coming from some of Windhoek's poorest areas- the informal settlements- Okahandja Park and Babylon. The school is made up of three concrete blocks of classrooms. In addition to classrooms, the school has an administration building in which the principal's and HoDs' offices are housed. Within the building, there is a furnished staff room, reception area, kitchenette and a storeroom. There are separate functional modern ablution facilities for staff members and learners.

Grade 0 was introduced at the school in 2012 when the pre-primary phase was introduced in government schools. In 2017, the school had 1300 learners, 45 teachers (including the school principal) and six institutional workers- four cleaners and two administrative staff members. The average teacher-learner ratio is 35-1. Due to a shortage of classrooms, Uushimba PS is one of the many schools in the country that employ a double-shift system. In this system, schools offer morning and afternoon classes as a means of accommodating more learners. The morning shift commenced at 7:30 and ended at 12:00. The afternoon shift commenced at 12:30 and ended at 16:00. As a result, Grade 1-3 classes at Uushimba PS ended at 12pm and not at 1h15pm as is practice at schools without a double-shift system. The two shifts are taught by two different sets of teachers. At this point, it is important to take note of Ms.

Nangula's learners' language profiles- the first of the two observed classrooms- as indicated in Table 6.

	Mother tongue(s)	Number of learners	Percentage %
1.	Afrikaans and Setswana	1	2.5
2.	Khoekhoegowab	6	15.3
3.	Khoekhoegowab and Afrikaans	2	5.1
4.	Khoekhoegowab and Otjiherero	1	2.5
5.	Oshiwambo	23	58.9
6.	Otjiherero	1	2.5
7.	Portuguese	2	5.1
8.	Rukwangali	1	2.5
9.	Shona	1	2.5
10.	Silozi	1	2.5
Total		**39**	**100%**

Table 6: Learners' mother tongues- Ms Nangula's classroom

School profile: School 2 (Omukunda PS)

Established in 1974, Omukunda PS is located in a small village in Oshikoto Region. To ensure anonymity, the name of the village cannot be identified because, as is typical in rural Namibia, schools are named after the villages they are located in. The school has a staff complement of nine teachers (including the school principal), of whom eight are female and one is male. The school has two institutional workers- a cleaner and a school secretary. In 2017, the school had an enrolment of 217 learners. Table 6 below summarises the language profiles of Ms Taati's learners- the second of the two observed classrooms.

	Mother tongue	Number of learners	Percentage %
1.	Oshindonga	19	86
2.	Oshikwanyama	3	14
Total		**22**	**100%**

Table 7: Learners' mother tongues- Ms Taati's class

The average learner-teacher ratio at Omukunda PS was 23:1. The smaller learner-teacher ratio is normal in relation to school population, and owing to high urbanisation rates, the population of children and young people in villages in Namibia is lower compared to towns and cities (Indongo et al., 2013). As is practice in Namibian rural schools, classes at Omukunda PS commenced at 8am and not 7h15 as is practice in urban schools. The late

commencement is set to allow learners more time to walk the typically long distances to school.

Teachers

It is important to note that the two teachers in Phase 3 were also involved in phases 1 and 2. Table 8 below briefly summarises information related to the two teachers.

Teacher	Gender	First Language	Other Languages	Highest Qualification	Primary School Teaching experience(Years)	Age category
Ms Nangula	F	Oshiwambo	English, Otjiherero(Afrikaans)	BETD[2]	14	35-45
Ms Taati	F	Oshiwambo	English	BETD	17	45-55

Table 8: Brief summary of teachers' profiles

4.4.2 Research Phases

4.4.2.1 Phase One- Questionnaire

A self-completed Likert-scale questionnaire was distributed to junior primary teachers (See Appendix 18). The aim of the questionnaire was to capture participants' language beliefs and aspects of LiEP interpretation, appropriation and enactment at school and classroom level. Conducting a small pilot study is an effective way of testing research instruments (Bryman, 2012). In 2015, I piloted the questionnaire (See Section 4.8 and Appendix 9) of the present study in 20 schools and three regions in Namibia- Oshana, Oshikoto and Khomas. In the pilot and main studies, the sample was selected to reflect urban/ rural schools, different levels of linguistic diversity in school communities and different socioeconomic situation of school communities.

In the main study, the questionnaire was distributed to 214 teachers from 41 schools, and 174 (81%) questionnaires from 38 (93%) schools were returned. The questionnaire is divided into three sections. Section 1 includes participants' personal information. Section 2 collects information on school information and Section 3 is concerned with teachers' classroom

[2] BETD stands for Basic Education Teaching Diploma.

practices and language beliefs. The design of the questionnaire was informed by the literature review.

As the first data collection method, the questionnaire was expected to serve two purposes. Firstly, the questionnaire was used to access a large sample of the population from which a smaller sample was identified for participant observations and interviews. LeCompte & Schensul (2013) hold the position that the use of questionnaires is crucial even in ethnographic studies since data collected from small groups via interviews and participant observation cannot provide "sufficient evidence to substantiate claims made about a larger sample" (p.205). Secondly, using the questionnaire, I identified pertinent themes and topics that I may not have had pre-determined for further exploration in the interview and observation phases. Furthermore, the questionnaire and interviews are important for capturing data that is unlikely to be accessible via participant observations (Murchison, 2010).

A key objective of this study is to assess teachers' beliefs; the questionnaire and interviews (See appendices 18, 19 and 20) were essential in realising this objective. Hence, the questionnaire and interviews were used to capture demographic data, patterns of language use, language preferences and language beliefs. Overall, the questionnaire was used to capture factual and attitudinal data (Palvaiainen & Huhta, 2015).

Baker (2006) cautioned against a major pitfall of questionnaires stating that they measure "only the trivial and superficial and thus fail to penetrate the meanings and understandings of people who are sampled" (p.224). Baker further cautioned that language beliefs surveys have been criticised for their inability to reveal relevant aspects of social action and for lack of contextualisation. Likewise, Corbetta (2003) observed that a drawback associated with the use of a questionnaire is that it alone is incapable of providing a comprehensive understanding of social realities. In light of the above, and due to their pervasive and

subjective nature, I opted to examine beliefs using both interviews and the questionnaire. The multi-method approach adopted in this study was aimed at countering this limitation as questionnaire data was triangulated with data gathered via other data collection instruments. Contrary to traditional ethnographic practices, the questionnaire was not predominantly comprised of open-ended questions. Instead, in heeding Palvaiainen & Huhta's (2015) advice, Likert-scale questions were employed. The self-completed questionnaire employed in the pilot study phase (Section 4.8) in 2015 (See Appendix 9) was used following modifications.

4.4.2.2 Phase Two-Interviews

In total fifteen (15) teachers and nine (9) school principals representing a total of thirteen (13) primary and combined schools were interviewed. At the interview phase, the participating schools are all government (public) schools located in Oshikoto, Oshana and Khomas Regions., Whereas rural schools were found in Oshana and Oshikoto Regions, urban schools are largely located in Khomas Region. As noted in Chapter 2, Oshana and Oshikoto regions are relatively monolingual regions where Oshiwambo is the main language of communication**.** Participants include junior primary teachers (grades 1-3) and principals of schools where a junior primary phase is available (junior or combined schools).

In this study, one semi-structured face-to-face interview was conducted with each participant. Ethical considerations undertaken during this phase are discussed in Section 4.10. Interview durations varied between 8 and 30 minutes per interview. Variations in interview lengths are primarily a result of the fact that some participants' provided more elaborate responses while others were succinct in their responses. In addition, s this was an ethnographically-informed study, interviews were conducted in English and or Oshiwambo. It was noted that interviews conducted in Oshiwambo typically resulted in more detailed responses.

The interviews were used as an extension of the questionnaires and observations. Hence, interviews allowed further exploration of themes and topics that due to their nature could be sufficiently observed or explored via the questionnaire or observations. Interviews were also employed to obtain further in-depth information on beliefs, experiences, practices and beliefs in relation to the official LiEP thereby providing clarity and contextualisation as needed. Fetterman (2009) establishes that, "formally structured and semi-structured interviews are verbal approximations of a questionnaire with explicit goals" (p.40).

Researchers have noted multiple benefits of using interviews in research. Bryman (2012) and Fetterman (2009) asserted that interviews contextualise, explain ethnographers' observations and experiences thereby triangulating observation data. Similarly, Jones, Martin-Jones & Bhatt (2000, p.322) remarked that, semi-structured interviews are typically combined with participant observations as a means of "balancing the account of the researcher with the experience and reflections of the researched." In LPP, Johnson (2006) posited that interviews are useful in establishing how the actions and beliefs of policy agents influence policy creation, interpretation, appropriation and enactment. Classroom observations and interviews enabled me to assess macro-level policy interpretation, appropriation and enactment.

Informal interviews formed part of the study especially during the observation phase. LeCompte & Preissle (1993) observed that, it is common practice for participant observations and interviews to be intertwined such that it is not always clear where observations end and where interviews begin. This intertwining and the natural flow of conversation often witnessed in ethnographic studies is likely to result in informal interviews. Informal interviews were casual, often brief conversations I had with teachers between observations, and they were not guided by the interview schedule, but were rather spontaneous questions in response to what was being observed. These interviews were integrated into the observation phase and were thus not structured in the way that face-to face interviews were.

As discussed earlier, capturing personal perspectives is a fundamental feature of ethnography, and Murchison (2010) noted that personal perspectives are best captured via interviews. Participants were interviewed formally at least once on a one-to-one basis during the duration of the study. All formal interviews were audio-recorded, and consent for recording was sought before interviews commenced.

Data collection in LPP has typically been undertaken using questionnaires, interviews and policy analysis (Doğançay-Aktuna, 1997). These methods alone will, however, not suffice for this study. Participant observation is added to the above methods due to the fact that classroom practices, in particular as they relate to policy appropriation, are better understood via observation (Canagarajah, 2006). It is common practice in ethnography to combine observations and interviews with other data collection methods as a means of gaining a richer and deeper understanding (Canagarajah, 2006).

4.4.2.3 Phase Three-Observations

Participant observation is the main data collection instrument in ethnography (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993). It is also a critical tool of data collection in linguistic ethnography and in investigations into LPP processes (Canagarajah, 2006; Johnson, 2006). Undertaking participant observations entails an engagement in the daily activities of participants, "observing the activities, people and physical aspects of the situation and systematically recording those observations" (McCarty, 2015, p.85). In order to best understand teachers' engagement with the official LiEP at classroom level, I undertook participant observations in two schools in Namibia- one rural school and one urban school.

The observations were guided by two research questions (RQs): in what ways is Namibia's official LiEP interpreted, appropriated and implemented in classrooms? (RQ2), and how do classroom practices differ between urban and rural schools? (RQ3). This method was thus employed to principally asses LiEP interpretation, appropriation and enactment at classroom

level. Participant observations are useful in investigating policy appropriation and enactment (Johnson, 2006). Observations sought to provide a holistic picture of teachers' engagement with official policy from an emic perspective (Cohen et al., 2011). An emic perspective allowed me to, "show that the interlocutors are orienting to, or referring to, particular aspects of the context in particular ways" (Johnson 2006, p.62). Without observations, it would have been virtually impossible to contextualise participants' actions, and by extension, it would have been challenging to present an authentic and holistic picture of the situation.

To capture classroom practices in urban and rural classrooms vis-à-vis the country's LiEP, each classroom was observed over a period of three weeks per school (February 2017- March 2017). Classes were observed in consultation with the teacher. Each lesson was observed throughout its duration. In order to gain a contextualised and holistic view of teachers' policy appropriation and enactment, different lessons were observed at each school. Different subjects were typically observed on more than one occasion on different dates. Tables outlining the observed lessons per teacher are presented below. Table 9 below presents an inventory of observations at Uushimba PS.

Lesson	Date	Subject	Teacher	Grade	Length
1.	15.02.2017	School Readiness Week (1)	Ms Nangula	1	00:16:41
2.	15.02.2017	School Readiness Week (2)	Ms Nangula	1	00:34:01
3.	17.02.2017	English + Mathematics	Ms Nangula	1	00:22:21
4.	17.02.2017	English + Mathematics	Ms Nangula	1	00:26:26
5.	22.02.2017	English (Reading)	Ms Nangula	1	00:52:55
6.	23.02.2017	English & Art	Ms Nangula	1	01:16:21
7.	24.02.2017	Afrikaans	Ms Nangula	1	00:47:01
8.	27.02.2017	RME	Ms Nangula	1	00:43:37
9.	28.02.2017	Mathematics	Ms Nangula	1	01:09:42
10.	01.03.2017	English + Mathematics	Ms Nangula	1	01:13:53

Table 9: Observed lessons: Uushimba PS

Table 10 below shows the subjects observed at Omukunda PS.

Lesson	Date	Subject	Teacher	Grade	Length
1.	09.03.2017	Environmental Studies	Ms Taati	2	00:16:41
2.	09.03.2017	Mathematics	Ms Taati	2	00:19:41
3.	10.03.2017	Mathematics	Ms Taati	2	00:38:19
4.	10.03.2017	Oshindonga	Ms Taati	2	00:33:10
5.	13.03.2017	English	Ms Taati	2	00:41:43
6.	13.03.2017	Mathematics	Ms Taati	2	00:42:06
7.	14.03.2017	English	Ms Taati	2	00:19:33
8.	14.03.2017	Mathematics	Ms Taati	2	00:36:10
9.	16.03.2017	Reading	Ms Taati	2	00:28:42
10.	16.03.2017	English	Ms Taati	2	00:49:35
11.	17.03.2017	Mathematics	Ms Taati	2	00:29:20

Table 10: Observed lessons: Omukunda PS

The officially set duration time per lesson is 40 minutes; however, Ms Taati's classes often ended less than 30 minutes after starting. Thus, some of Ms Taati's lessons were short, and in some cases appeared to end rather abruptly, but the abrupt end to lessons was not explained. When the lessons were ended, Ms Taati either began teaching another subject or in seldom cases, left the class to go to the administrative building.

A key objective of the study was to observe language use as a result of language policy (language practices) during teacher-learner interactions. In rural areas, indigenous languages are the main means of communication across all domains since most rural areas are virtually monolingual (NPC, 2011). This is in contrast to urban areas where linguistic diversity is the norm.

In addition to audio-recordings, an observation schedule (See Appendix 21) was used to capture teachers' and learners' classroom language practices. The schedule was used to record observable behaviour related to teachers' and learners' language use for defined categories. The categories included: teaching, giving instructions to learners, assessing

understanding, disciplining learners, giving feedback, learner participation, group/pair work, responding to questions, asking questions, requesting permission. Further notes were recorded regarding linguistic diversity and multilingualism, language use in non-pedagogic interactions, classroom organisation and layout and learning material. The development of the schedule was done in consideration of the study's aims and theoretical frameworks (Ellis, 2016).

During observation, I had very minimal involvement in the teaching-learning practice. I would arrive in the class, greet the learners, and sit at the teacher's table in the right front corner of the class. I would then continue to record and take notes from this position. At both Omukunda PS and Uushimba PS, I had requested for and been granted permission to walk around the classroom and look at learners' work during their completion of classroom activities. On occasions, I took pictures of learners' work. This was the main interaction and contact I had with learners in the classroom. These pictures were useful during the data analysis phase as I was able to easily make connections and further analysis between audio-recordings of the observations and the material that were being used, i.e. worksheets being completed or posters being point to by teachers during teaching. Permission was sought and granted from the teachers regarding the photographing of displayed work in the classroom. I observed 1-3 classes per day based on the arrangement with the teachers. In cases where more than one class was observed per day, the observed classes took place subsequent to each other.

There are four main researcher roles in participant observation namely; complete participant, participant-as-observer, observer-as-participant and complete observer (Cohen et al., 2011). In this phase, a case study of two schools (one urban and one rural) was undertaken and classroom observations and brief semi-structured post-observation interviews were conducted. Observations provided an emic perspective, and were crucial in uncovering

aspects of language policy interpretation, appropriation and enactment that participants may otherwise be reluctant to divulge via other methods (Cohen et al., 2011). Post-observation semi-structured interviews were conducted as soon as possible after observations to allow teachers to reflect on their classroom practices. Notably, this allowed me to crosscheck my observations and discuss them with teachers whilst remaining non-judgemental and non-evaluative (Cohen et al., 2007). Pre-prepared question sought to identify and understand the challenges and successes of lesson delivery relating to language use and communication, strategies for classroom participation, general teaching strategies and teachers' beliefs and feelings.

Key themes for observations were pre-determined; however, some themes emerged from the questionnaire and from the observations. Emergent themes were incorporated into the study. Field notes and audio-recordings were used to record data.

4.4.2.3.1 Observer's paradox

Observing several lessons in one classroom over an extended period made me a familiar face in the classroom to both learners and the teacher and helped reduce the observer's paradox. Furthermore, in another attempt to reduce the observer's paradox, I spent a day in each classroom before beginning with audio-recordings the following day. Over time, there was therefore relatively less attention on me and my presence by the learners during my observations in the classroom. This attention diminished with time, and classroom interactions eventually normalised. Aiming to be as unobtrusive as possible during the observations, I positioned myself and the audio-recorder at the same position throughout the observation- in front of the class, at the teachers' desk. From this position, I was able to record learner-teacher interactions; however, learner-learner interactions were not successfully audio-recorded because the audio-recorder could not be placed among the learners nor could it be moved from learner to learner during the interactions as this would be

disruptive. Although I took the position of an observer throughout the classroom observations, at both schools, I was allowed, and sometimes asked, to get closer to learners and walk among them especially when they were completing classroom activities. To avoid disruptions and allow these interactions to be as natural as possible, these interactions were not audio-recorded. Throughout the observations, an audio-recorder was employed as the main tool of data collection.

4.4.2.3.2 Field notes

The audio-recordings were supplemented by note-taking through field notes and an observation schedule. The notes captured non-verbal interactions that the audio-recorder was unable to capture. The teachers whose classes were observed were further interviewed post-observation to elicit responses regarding their observed language practices and ideologies. Often, spontaneous conversations occurred between the researcher and the teachers during observations, and these were audio-recorded.

During the mid-morning break, learners went outside to eat and play while teachers rested in the staff room or in their classrooms. I made it a point to stay at the schools until the break time or the end of the school day, and this allowed me to have post-observation debrief sessions with the teachers based on their availability. The debrief sessions offered me an opportunity to get more information from teachers on what I had just observed and in the process clarify anything I may have misunderstood. Figure 3 presents examples of field notes taken during observations.

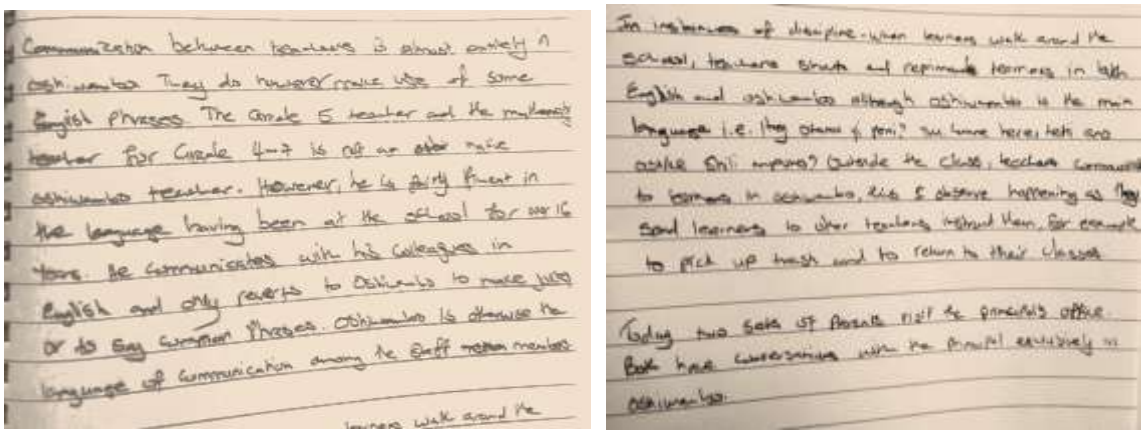

Figure 3: Outside classroom observation field notes at Omukunda PS

At both schools, I observed classroom size, teachers' and learners' linguistic profiles, classroom resources and seating arrangements. Specific attention was paid to language use during the teaching-learning process because I regard language use in these instances as means through which language ideologies can be reflected and LiEP appropriation and enactment can take place (Johnson, 2013; Spolsky, 2004).

In addition, artefacts in the form of pictures of classroom notes and posters were also gathered. I also kept a reflective journal in which I recorded my reflections of daily activities. At Uushimba PS, I was advised to record lessons during any time of the school day. However, at Omukunda PS, I was advised to record classes before the school break period (between 8am 10h30am) because learners were most alert during these periods. This is because learners typically walked long distances to and from school. As a result, some learners are often tired after the break and may therefore not be as active and alert.

4.4.2.4 Document Analysis

To assess policy creation and to assess LPP at macro level, document analysis of Namibia's official LiEP, *The Language Policy for Schools in Namibia*, was undertaken. This analysis aimed to explore the policy's aims, themes, historical, economic and socio-political context and underpinnings.

In their call for more document analysis in ethnographic studies, Hammersley & Atkinson (2007) assert that "documents provide information about the setting being studied, or about wider contexts, and particularly about key figures or organisations" (p.122). In order to assess policy creation at macro-level, document analysis was conducted. Such analysis was based on an adaptation of Richardson & Wodak's (2009) four levels of contexts as adapted for language policy analysis and presented in Johnson (2015). The four levels denote, "text-internal analysis of language policy text, intertextual connections to past and present policy texts and discourses, the extralinguistic social variables and the socio-political and historical contexts" (p.170).

Further triangulation of data occurred- themes emergent from questionnaires interviews and observations were triangulated with data from the document analysis process. A triangulatory approach is fundamental to this study not only due to the study's ethnographic disposition, but due to its multimethod nature. In particular, triangulation of document analysis data and all other data in the study provided an opportunity to draw recommendations for future policy dialogue and policy review. Johnson (2006) establishes that document analysis allows researchers to connect the policy- practice gap. Exploring this gap is essential in this study considering that, as discussed in Chapter Two, Namibia appears to experience the LiEP policy-practice gap.

4.5 Gaining Access

The process of getting *Permission to Conduct Research* credentials in Namibia requires that permission be sought in the sequence displayed in Figure 4 below.

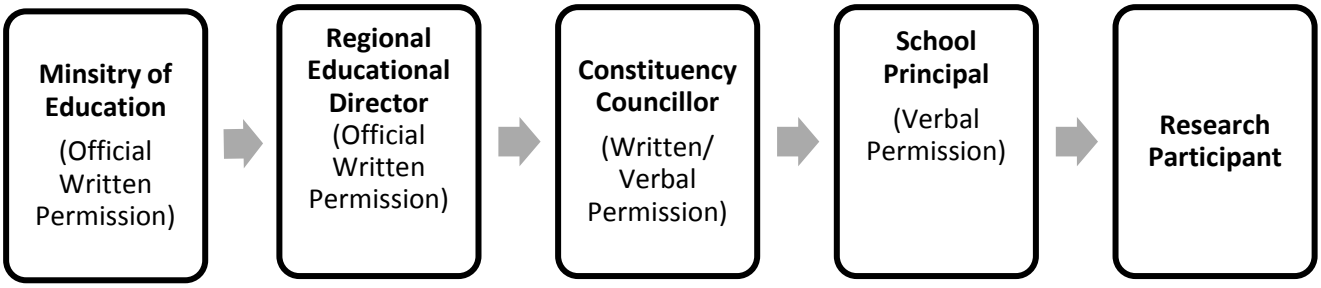

Figure 4: The process of gaining permission to conduct research in Namibian schools

Figure 4 outlines the process of obtaining the *Permission to Conduct Research* credentials in Namibia. The hierarchy presented had to be adhered to, so I had to wait for a response from one office before proceeding to the subsequent one. The permission letter from MoEAC (See appendices 4 and 11) came with instruction stating that further permission must be sought at regional and constituency level. Consequently, it is only after having consulted all offices in the order illustrated in *Figure 4* that data collection commenced. The final selection of schools depended on which school principals allowed me to conduct research in their school, and eventually which teachers in the school agreed to take part in the study.

During the pilot study (Section 4.8), this process was quite protracted. Although, I had received permission to conduct research for the pilot study in 2015 (Section 4.8), I was required to seek permission for the main study. This process took 3-6 weeks and this was mainly based on availability of personnel. At times, a regional education director was not available to grant the permission, and this meant that until they were available, I could not get permission from subsequent gatekeepers.

4.6 Data Analysis

Unlike in many other researches, data analysis in ethnography is not necessarily subsequent to data collection; rather it runs in concurrence with the data collection process (Fetterman, 2010; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Murchison, 2010). In this study, continual data

analysis was employed as well. To analyse questionnaire data, the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPPSS) was used. Interview and observation data was analysed through a discourse analytic approach.

Hammersley & Atkinson (2007, p.3) point out that data analysis in ethnography "involves interpretation of the meanings, functions, and consequences of human actions and institutional practices, and how these are implicated in local, and perhaps also wider contexts". To facilitate the interpretation, analysis and contextualisation process of all data in the study, I developed *an open-ended codebook*; its open-endedness allowed for an addition of new codes during fieldwork. The code-book ensured consistent data analysis, easier data management and rendered the data amenable (LeCompte & Schensul, 2013).

4.6.1 Discourse Analysis

In brief, Gee (2011) describes discourse analysis as "the study of language-in-use" (p.8). Clark and Creswell (2015) state that discourse analysis examines the organisation and use of language in communication. Discourse analysis is often used in LPP studies to analyse policy discourses and processes. Data in this study is interpreted from a discourse analytic (DA) perspective. According to Fairclough (2003), "language is an irreducible part of social life, dialectically interconnected with other elements of social life, so that social analysis of research always has to take account of language" (p. 2). There is a dual focus in analysing interview and observational data in this study: 1) texts as social events and 2) the interactive processes that lead to and influence meaning-making (Fairclough, 2003). The importance of this is that it results in a more holistic and in-depth analysis and understanding of findings.

In view of the above, discourse analysis was the most relevant approach for this ethnographically informed study. The application of DA in this study is rooted in an ethnographically-informed approach and the conceptualisation of DA as *language use in context* (Markee, 2015). In line with the ethnographic approach and discourse analytic

perspective, this study examined the manifestation of issues such as agency and ideology in classroom interactions and explored the relationship between classroom practices and language ideology.

Through discourse analytic approaches, there is an integration of the context and key theoretical approaches at interpretation which allow for a holistic and differentiated interpretation (Wodak, 2006). Context is an important aspect of this study and discourse analysis permits for its role to be included at analysis; thus, approach made it possible for me to analyse results in relation to their specific LiEP contexts. Participants in this study were not viewed to merely be speaking specific languages, but to be engaging in discursive practices such as translanguaging (Garcia & Li, 2014). In analysing classroom interactions, DA plays a pivotal role in highlighting trends and challenges in language practices and learner participation especially in multilingual contexts (Adger & Wright, 2015). Furthermore, Adger and Wright (2015) argue that DA is useful in evaluating the successes and failures of the teaching-learning processes at classroom level. To provide a holistic discourse analytic aspect to this study and to better understand current LiEP enactment, it was important to have a historical understanding of colonial LiEPs discussed in Chapter 1. This understanding helps illuminate the factors influencing policy enactment in modern Namibia. Excerpts of the national LiEP, interviews and classroom observations are presented and interpreted in connection with relevant theories and Namibia's official policy. However, in order to systematically analyse interview and observation data, I adopted LeCompte & Schensul (2013) three-stage data analysis and interpretation model. The model, like discourse analysis recognises the importance of the interplay between language use and social context. Below, I elaborate on the model and its use in the study.

4.6.1.1 Adoption of LeCompte & Schensul (2013) three-stage data analysis and interpretation model

In the initial stage, to interpret, analyse and contextualise interview and observation data with the research questions and objectives, I adopted a multi-stage approach. Specifically, I adopted LeCompte & Schensul's (2013) three stage data analysis and interpretation model. These stages, although listed separately, may occur concurrently in the field and post-fieldwork (LeCompte & Schensul, 2013). Interviews and observations were transcribed, thematically coded and patterns established. The themes were categorised into four broad categories: policy interpretation, appropriation, enactment and language beliefs. Stage Two aims to provide explanations and meaning of findings via analysis. LeCompte & Schensul (2013) advise that this stage, "involves examining relationships and patterns in the data to produce a local interpretation of what the research result mean" (p.16). To achieve this, I corroborated aspects of the data with participants using informal interviews. This aspect was very important as it also allowed me to explore the validity of the assumptions that I may have had and to validate observations that were either unclear or seemed contradictory to me. Discourse constitutes particular ways of being and social identities (Fairclough, 2003). Thus, discourse, in this study, is analysed with consideration of its wider social and physical context. According to LeCompte & Schensul (2013), corroboration of data with participants allows further contextualisation of the data and provides emic and etic perspectives. The corroboration was informed by LPP theories. The third stage seeks to extend the local interpretation done at Stage Two to a global understanding. The question to answer at this stage is "how does what the participants tell me equate with what other researchers or outsiders have said about similar phenomena in the world at large?" (LeCompte & Schensul 2013, p.17). To answer this question, data was analysed by "linking it to structural and conceptual understandings of how human behaviour operates at a more general level" (p.16). In this study, the last stage entailed linking findings concerning language beliefs and policy

interpretation, appropriation and enactment to relevant theories, concepts and patterns noted by researchers such as (Adegbija, 1994; Baker, 2006; Bamgbose, 1991; Johnson, 2006; Kamwangamalu, 2011; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996; Spolsky, 2004). In doing so, I was "attaching meaning and significance to patterns, themes, domains and connections" (LeCompte & Schensul, 2013, p.18). As part of this process, I also accounted for the patterns, themes, domains and connections' existence and discussed future implications. As part of data analysis, data gathered via all instruments of data collection in the study was triangulated.

4.6.2 Analysing interview data

Transcripts were read thoroughly, and, using NVivo Version 10, data was openly coded under numerous codes. The codes were then reduced by coding them under the following main themes: teachers' linguistic abilities; learners' language needs; classroom language practices; role of English in classroom; role of indigenous languages in classroom; resource availability; views on MTE, views on EMI. This coding method was informed by the literature review, the frequency of mention of themes in the interview data, the emphasis of specific themes by interviewees. Frequencies of occurrences of phenomenon were calculated to assess prevalence and importance of themes. Participants emphasised themes when they explicitly mentioned that a phenomenon is important. Emphasis was also observed by paying attention to word and sentence stress patterns during interviews.

The data was further refined by assessing the prevalence of themes within individual transcripts and among all transcripts. As part of this process, I analysed patterns within and among transcripts before making thematic connections within and across transcripts (Seidman, 2006). For example, thematic connections were made across and within different settings (urban and rural schools) and different media of instructions (indigenous languages-only MoI schools, multiple MoI schools and English-only MoI schools).

In Chapter 6, excerpts representing key themes are presented and analysed. Data analysis was conducted from a discourse analytic perspective (Fairclough, 2003). In the analysis, I focussed on classroom language practices and language ideologies in relation to the use of English and indigenous languages in view of the national LiEP. That is, I looked at how teachers and principals positioned the roles of English and indigenous languages in schools and classrooms through their classroom practices and beliefs about the usefulness of the said languages in education. The responses provided in the interviews were then triangulated with those given in the questionnaire and with the observed behaviour (classroom observations). This analysis allowed me to best understand participants' classroom practices, language ideologies and choices of school language policies. Interviews were transcribed, and owing to the volume of the interviews, only key non-verbal material such as stress, omissions, gestures, laughter and pauses were transcribed. Interviews were transcribed verbatim, and are therefore inclusive of ungrammatical, non-standard use of language. In cases of translanguaging, the second language is transcribed as is, followed by a translation. The transcription conventions are outlined in Table 11.

4.6.3 Analysis of observation data

There were several levels of analysis of the observation data as data analysis was neither a linear nor a once-off process (Fetterman, 2010). The steps that make up the data analysis process include: observation, transcription, translation and coding. In what follows, I briefly describe these steps.

4.6.3.1 Ad hoc Analysis

Fetterman (2010) noted that ethnographic data analysis is often non-linear, multi-level and involves simple and complex steps. In this study, continual data analysis was employed; hence *ad hoc* data analysis began as soon as classroom observations began. So, I noticed and made connections within and between during classroom observations. That is, connections and comparisons were made with data from the same classroom, and when I completed

observations at Uushimba PS and began observations at Omukunda PS, I made connections and comparisons between the two classrooms and schools. For example, I noticed trends, similarities, and differences in language practices across different lessons at the same school. In such instances, I noted the observations on the observation schedule (See Appendix 21) and in my reflective journal at the end of each day.

In the journal, I made notes and wrote questions that I had to seek answers to in later observations. These notes were useful when I undertook the summative and formal analysis at the end of the data collection process. These notes included daily questions on post-it notes of questions I intended to pose to the teachers. An example of these questions is seen in Figure 5 below.

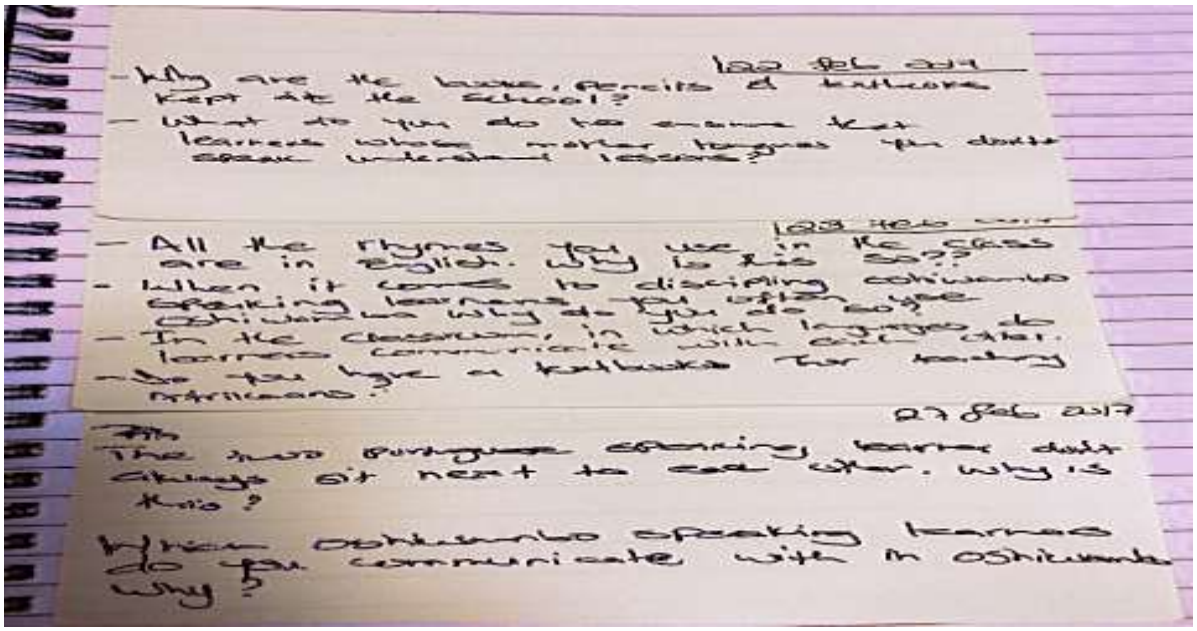

Figure 5: Questions for post-observation debrief

The first two weeks of the observations at Uushimba PS took place during what is known as the *School Readiness Program*. According to, Ministry of Education (2015), "*school readiness* is a stage when a child is able to grasp concepts and skills that are necessary for more formal learning in Grade 1. The program is a response to the recognition that many learners have not acquired school readiness before they start school" (p.4). At implementation

level, the program is divided into a five-week activity plan during which the teacher teaches lessons aimed at preparing learners for formal Grade 1 teaching and learning. The first week of observations was the last week of the five-week activity plan in the readiness program, and the last week of observation was the assessment week of the program.

Ms Nangula's lessons were often embedded into each other such that she would teach two subjects in one extended lesson. For example, in the English and Art lesson, learners learnt names of fruit in English and how to spell and pronounce them. In the same lesson, they drew the fruits. Other than that, the timing of the lessons was dependent on the content to be taught on the day; hence some lessons were relatively short while other were much longer.

During observations at Omukunda PS, no classes were observed during the week of 20-24 March 2017 as planned as this was the first ever national mid-term break. Observations at Omukunda PS were therefore conducted in a period of two weeks.

4.6.3.2 Transcription

The transcription process began during fieldwork and continued until post-fieldwork. In total, 13 hours and 38 minutes of observations were recorded (See Tables 9 and 10). All observations were audio-recorded, and transcription was then undertaken. I listened to the audio-recordings multiple times before transcribing them. The lessons chosen for discourse transcription include at least two lessons for each audio-recorded subject, and these were transcribed in full. The transcription was done using the discourse transcription method, thus all detailed features of conversational analysis are not included.

Personally transcribing the audio-recording provided several advantages to the process. Firstly, it allowed me to get even closer to the data, and this further enabled me to recall nuanced expressions that accompanied the contents of the recording. In short, transcription took me back to what I had seen and heard in the moment of the recoding thus making it easier to provide accurate transcription. Transcribing further proved to be an advantage in

that throughout the transcription process, I was able to draw further connections and identify themes and categories of analysis. Furthermore, having been present at the time of the observation recording also allowed me to understand the recordings in their pedagogic context thereby providing better understanding the occurrence of paralinguistic features such as pauses, stuttering, self-corrections, giggles and interruptions. With that understanding, I was able to make decisions on the interpretation and inclusion of paralinguistic features.

4.6.3.2.1 Transcription conventions

The transcription conventions in Table 11 were adopted for transcription of observation and interview data in this study.

Character format	**Meaning**
Bold typeface	Indicates words/phrases stressed by interviewee by way of high intonation and pitch for emphasis
[-]	Indicates extralinguistic features noted during interview, i.e. laughter
(. . .)	Indicates an omission in speech.
…	Indicates a pause in speech
Italics	Indicates a switch into another language
(-)	Indicates translation of preceding information into English
Participants	
Ls	Several learners speaking simultaneously
T	Teacher

Table 11: Transcription conventions

4.6.3.3 Translation

In both classrooms, there were numerous occasions where languages other than English, namely, Oshiwambo, Afrikaans and seldom Otjiherero and Portuguese were used. This includes instances of translanguaging as well as entire lessons either on or in the said languages. It was thus necessary to translate these transcripts. My proficiency in Oshiwambo, Afrikaans and Otjiherero and my knowledge of the pedagogic context permitted an authentic translation of the content. For the sake of clarity and consistency, the translations were then

edited by proof-readers. The changes suggested by the proof-readers were incorporated into the final document. The use of Portuguese in the lessons was very minimal, and these phrases were easily translated by a Portuguese language teacher.

4.6.3.4 Systematic Analysis

4.6.3.4.1 Coding

Data was coded to using Emmerson, Fretz & Shaw's (2011) coding approach. Hence, open coding was first applied because at the onset of the observations, I created an open-ended codebook in which I captured codes throughout the fieldwork and after the observations. After transcription, focused coding was applied to identify themes, categories and to establish patterns. Data was read multiple times so as to draw connections within and across data, see differences and similarities between lessons within and across schools. Connections were then made within and across the data. It is via the multiple readings that coding statements, quotations and themes were selected. At first, three major themes were determined to evaluate LiEP enactment in schools. The three themes were: 1) use of mother tongues (MTs) in the classroom; 2) use of English in the classroom; 3) translanguaging as a scaffolding tool. These codes reflect the phenomena that occurred most frequently during observations. Only the most frequently occurring phenomena were coded. For example, although Ms Nangula uses English as the main language in the classroom, she often used learners' languages when disciplining them, and seldom used English. Codes that were not prevalent enough were removed. Codes were created throughout the observation stage and were refined with time to reflect what was present in the data. Excerpts reflective of the identified codes were analysed and presented in the next section. The codes in Table 12 were applied to the data in relation to language use.

Code	Label	Meaning	Category
DP	*Discipline and Punishment in MT*	Verbal reprimanding (and physical punishment) of learners in their MTs	Classroom Management
CE	*Clarification and or Explanation*	Attempts to enhance learners' understanding of concepts/lesson through clarification and or explanation of a lesson/concept	Teaching and Learning/ Translanguaging
LT	*Lesson Translation*	Translation of a lesson or part thereof into a mother tongue	Translanguaging
AA	*Activity Assessment*	Teachers' informal assessment of learners' progress in completing classroom activity	Teaching and Learning Translanguaging
AU	*Assessing Understanding*	Teachers' assessment of learners' general comprehension of lesson/concept	Teaching and Learning/ Translanguaging
MTI	*Mother tongue instruction*	Teaching of content entirely or part thereof in mother tongue	Teaching and Learning
EI	*English Instruction*	Teaching of content entirely or part thereof in English	Teaching and Learning

Table 12: Observation codes

It was apparent that activity assessment, assessing understanding and clarification and or explanation were often undertaken with the aid of translanguaging techniques. It is for this reason that the three labels were coded under the category *teaching and learning/ translanguaging.* At Uushimba PS, I frequently observed the use of MTs by the teacher when reprimanding and punishing learners. I thus created a specific label *Discipline and Punishment in Mother Tongues* to highlight this because its uniqueness could not be sufficiently accounted for under a generic label. It was not easy to quantify the number of times translanguaging was used in the classrooms as there were no apparent patterns of use. The study does thus not provide quantitative data in relation to acts of translanguaging. Instead, acts of translanguaging are shown and discussed qualitatively in excerpts. In the section below, I briefly discuss the piloting of the questionnaire which was undertaken in 2015.

4.7 Pilot Study

The pilot study of the questionnaire was undertaken in 2015, and it was aimed at pre-testing the questionnaire as a research instrument, specifically its wording and appropriateness. This was further aimed at adjusting it post-study if need be to ensure good and targeted research design, and evaluating possible challenges, bureaucratic requirements, logistical

arrangements necessary for undertaking research in Namibia. This in turn would best prepare me to undertake the main study. Participants provided feedback regarding the questionnaire's wording and general ease of completion. Subsequent to the pilot, vague, erroneous or ambiguous questions were reworded or withdrawn from the questionnaire. The pilot study was instrumental in informing the research design of the main study.

Subsequent to the pilot study, the question: *how many periods are used for teaching English/a Namibian language per week?* was withdrawn from the current design as participants indicated difficulty in answering it in questionnaire format. Similarly, the following items were explored via interviews and or observations instead to ensure that context is provided.

- Teachers qualification to teach in English/ Namibian language(s)
- Learners' ability to read in English/mother tongue
- Learners' use of mother tongues in classroom
- Language(s) used to teach content subjects (Maths, Science etc.)

The following items were reworded to reflect new terminology:

- Lower primary→ junior primary
- Natural Science →Environmental Studies

Following recommendations from participants, the following items were added to the questionnaire and explored further in interviews:

- Which language(s) do learners learn best in? / Which language(s) do you think should be used as a medium of instruction at the junior primary phase?
- Is there a need to translate teaching materials from English to indigenous languages? Why?

- Do parents help children at home by teaching them how to read and write in English/mother tongue?

In the following section, I discuss the quality assurance measures employed to ensure data reliability and validity.

4.8 Reliability and Validity

A key means of ensuring validity and reliability in this study is the use of a multi and mixed method approach resulting in methodological triangulation. A multiple method approach is useful in protecting the integrity of data and improving data reliability (Bryman, 2012; Fetterman, 2009). Triangulation improves data validity as it allows multiple views of the complexity of "human behaviour and of situations in which human beings interact" (Cohen et al., 2011, p.195). All qualitative research processes carry a relative level of bias since participants' opinions, beliefs and perspectives are subjective; relative, instead of perfect validity, is therefore more attainable (Cohen et al., 2007).

In addition, interviews and observations were audio-recorded, transcribed and where necessary translated to ensure that data is available for multiple checks post-data collection. The questionnaire was piloted as a means of assessing its weaknesses and improving its reliability.

This study provides a thick description of the phenomena under study from specific cultural, social and economic contexts, i.e. urban and rural Namibian primary schools; thus, data from this study may not be transferable to contexts of similar cultural, social and economic contexts. This is due to the fact that the findings are of qualitative nature and represent participants' beliefs, experiences and views, and typically interactions between the various context-specific variables are typically embedded in nuanced and idiosyncratic realities.

A recurrent critique of ethnography and a limitation of this study relates to the lack of data generalisability and replicability (Murchison, 2010). This study is unable to encompass the experiences of the entire country and entire regions in which it was conducted. Instead, its focus is on policy interpretation, appropriation and enactment processes studied through a case study of selected schools, teachers and principals in urban and rural Namibia. In their nature, ethnographically-informed studies provide an in-depth view of lived realities, but are limited in scale. Overall, findings from this study cannot be generalised because they represent specific cases that were studied, and these cases are not representative of the regions they are located in, the country at large nor any other contexts. A longer-lasting study employing a larger sample may however offer more generalisable data.

4.9 Ethical Considerations

This study adhered to the ethical standards set by the University of Reading from which consent to carry out this study was granted (See appendices 1 and 2). In Namibia, ethical clearance and *Permission to Conduct Research* credentials were sought and granted from the Ministry of Education Arts and Culture (MoEAC) and regional education directors (See appendices 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, 13 and 14). This process followed MoEAC regulations concerning research activities in schools.

Informed consent and protection of confidentiality are the most crucial foundations of ethical research, (Angrosino, 2013). In this study, teachers were the key research participants; however learners (children) were present in classrooms during participant observations. The presence of children in classrooms during classroom observation requires ethical considerations (Cohen et al., 2007). Consequently, informed consent was sought from the learners' parents/guardians; information sheets and ethical consent sheets were sent to parents via the schools (See Appendix 17). As is practice in Namibia, access to learners was

negotiated via the school principals before it was sought from teachers and then parents/guardians.

Regarding protection of confidentiality, participants and parents/guardians were informed of the means through which their confidentiality and anonymity were to be protected (See appendices 15, 16 and 17). It is important to ensure non-traceability of participants in research (Cohen et al., 2007). Anonymity was used as means of protecting participants' confidentiality and ensuring non-traceability. Resultantly, participants were assigned pseudonyms, and school names were changed. To further protect participants' confidentiality, research data will only be accessible to the researcher and the supervisors. Permission to audio-record interviews and classroom observations was sought in advance.

Information sheets outlining the protection of confidentiality, the nature and aims of the study were distributed to principals, teachers and parents/guardians before data collection (See appendices 15, 16, 17). This information was made available in non-academic language. Participants were informed of the fact that their participation in the study was voluntary, and of their right to withdraw for the study at any stage of the study. As a result, some participants chose to only take part in the study at phases 1 or 2 while others chose to take part in the study at all stages.

4.10 Summary

The focus of this chapter was on presenting the research process as undertaken in this dissertation. The chapter accounted for the adoption of the case study and ethnographic approaches in investigating language policy enactment and participants' language beliefs at junior primary level in Namibia. A description of the data collection tools employed in this study, the questionnaire, interviews and classroom observations, was also undertaken. Data analysis procedures, data reliability and validity measures, ethical considerations and limitations of the study were also discussed. In the chapter that follows, findings from the questionnaire phase of data collection are presented and analysed.

5 Chapter 5: Questionnaire findings

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I present findings of the data collected during the first phase of data collection-the questionnaire phase. At this phase, a broader perspective is adopted in assessing the beliefs and practices of a larger sample compared to other phases. In this chapter, findings are presented in the form of statistical data. The statistical data provides evidence of the prevalence of trends in relation to language practices as reported by participants. As context is essential in this study, the contextual detail absent in the questionnaire is provided through qualitative data and analysis in chapters 6 and 7.

Questionnaires are useful for gathering data in larger quantities, and enable researchers to identify and describe trends in a population (Clark & Creswell, 2015). In this study, the questionnaire was used to gather statistical data from a large sample. This data was gathered by means of a semi-structured questionnaire which was distributed to teachers (See Appendix 18). The primary aim of employing the questionnaire was to explore teachers' linguistic backgrounds, their language beliefs and classroom language practices. Together, data from the questionnaire, interviews and classroom observations provided a holistic view of the practicalities of language policy enactment and language beliefs. In total, 174 questionnaires were completed by teachers from 38 schools across Oshikoto, Oshana and Khomas regions.

From the questionnaires, I sought to identify key descriptive statistics related to levels of qualifications, teaching experience and classroom statistics. Responses to questionnaires shaped what was examined in the subsequent stages- interviews and classroom observations. Following analysis of the questionnaires, key themes for further exploration were considered in the interviews. Thus, the questionnaire allowed me to refine the focus of the interviews. Although language beliefs and language practices are central to studies in language policy, an exploration of language beliefs and language practices in a questionnaire is limited and

further and more in-depth exploration was undertaken via interviews and classroom observations.

5.2 The Questionnaire

The questionnaire comprised 31 questions. Questions were subdivided into the following sections: a) personal information (gender, age, academic qualifications, mother tongues, and years of teaching experience); b) school information/languages taught at school and c) language beliefs and language practices. Questions 1-12 were mostly multiple choice questions which participants responded to by ticking the most appropriate answer. Questions 13-31 were Likert Scale questions with responses ranging between *strongly agree* and *strongly disagree*.

As noted earlier, questions 1-5 provided data on participants' biographical information. They were categorised and discussed under the theme *personal information*.

Questions 6-12 sought to identify information regarding schools' community, number of learners per class, grade taught, language of the school community, media of instruction and taught languages. These questions were categorised and discussed under the theme *school information*.

Questions 13-16 were important in providing insight into participants' classroom language practices. These questions were categorised and discussed under the theme *language practices*. The statements in this section were:

13. *I only teach in English*
14. *I only teach in a Namibian language*
15. *I teach in English and a Namibian language*
16. *I allow my learners to use their mother tongues in the classroom*

Questions 17-29 were particularly sought to provide insight on participants' language beliefs including language preferences in relation to the role of English and indigenous languages in

education. These questions were categorised and discussed under the theme *language beliefs*. The statements were:

17. *I **prefer** to teach in a Namibian language*
18. *I **prefer** to teach in English*
19. *I **prefer** to teach in a Namibian language and English*
20. *At Junior Primary level, learners should be taught **in** their mother tongues*
21. *At Junior Primary level, learners should be taught **in** English*
22. *Knowing English makes learners cleverer*
23. *Namibian languages can be used to teach subjects like Mathematics and Environmental Studies*
24. *Learners learn better when they are taught in their mother tongues*
25. *Learners learn better when they are taught in English*
26. *It is difficult **for learners** to learn school subjects in their mother tongues*
27. *It is difficult **for learners** to learn school subjects in English*
28. *It is difficult **for me** to teach a Namibian language as a subject*
29. *It is difficult **for me** to teach English as a subject*

It was found in the literature review that resource availability is an essential component of effective policy enactment. It was also found that, in sub-Saharan Africa, MTE policies are often undermined by the unavailability of resources. In an attempt to shed light on the availability of textbooks for teaching indigenous languages and English respectively, questions 30-31 below were included in the questionnaire. These questions were categorised and discussed under the theme *textbook availability.*

30. *Our school has enough textbooks for teaching a Namibian language*
31. *Our school has enough textbooks for teaching English*

This section provided an overview of the questionnaire used in this study. In what follows, findings will be presented under the themes: personal information, language practices, language beliefs and textbook availability.

5.3 Findings

Findings from the questionnaire are presented in table or graphs derived from SPSS.

5.3.1 Personal information

This section of the questionnaire contained questions regarding gender, age, years of teaching experience, highest qualification and mother tongues. The graphs below present responses to the questions in this section of questionnaire

Teaching experience

Teaching experience is typically linked to better performance as teachers generally become more accustomed to their content and develop more effective teaching and learning strategies over the years. Thus, more experienced teachers are expected to have better educational outcomes. Table 15 indicates that experience levels amongst the participants in this study varied.

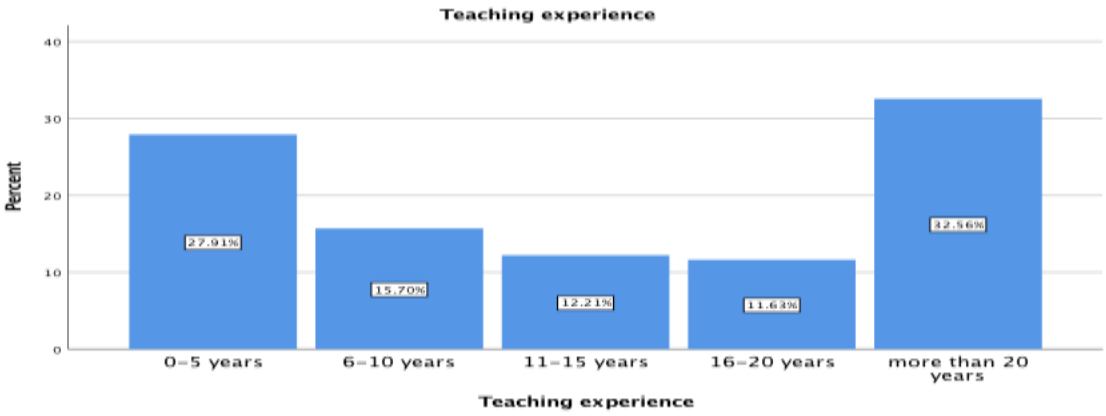

Table 13: Participants' teaching experience

Statistics in Table 14 indicate that, a large number of teachers (32.56%) had more than 20 years of teaching experience, and in total, more than 55% of the teachers had more than 10 years of teaching experience. If teaching experience were to have the expected positive influence on performance, then a majority of the schools in this study should be expected to excel academically.

Qualifications

Similar to teaching experience, teachers with the highest levels of qualifications are said to perform better than their less or unqualified counterparts as they have been equipped with the theoretical (and practical) knowledge requisite for the profession. Table 16 summarises the highest qualifications obtained by participants in this study. It should be noted that, perhaps owing to its personal nature, 13.2% (n=23) of the participants chose to not answer this question.

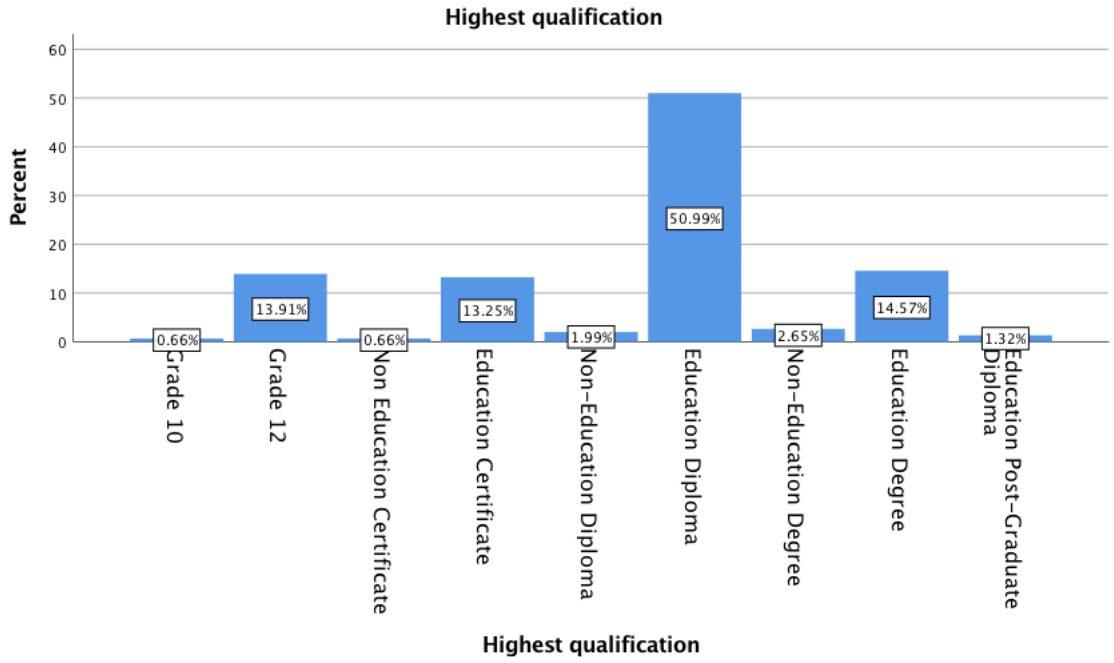

Table 14: Participants' highest qualifications

It is apparent from the table that not all teachers were professionally qualified. Overall, 13. 91% (n=23) of the teachers did not have a tertiary qualification. Furthermore, it is concerning

that, in total, more than 70% of the participants (n=123) had not attained a qualification beyond the diploma level. Of further concern is the very low number of teachers, 1.32% (no=2), with post-graduate qualifications. Overall, it appears that a large number of teachers are either unqualified or underqualified. When considered in relation to findings regarding teaching experience, it appears that there is minimal correlation between teaching experience and qualifications. That is, although, as noted earlier, most teachers in the study had more than 10 years of teaching experience, most had not obtained higher level qualifications. The data points to a great need for in-service training amongst teachers in the regions. It is likely that the shortage of teaching qualifications would have a negative impact on regional and national educational outcomes. These findings are consistent with those of Harris, 2011; Kgabi, 2012; Mostert et al., 2012; Wolfaardt, 2005.

Participants' mother tongues

It was important in this study to establish teachers' mother tongues due to the fact that teachers' mother tongues form part of their linguistic repertoire and are likely to influence language practices at classroom level. Table 17 presents teachers' mother tongues in this study.

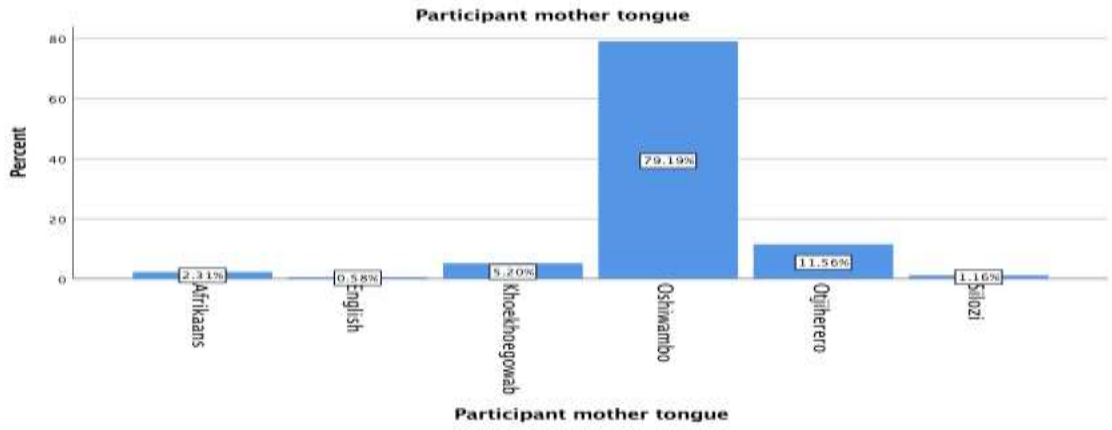

Table 15: Participants' mother tongues

Overall, Namibia's linguistic diversity is noticeable in the distribution of mother tongues amongst teachers as six different mother tongues were recorded in this study. Oshiwambo was the mother tongue of 79.19% of the participants (n=137) of the participants. This is not surprising if considered in view of two realities, 1) Oshiwambo is Namibia's largest language group spoken by 49% of the population (NSA, 2011), and 2) Oshikoto and Oshana regions have been and are some of the homelands of the Oshiwambo speakers in Namibia. Otjiherero was the second most prevalent mother tongue as it was the mother tongue of 11.56% (n=20) of the participants. It is interesting, although not surprising, to note that English was the least prevalent mother tongue amongst teachers in this study as it was the mother tongue of only one .58% of the teachers (n=1). Nonetheless, the country's multi-ethnic make-up is observable in this sample.

5.3.2 School information

In this section, data concerning school information in relation to location and language teaching is presented.

School geographical location

In this study, school geographical location is a pivotal variable since it is important to understand and interpret data in relation to the country's linguistics makeup and the situatedness of school and classroom language practices. As noted in earlier chapters, urban areas are typically marked by high levels pf linguistic diversity and rural areas tend to be virtually monolingual. In addition, owing to different socio-economic realities, the use of and access to the English outside and prior to schooling differs between urban and rural areas. As Simasiku (2014) pointed out, "English is the second language of many students in urban areas but not necessarily of those in rural areas" (p.122). Table 18 shows the geographical locations of the schools in this study.

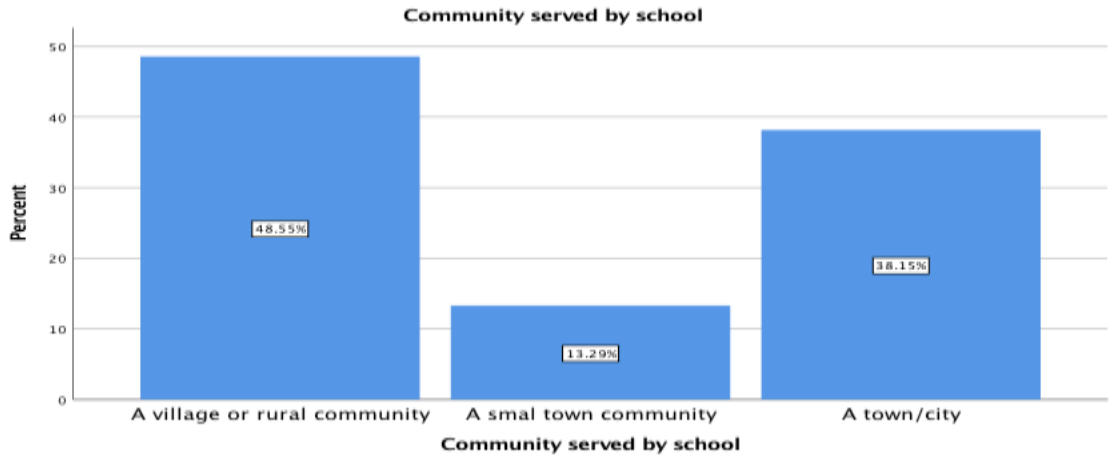

Table 16: School location

As the study was ethnographically informed, a deliberate decision was made to have a sample that is equally representative of the urban and rural contexts. Schools located in urban settings are those found in towns, cities or small-town communities while schools found in villages and any other rural community such as farms were classified as rural schools. As apparent from Table 18, 48.55% of the participants' schools were located in rural areas and 38.15% and 13.29% were located in cities/towns or small-town communities respectively.

Common languages in school communities

Since Namibia is a linguistically diverse country, I sought to establish the correlation between the languages of school communities and language choices in schools. Specifically, I sought to establish whether the languages of the school community translated in taught languages in the schools. Results regarding the most commonly used languages in school communities are presented in Table 19.

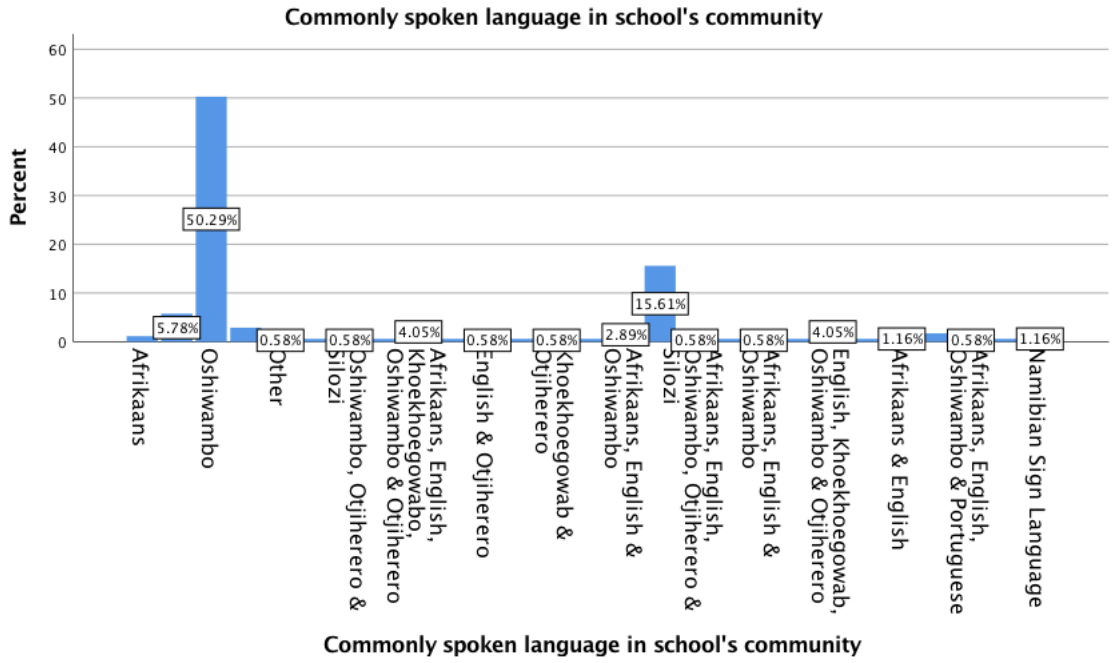

Table 17: Commonly spoken languages in school communities

As is apparent on Table 19, school communities were marked by high levels of linguistic diversity. In total, seven (7) indigenous languages namely: Oshikwanyama, Oshindonga (Oshiwambo), Otjiherero, Silozi, Khoekhoegowab, Afrikaans and Namibian Sign Language (NSL) were prevalent in school communities. English and Portuguese are the other languages found in school communities in the study. Oshiwambo, remained a dominant language not only at personal level (See Table 17), but equally at community level as it was the sole common language in 50.29% (n=87) of the school communities. Also noteworthy is the fact that English was one the common language in some communities alongside indigenous languages. It can be inferred that the use of English in school communities is prevalent. In Table 20 below, data concerning media of instruction in schools is presented.

Media of instruction in schools

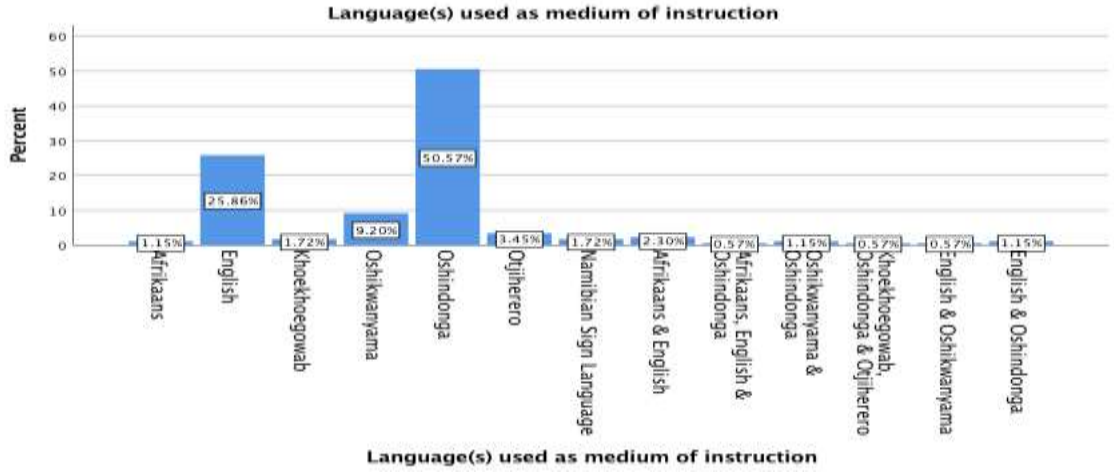

Table 18: Media of instruction in schools

Results indicate that it was common practice for schools to adopt one language as the sole MoI. However, it is worth noting that, in total, 6.3% (n= 11) of the participants'' schools had availed multiple languages as MoI. This practice should not be confused with the dual language/two-way bilingual program. In practice, the availing of multiple MoIs meant that multiple separate classes were put in place to teach learners exclusively in the set MoI. For example, at a school with Afrikaans and English as MoIs, two or more classes were availed in which learners were taught either in English or Afrikaans exclusively, not via the medium of both. As such, the main difference in comparison to the dual language /two-way program is that native Afrikaans speakers would be in one classroom and native English speakers would be in another. In a study on teachers' understanding and responses to Namibia's language policy, Wolfaardt (2005) reported that teachers preferred a bilingual language policy in the place of the current one.

The results in Table 20 further suggest that enactment of the country's MTE language policy is inconsistent. This is apparent in the fact that, although English was not a sole common language in school communities neither is it classified as an indigenous language in Namibia, it was the sole MoI in 25.86% (n=45) of the participants' schools. This suggests that common

languages at community level were not necessarily MoIs at school level. As noted in the literature review, this is a common phenomenon in sub-Saharan Africa, and it is likely to result in a home-school language gap which in turn is likely to result in a communication gap between teachers and learners. According to Harris (2011), in Namibia, the use of English as medium of instructions in some schools confused learners.

Number of learners per class

Teachers were asked to identify the number of learners they had in their classes. The student-teacher ratio has an impact on the quality of the teaching-learning. Table 21 displays the overview of the number of learners per classroom.

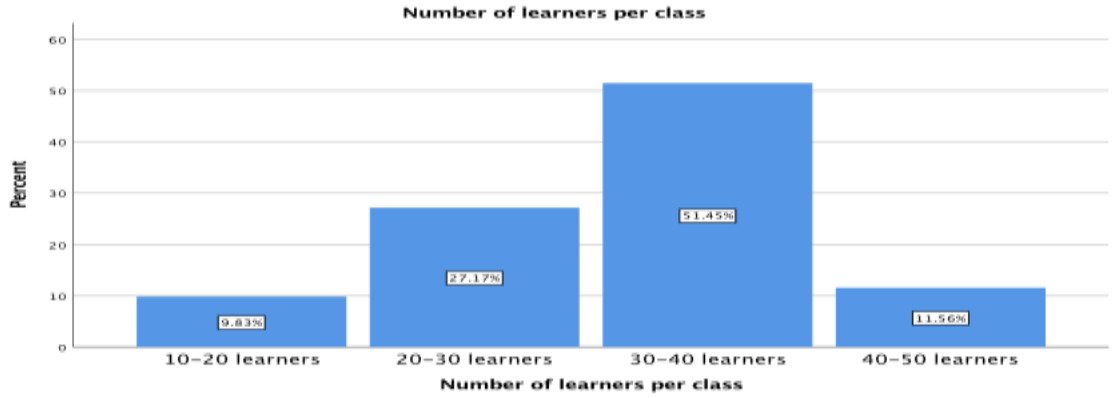

Table 19: Number of learners per class

From the table above we can see that overcrowding is a challenge at junior primary level. In total, 51.45% (no=89) of the teachers reported that they have 30-40 learners per class. What is striking about the figures in this table is the high rate of classroom with 40-50 learners 11.56% (no= 20). At junior primary level, younger learners require more one-on-one interaction with teachers. Overcrowding results in limited one-on-one interaction between learners and teachers, and exacerbates classroom management issues. Furthermore, in multilingual contexts, it can be inferred that classes with a high number of learners are likely

to have high levels of linguistic diversity as well. Table 22 compares the number of learners per classroom with school communities.

		Community served by school Cross tabulation				
			A village or rural community	A small-town community	A town/city	Total
Number of learners per class	10-20 learners	Count	11	2	4	17
		% of Total	6.4%	1.2%	2.3%	9.9%
	20-30 learners	Count	39	3	4	46
		% of Total	22.7%	1.7%	2.3%	26.7%
	30-40 learners	Count	27	13	49	89
		% of Total	15.7%	7.6%	28.5%	51.7%
	40-50 learners	Count	6	5	9	20
		% of Total	3.5%	2.9%	5.2%	11.6%
Total		Count	83	23	66	172
		% of Total	48.3%	13.4%	38.4%	100.0%

Table 20: Number of learners per class according to school community

This table is revealing in several ways. First, it shows that the average classroom in the three regions is arguably overcrowded with 30 or more learners. It further reveals that overcrowding is more pronounced in urban areas than rural areas. Over half of those surveyed in towns and cities indicated that that their classroom had 30-40 learners 51.7% (no=89). In total, 44.72% (n= 73) urban schools (in small towns, cities or towns) had 30 learners or more. These findings are similar to those of Harris, 2011; Simasiku, 2014.

So far, this chapter has discussed findings regarding participants' personal information and school information. The following section will discuss findings regarding classroom language practices.

5.3.3 Language practices

As was pointed out in the literature review, Spolsky (2004) identified language practices, language beliefs and language management as components of a community's language policy. He defined language practices as "the habitual pattern of selecting among the languages that make up a community's linguistic repertoire" (p.5). This section presents data from the questions which sought to examine teachers' classroom language practices. Figure 6 below displays responses to the statement *I only teach in English*.

Figure 6: Responses to the statement "I only teach in English"

The chart shows that in total, 63.74% of the teachers indicated that they did not teach via English alone while a total of 22.81% indicated that they taught exclusively in English. It can be concluded that the majority of the teachers in the study had not adopted a monolingual EMI policy. At 22.81%, the use of English as a sole MoI among participants could be understood to be comparatively minimal. In a subsequent question, teachers responded to the statement: *I only teach in a Namibian language*. Responses to the question are indicated in Figure 7 below.

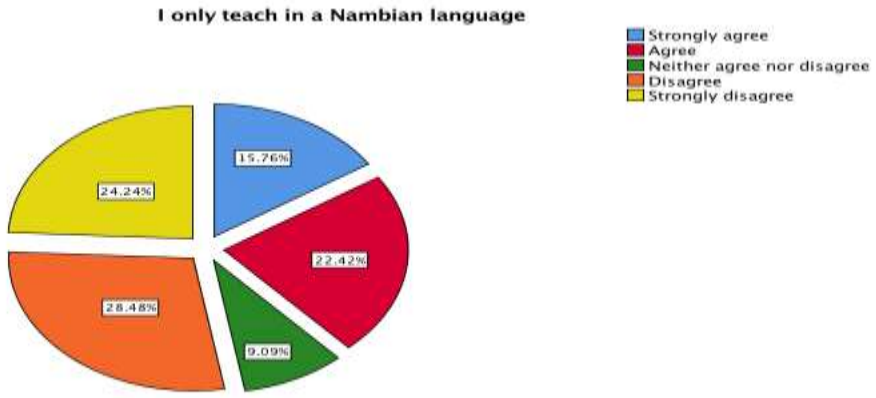

Figure 7: Responses to the statement "I only teach in a Namibian language"

Responses to the statement *I only teach in a Namibian language* are similar to the statement "I only teach in English". The majority of the teachers 52.66% reported that they did had not adopted a monolingual indigenous language policy at classroom level. However, a total of 38.18% of the participants reported using an indigenous language as the sole MoI. There was a significant different in the use of indigenous languages as sole MoI (38.18%) and the use of English as a MoI (22.81%).

As evident from figures 6 and 7, 13.45% and 9.09% of the participants responded that they neither agreed nor disagreed to the statements *I only teach in English* and *I only teach in in a Namibian language* respectively. To explore these responses further, participants were required to respond to the statement *I teach in English and a Namibian language*. Responses to the statement are summarised in Figure 8 below.

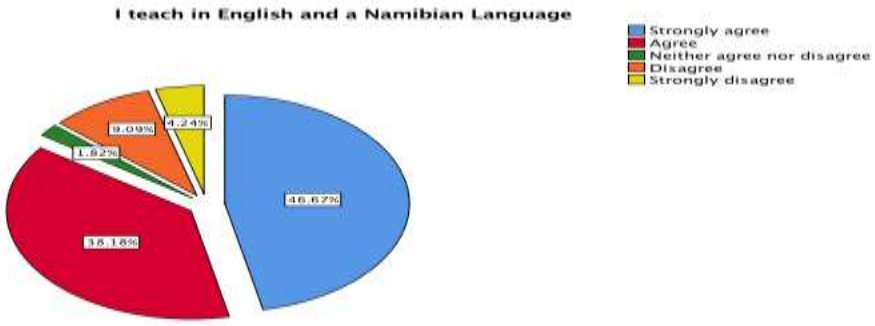

Figure 8: Responses to the statement "I teach in English and Namibian language"

Responses in Figure 8 point to an adoption of multilingual language practices/multilingual MoIs at classroom level. As evident from the chart, the adoption of a multilingual MoIs at classroom level is surprisingly significant as a total of 84.85% of the teachers indicated that they use English and a Namibian language as MoIs. Although the figures are rather surprising, when considered in relation to the linguistic makeup of school communities (See Table 19), it can be inferred that teachers are communicating with learners in more than one language; thus multilingualism at community level often translated into multilingualism at classroom level. Teachers' language beliefs in relation to the role of English and indigenous languages are discussed in following section.

5.3.4 Language beliefs

Beliefs are abstract and unstable and this makes them difficult to measure. Thus, although language beliefs were assessed in the questionnaire phase of the study, they are further explored in the interview phase. Baker (2010) posits that language beliefs can influence the successes of policy enactment, and attitude surveys can highlight trends in relation to language preferences and values. For the attitude questions, the Likert scale format was used. The beliefs were assessed through responses to statements which are reflective of language beliefs. A sample of the findings indicating teachers' language beliefs is presented in this section. In figures 9-11, the results show the languages that teachers believe should be the MoI at junior primary level.

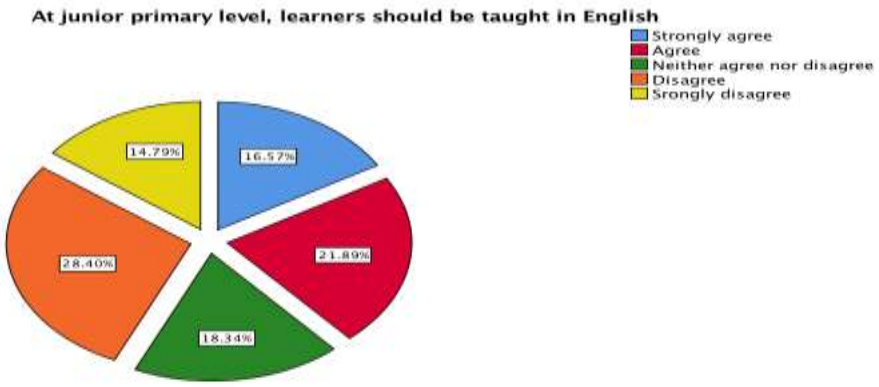

Figure 9: Responses to the statement "At junior primary level, learners should be taught in English"

The pie chart above shows that, in total, 38.46% of the teachers believe that English should be the MoI at junior primary level. That is contrasted with 28.40% and 14.79% (total=43.19%) who disagree and strongly disagree respectively on the matter. In Figure 10 below, results show teachers beliefs towards the use of mother tongues as MoIs.

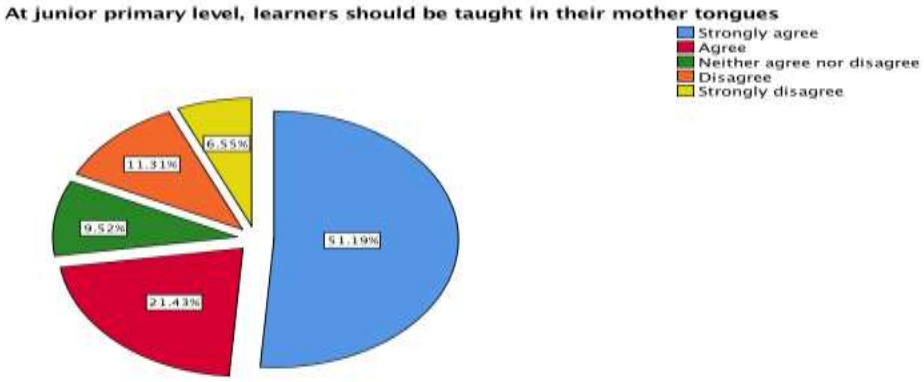

Figure 10: Responses to the statement "At junior primary level, learners should be taught in their mother tongues"

Looking at the pie chart, it is apparent that there were positive beliefs towards the use of mother tongues as MoIs at junior primary level. A majority of the participants 51.19% strongly agree and 21.43% agree respectively that MTE should be offered at junior primary level. That is contrasted with 6.55% and 11.31% who strongly disagree and disagree respectively in this regard. From the two charts, it can be seen that there was great support for MTE among the participants. This support can be understood to be indicative of support

for the country's current national MTE LIEP. In Figure 11 below, results show teachers' views regarding the use of indigenous languages to teach Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) subjects at junior primary level.

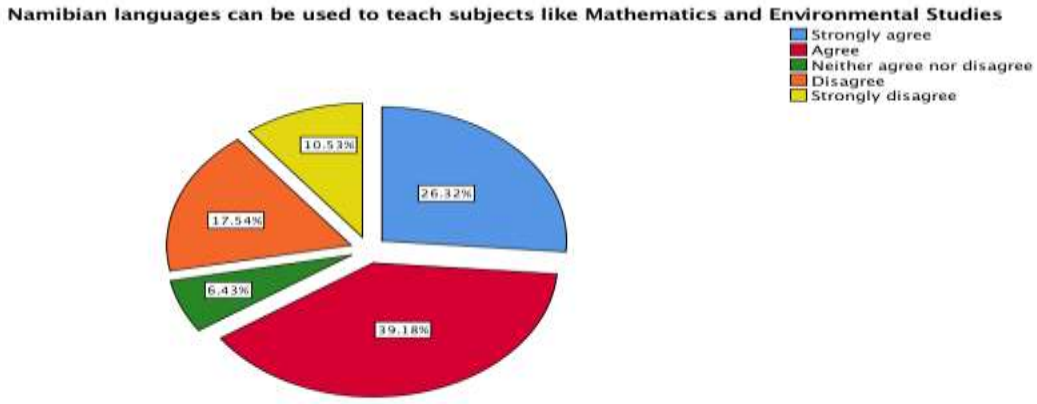

Figure 11: Views on the use of indigenous languages to teach Mathematics and Environmental Studies

From the pie chart above, we can see that 26.32% and 39.18% of the teachers (total= 65.5%) strongly agreed and agreed respectively that indigenous languages can be used to teach the two junior primary level STEM subjects. Thus, in this study held positive views in relation to the use of indigenous languages in teaching Mathematics and Environmental Studies- the STEM subjects at junior primary level in Namibia. It is equally apparent that negative beliefs towards the use of indigenous languages to teach STEM subjects were also noted in this study as 10.53% and 17.54% of the teachers (total=28.07%) strongly disagreed and disagreed respectively on the same matter. These findings are contrary to previous studies into language beliefs in sub-Saharan Africa which have reported that indigenous languages are typically believed to lack the vocabulary and grammatical complexity requisite for teaching STEM subjects (Barongo-Muweke, 2016; Batibo, 2005; Kamwangamalu, 2016; Mchombo, 2014). It is possible then that beliefs towards the usefulness of indigenous languages for teaching STEM subjects may be evolving.

The responses in Figure 12 were given in response to the statements: *knowing English makes learners cleverer.*

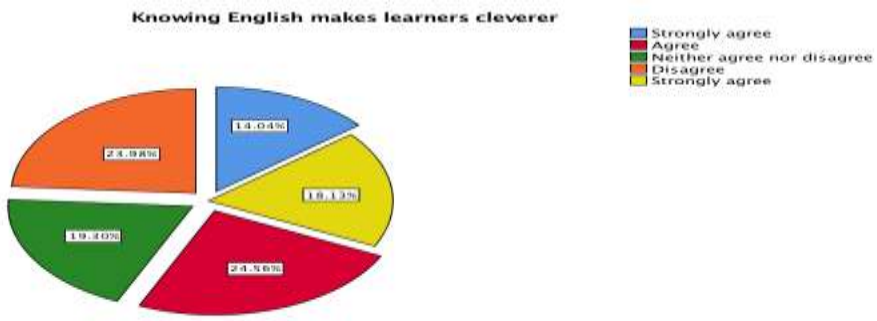

Figure 12: Response to the statement: "Knowing English makes learners cleverer"

As shown in Figure 12, responses to the statement on the perceived advantage of English in knowledge production were varied. Overall, 14.04% of the teachers strongly agreed and 24.56% agreed respectively (total=38.6%) with the statement *knowing English makes students cleverer*. On the other hand, 18.13% strongly disagreed and 23.98% disagreed respectively (total= 42.11%). A significant 19.30% were neutral in response to the statement. Overall, it is evident that there is an equally significant number of teachers who ideologically associate English with knowledge production and those who do not. The results seem to support the views expressed by Mchombo (2014) who noted that in Africa, the usefulness of ex-colonial languages in education is often overestimated while indigenous languages are viewed unsuitable for knowledge creation (Mchombo, 2014).

According to Brock-Utne (2012), children learn better in the language(s) that they understand and speak, i.e. the mother tongue. This is said to be especially true in the early years of schooling. Teachers' views as to whether learners learn best in the mother tongue are displayed in Figure 13.

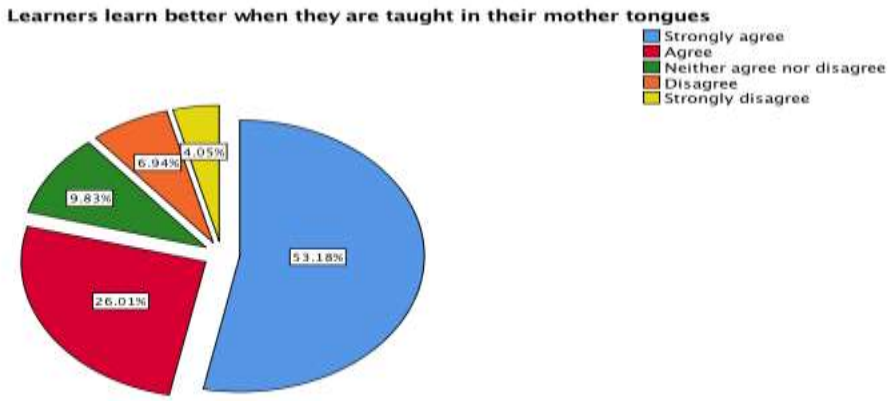

Figure 13: Responses to the statement: "learners learn better when taught in their mother tongues"

From the pie chart, it can be seen that the majority of the teachers agreed that the mother tongue is the better MoI: 53.18% (no=92) strongly agreed and 26.01% (no= 45) agreed respectively. This is contrasted with a 4.05% (no=7) who strongly disagreed and 6.94% (no=12) who disagreed respectively. These findings indicate that beliefs towards MTE appear to be positive.

A significant aspect of policy enactment is the availability of textbooks for policy realisation. In the next section, I will present findings on the availability of textbooks for the teaching of indigenous languages and English respectively.

5.3.5 Textbook availability

The use of textbooks by both teachers and learners at classroom level is essential as it has been found to enhance the teaching-learning process (Milligan, Koornhof, Sapire & Tikly, 2018). Similarly, the availability of resources, including textbooks, can aid or hinder LiEP enactment (Spolsky, 2004). However, in many multilingual contexts, textbooks are often in short supply especially for the teaching of indigenous languages and the enactment of MTE policies. Figures 14 and 15 below summarise findings on the availability of indigenous language and English textbooks respectively.

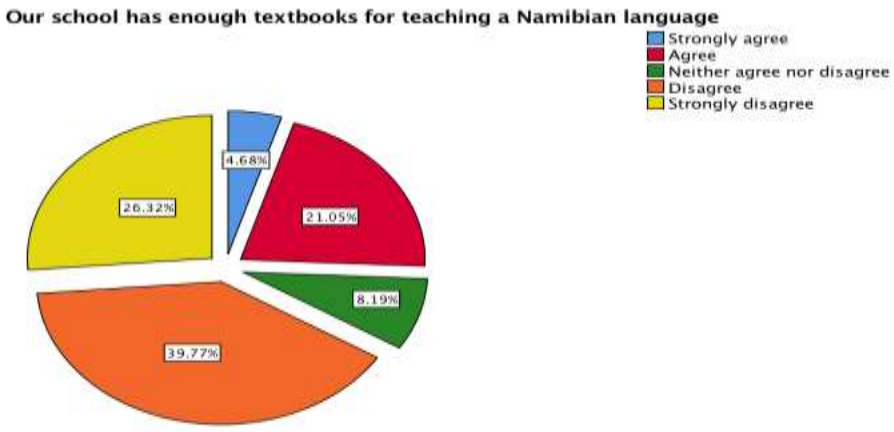

Figure 14: Availability of indigenous language textbooks

The pie chart shows that indigenous languages textbooks are perceived to be generally unavailable as, in total, 66.09% of the teachers disagreed with the statement that their schools had sufficient textbooks and a total of 25.73% identified their schools as having sufficient indigenous language textbooks.

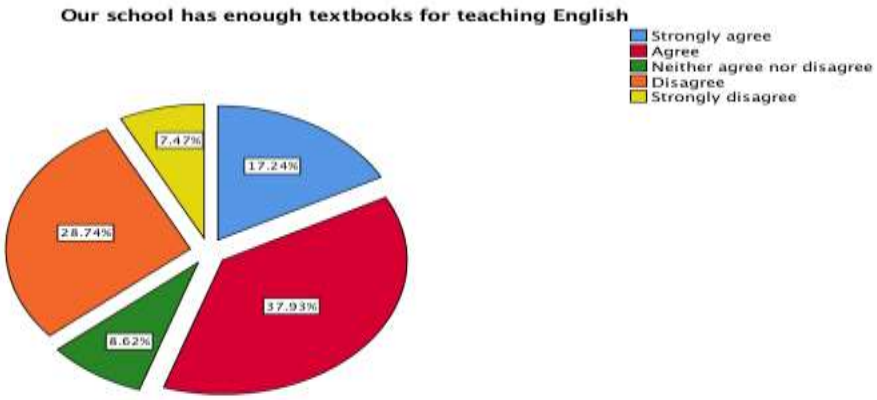

Figure 15: Availability of English textbooks

Regarding the availability of English textbooks, in total, 55.17% of the teachers agreed that their schools had sufficient textbooks for teaching English. Those who did not agree that their schools have sufficient textbooks for the same purpose were in total 36.21% as 7.47% (strongly disagreed and 28.74% disagreed in relation to the statement. When considered in view of the data in Figure 14, it is evident that textbook availability is a challenge facing both

indigenous languages and English. However, the paucity of textbooks is more pronounced in relation to indigenous languages (66.09%) than it is in relation to English (36.21%). It can be deduced from these findings that enactment of the Namibia's MTE LiEP is likely to be subverted by the shortage of indigenous language textbooks. The challenge of unavailability of indigenous languages textbooks appears to be common across sub-Saharan Africa. Findings in this study were in agreement with findings in Uganda by Altinyelken et al., 2014; in Zimbabwe by Ndamba, 2013 and in Malawi by Kayambazinthu, 2004.

5.4 Summary

This chapter has presented findings from the questionnaire phase of the study. The descriptive data was presented under the main themes. Teachers have indicated that overcrowding was a problem facing classrooms in the sample; however this was noted to be most prevalent in urban contexts. Findings indicate that school communities are marked by high levels of linguistic diversity. This diversity is equally found at classroom level where even when schools had adopted monolingual LiEPs, multilingual pedagogy was reported. Furthermore, the enactment of the country's MET LiEP is inconsistent as some schools had adopted EMI policies. Teachers in the sample generally appeared to have had positive beliefs towards MTE; however resources, in the form of textbooks, for the enactment of the policy were largely unavailable. In the chapter that follows data gathered the interview phase is presented.

6 Findings

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses interview data collected from 13 primary and combined schools across Namibia. The participants are comprised of 15 teachers and 9 school principals. Findings are then discussed in four main themes from the study namely: translanguaging as a communicative strategy, challenges during transition, tension between ideology and reality and resource availability. The chapter ends with a brief summary of the findings.

Findings presented in this chapter are contextualised, more detailed and they represent teachers' and principals' perspectives on the current LiEP, their engagement with it as far as appropriation and enactment are concerned. In LPP, interviews are important in identifying participants' beliefs, experiences and perspectives in a manner that neither questionnaires nor observations can as they are directly interactional. As key agents in LPP enactment, the beliefs and experiences of teachers and principals mattered to this study, and the best means to explore them was through interviews. In this study, interviews were especially important in providing insider accounts of LPP agents (Johnson, 2013).

Overall, findings indicate that there is a tension between school LiEPs and classroom practices. Such tension is twofold: between the national LiEP and school LiEPs as well as between school LiEPs and classroom practices. Furthermore, translanguaging features prominently in urban classrooms. Teachers at EMI schools with linguistically diverse urban classrooms employ translanguaging to bridge the communication gap between them and their learners. General findings of the study indicate that there are challenges related to transitioning between the junior primary senior primary phases and teacher training. Beliefs towards MT instruction are mixed, and often indicate tension between ideology and reality.

As discussed in Chapter 2, English is the country's official language, but it is the mother tongue of a less than 4% of the population. In fact, no participant identified English as a common language in their school community or classroom. However, English was the most common MoI in urban schools as four (4) of the six (6) urban schools had adopted an EMI LiEP. In order to understand urban school language practices, it is essential that we understand a notable demographic feature of urban areas and schools in Namibia. Urban areas in Namibia can be characterised as being densely multilingual and English is often paradoxically seen as the safe language option in comparison to indigenous languages as it is virtually no one's mother tongue (Tötemeyer, 2010). Similarly, English is assumed to be the best language to teach linguistically diverse classrooms especially in urban areas where learners' familiarity with English is much higher than in rural areas (Nicodemus, 1997; Tötemeyer, 2010). It is for these reasons that the observed tension between English-medium school LiEPs and classroom practices may not be surprising. In the next section, I will present main findings from the interviews.

6.2 Findings

Before proceeding to present findings, I will once again outline key stipulations of Namibia's LiEP that are of specific interest to this study. Namibia' official LiEP is based on transitional bilingualism model in which learners go through the first three years of education in mother tongue instruction, before moving to English instruction in the fourth grade. The policy states that:

> Grades 1-3 will be taught either through the mother tongue or a predominant local language. Grade 4 will be a transitional year when the change to English as medium of instruction must take place. In Grades 5-7, English will be the medium of instruction. Grades 8-12 will be taught through the medium of English and the mother tongue will continue to be taught as a subject (MBESC, 2003, p.4).

In interviews with both teachers and principals, I examined the extent to which schools and teachers were enacting the policy, and how they were interpreting and appropriating it. To do this, the interviews examined language practices at classroom and school level. The section below discusses translanguaging as the most common feature of language practices in linguistically diverse classrooms.

6.2.1 Translanguaging as a communicative strategy in English-medium classrooms

Despite the fact that the national LiEP has allocated the role of MoI at the junior primary level to mother tongues or "predominant local languages", many schools in urban areas reported having adopted an EMI MoI. The enactment of these monolingual (English-only) school LiEPs proved, however to be a challenge in multilingual classrooms. A key challenge was the communication gap between teachers teaching in English and (most) learners who had little to no comprehension of the language. In an attempt to bridge the communication gap between learners and teachers in English-medium schools, teachers resorted to translanguaging.

From the interviews, translanguaging discussed in this chapter was limited to oral interactions between teachers and learners. A detailed account of the adoption of a translanguaging pedagogy in schools is provided in the Discussion Chapter- Chapter 8. Table 23 below presents a summary of the use of translanguaging as reported by the teachers interviewed in the study.

	Reports of translanguaging	
	N	*%*
Teacher translates into indigenous languages	4	26.6
Teacher translates into indigenous local languages and asks learners to translate	3	20
Total:	7	46.6%

Table 21: Reported acts of translanguaging in the classroom

As indicated in Table 23, teachers used translanguaging in lesson delivery by, 1) translating the lessons into indigenous languages, 2) and asking learners to translate parts of the lesson

for their peers into their mother tongues. In this way, teachers created a bilingual/multilingual discourse in what were theoretically constructed to be monolingual classrooms.

Excerpts 1(a–d)[3] below are drawn from interviews with teachers, and highlight teachers' experiences of translanguaging in their classrooms at English-medium schools. In Excerpt 1a, Ms Macy, discusses why lesson translation was necessary in her class.

Excerpt 1a: Learners as translators and "second teachers"

Researcher: Uh-uh. Now I understand the challenge you are experiencing. I would like to find out; when you are teaching your learners, in English of course, whatever subject, and they appear to not understand, what do you do? So you are explaining . . . explaining and it's clear this one or two, three learners just don't understand.

Ms Macy: I come down to their level. I'll make it a more practical lesson than a theory one. I'll let them touch; I'll try a few words in the language they are speaking. I'll ask, 'cause not all the kids won't be understanding or speaking English. There will be Oshiwambo speaking kids which understand and speak English. So I'll ask them to. . . translate what I was telling them. So, I'll have my second teacher in the class which will do the translating, ya. Kids to another kid will be much smarter and easier for them to understand.

Researcher: Ya. Oh OK! So, you do then make us of the fact that there are learners whose language you don't speak, and they help you to teach basically?

Ms Macy: Mh-uh.

In excerpt 1a, we see how Ms Macy contested the school's English-medium policy by 1) translating lessons, and 2) asking learners to translate for their peers. Learners translated from English into their mother tongues; thus multiple translations often occur as the classes were linguistically diverse. According to the teachers, translation was primarily used to enable learners to understand lessons, and therefore to part-take in the teaching-learning process. This suggests that despite EMI school policies, teachers often created multilingual classrooms by using indigenous languages to ease communication between teachers and learners. According to Swanwick (2017), in bilingual and multilingual contexts, bilingual children

[3] All interviews have been transcribed verbatim, and therefore reflect the grammatical errors that occurred during the interview process. In the transcription, interviewees are referred to by their pseudonyms, i.e. Ms. Macy and the researcher is referred to as "Researcher". When the utterances are in Oshiwambo, they have been transcribed in Oshiwambo and an English transition is provided immediately between parentheses. In cases where participants stressed words/phrases, the emphasis is indicated in bold typeface.

employ translanguaging as a means of learning language, learning through language and as a social act.

The use of learners as translators and "second teachers" suggests that the school's EMI policies were ineffective and problematic for teachers and learners. The conceptualisation of learner-translators as "second teachers" confirms the roles of indigenous languages in classrooms and highlights the importance of these languages. Learners were co-teachers, and they therefore had dual responsibilities as co-teachers and learners. The need for lesson translation raises a question regarding the effectiveness of EMI policies in Namibia's multilingual society. It further suggests that English alone cannot meet the language needs of learners and the multilingual context in which they are situated. After all, most Namibian children do not encounter English much outside school or before commencing with the school (Tötemeyer, 2010; Harris, 2011). While English may be positioned as the MoI at some schools, the reality was that for learners to understand the lessons, teachers often had to resort to using languages that learners were familiar with. Translanguaging therefore was an attempt to meet learners' language needs and fit into the local context.

It has been suggested that multilingual interactions involve the co-adaptation of language resources for communicate needs and this results in the transformation of linguistic resources (Garcia & Li, 2014; Martin-Jones, 2015). In this study, as seen in Excerpt 1a, micro-level policy creation at schools involved learners and teachers collaborating to overcome communication problems resulting from EMI policies. In the excerpt, the teacher talked about learners as both translators and "second teachers" indicating the important role learners played in the teaching-learning process. As part of maximising her language resources, the teacher used learners as translators making them essential funds of knowledge for teaching (Moll, Amanti, Neff and Gonzalez, 1992). As Canagarajah (2011) pointed out, in proactive contexts, teachers and learners collaboratively allow for the use of learners' multilingual

repertoires to enhance the teaching-learning process. Furthermore, the use of learners' repertoires in bilingual classrooms is essential in supporting minority language practices and providing fairer education (Garcia & Lin, 2017).

Similar to Excerpt 1a above, translanguaging and the use of learners as translators played an important role in easing communication and facilitating the teaching-learning process between teachers and learners in Ms Grace's class. Excerpt 1b is from an interview with Ms Grace a teacher at the same school as Ms Macy-an urban EMI school.

Excerpt 1b: Translanguaging for the "clueless"

Researcher: Do you experience any challenges when you teach your learners **in English**?

Ms Grace: Yes, **it's a major challenge.** You get a child that is completely . . . never been exposed to the school environment, and that child comes with the mother tongue, and this child . . . most of them are Oshiwambo speaking, and I am a Damara speaking teacher. I can do better teaching them in English, but then when you have to start with the child who is **clueless**, it would actually be better if I was. . . because the majority for example is Khoekhoegowab, so it would be I could be able to explain to that child in their mother tongue and then translating in English. And tell them, *this is it.* But unfortunately, me having the majority of Oshiwambo learners I am now stuck with. . . or rather they are stuck with a Damara speaking teacher. So, I can't exactly explain to them that, *this is "ohauto" (car)* in Oshiwambo and now it's *a car* in English…

Researcher: Ya…

Ms Grace: So, sometimes I am like, *tell me …(learner's name) tell me what is…what is a car or a chair in…in…in Oshiwambo* and then I am now trying to translate to them. Or you know, *this is it* or I use a child to translate for them. And then you find an Angolan (learner) which has never been exposed to . . . at least our learners have been exposed to English here and there. And then you find an Angolan child that is **totally** not exposed to English.

Researcher: Mh-uh...

Ms Grace: So, it is a major challenge to get them to just speak the language. But now they have to now learn the second language now Afrikaans…

Researcher: Ya…

Ms Grace: …and then they have to do the basic Math concepts or whatever it is. So, it's like taking a child that is **totally clueless about anything**, and now you are speaking . . . so that child sitting in the class is more like listening to Greek. But for some miracle [*Giggles*], they actually get to…at least **speak**[4] the language, and be able to communicate in the language by the end of first term- **surprisingly**.

Researcher: Oh OK. OK, I understand. So what happens with this, given with this challenge, what happens when you have…I guess you have answered this somewhat, if a learner or learners don't understand what you

[4] All Bolded words and phrases in the interviews indicate a change in intonation and stressing of the word/phrase for emphasis.

are teaching? So, you are teaching in English, this learner or these learners don't understand, what do you do then?

Ms Grace: Ya, like I said, I make use of other learners.

Ms Grace was emphatic that the school's EMI policy combined with learners' lack of exposure to English and their lack of English proficiency presented her with what she termed "a major challenge". According to Ms Grace, learners were "clueless (about anything)", "stuck with a Damara speaking teacher", "(totally) not exposed to English" and "sitting in the class is more like listening to Greek". From these descriptions, the teacher painted a rather bleak picture of the situation. Notable here is the vocabulary and lexical choices which highlight the teacher's frustration with the situation. It is interesting to note that the *cluelessness* that Ms Grace referred to was in relation to a lack of English proficiency, and not general unintelligence or cluelessness in relation to subject content.

The lack of English proficiency among learners was seen as an obstacle to learning in this EMI context. However, this lack of proficiency opened the door for the use of indigenous languages which were officially and theoretically been left out of the school LiEP. Indigenous languages filled the communication gap resulting from a mismatch between school LiEPs and learners' linguistic abilities. From the excerpt, it emerged that the teacher was involved in the adaptation and transformation of their language resources using translanguaging as a scaffolding strategy to facilitate the teaching-learning process. Mother tongues have both instrumental and communicative values. From an ideological standpoint, teachers recognised that the use of mother tongues in the classroom was a worthwhile practice in facilitating learning. Without translanguaging, learners' engagement with the learning process may have been inhibited by English-only policies and practices. As a direct consequence, it can be argued that English-only policies and practices, if negligently enforced

on multilingual learners, can negatively impact the quality of education that learners receive at junior primary level.

In excerpts 1c and 1d, Ms Anna and Ms Hilma discuss how they used translanguaging as a means of ensuring that learners understood lessons.

Excerpt 1c: Translating "for understanding"

Researcher: If you teach. . . so you said you teach in English right?

Ms Anna: Yes

Researcher: Uhm…do you... what difficulties do you experience in teaching in English?

Ms Anna: Mhh....in teaching in English, most of the learners they. . . really don't understand very well or let me say fluently because some parents they are . . .they are just speaking Oshiwambo at home. I . . . as I said, most of the learners they are Oshiwambo speakers, the...and then this I think what is causing . . .the learners to understand English very well.

Researcher: OK. Uhm, so if your learners do not understand, you said for example they struggle to understand, and you are teaching them in English, what do you do then? How do you make them understand?

Ms Anna: OK, I ll make them understand, like. . . as I said, Afrikaans is the second language. I can also translate a bit in... Afrikaans. Ya, (yes) then they will be able to understand.

Excerpt 1d: Translating to the 'adaptable' language

Researcher: OK, good. Do you always teach only in English or do you find yourself using English and Oshiwambo?

Ms Hilma: OK, sometimes I am forced to use another language cause if you find some learners they cannot understand what you want to teach them, so you have to translate in the language that they can adapt to.

Researcher: OK, and then that I guess is leading to my next question. Which is, when you are teaching in English and there is a learner who doesn't or learners who don't seem understand; what do you do?

Ms Hilma: I have to use the language that they can use, they can understand, I mean and by using some teaching aids, you have to explain with some teaching aids. That is it.

Researcher: OK, when you say, use a language they understand it means you translate for them in Oshiwambo?

Ms Hilma: In Oshiwambo, *ya* (yes).

From the two excerpts above, it is evident that multilingual practices were the norm in what are theoretically meant to be monolingual classrooms. In excerpt 1c, Ms Anna appears to have a conflicted view of the use of mother tongues. On the one hand, she considered learners' and parents' use of mother tongues at home as the cause of the learners' lack of

English proficiency, and by extension an indirect cause of the challenges she experienced in teaching in English. The use of mother tongues in the home domain was therefore viewed as a problem; indigenous languages were problematised. On the other hand, the teacher talked about using the language that the learners "can use" and "can understand", and this is the learners' mother tongue-Oshiwambo. Through this positioning of the mother tongue, it is evident that although English was the school's chosen MoI, it was not perceived to be the language that learners "can use" nor "understand". Understanding was created through the use of the mother tongue in Ms Anna's classroom, but she remained conflicted about its use in the home domain.

In excerpt 1d, Ms Hilma stated that she was "forced" to use another language, and what is "forcing" her is the fact that learners did not understand English. The use of the word "forced" suggests that 1) she was unhappy with the practice, and 2) she was frustrated with the situation. As seen in the excerpt, the school's chosen MoI (English) was detached from learners' linguistic realities. However, as Saxena and Marin-Jones (2013) pointed out, "teachers and learners' practices are unconstrained, therefore they often exercise agency by challenging and even modifying prescribed order at classroom and school level" (p. 290).

In excerpts 1a-1d, teachers' awareness of the resourcefulness of learners' mother tongues in the classroom is evident. Hence, to mitigate the challenge presented by the gap between the discord between school LiEPs and learners' linguistic realities and needs, teachers relied on mother tongues. We see here how teachers appropriated the schools' LiEP differently by modifying school-level policy at classroom level. The fact that teachers translated lessons into local languages means that at classroom level, the language policy encouraged bilingualism and differs from the schools' monolingual EMI LiEP. This signals tension between school LiEPs and classroom practices. Equally, policy modification was observed as

policies were interpreted and enacted differently at institutional and interpersonal level of LPP (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996).

From the classroom practices discussed above, it is evident that, as key agents in policy enactment, teachers harness their linguistic resources and rely on their daily experiences and ideologies to enact the policy at classroom level. Teachers therefore use the power they have, as classroom practitioners, by appropriating and enacting institutional level LiEPs to the degree that they see fit to their teaching conditions (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996). In these contexts, consideration of the learners' and teachers' exposure to English as well as their English versus mother tongue proficiency is important. These considerations are essential in the Namibian context wherein learners' exposure to English before and outside school is generally minimal (Cantoni, 2007; Wolfaardt, 2005). Due to the complexity of the teaching-learning process in these classes, teachers drew on all the linguistic resources at their disposal to facilitate learning. By translanguaging in these classes, teachers expressed autonomy in their decision making and proved that they were not limited by the monolingual policies (Hornberger, 2005). Therefore, from teachers' perspectives, the policies did not have much effect in the classroom. Such policy enactments demonstrate that teachers are not "mere reproducers of social reality, but through their practices are capable of transforming classrooms and thereby promote institutional change that can lead to political and, ultimately, broader social change" (Hornberger & Ricento, 1996 p. 418).

Regarding the official policy, it is important to note that Namibia's LiEP does not explicitly make any pronouncements on the use of multiple languages in the classroom at junior primary level. However, the policy makes provision for the use of multiple languages at upper primary level stating that: "in Grades 5-7 English will be the medium of instruction. In the Upper Primary phase, the mother tongue may only be used in a supportive role and continues to be taught as a subject" (Ministry of Basic Education, 2003, p.4). In the absence

of such a pronouncement at junior primary level, teachers may be at liberty to appropriate and enact the policy the best way they see fit. Resultantly, what constitutes policy compliance at national level in light of translanguaging is difficult to define given that the policy does not explicitly allow nor disallow the use of multiple languages in junior primary classrooms.

In summary, it has been shown in this section that policy appropriation and enactment varied at interpersonal and institutional levels, and translanguaging features prominently in English-medium classrooms. In view of Ricento & Hornberger's (1996) LPP framework, it is clear that EMI schools were theoretically expected to adopt a monolingual LiEP, but in practice, they adopted a multilingual LiEP. Hence, whilst English was theoretically seen to have communicative and instrumental values at school level, indigenous languages were practically accorded much instrumental values at classroom level as viewed from the classroom practices. School language policies therefore differed from the national LiEP reflecting disparities between national policy discourse and institutional level policy discourse. Similarly, classroom practices differed from the language policies and this reflects a micro-level policy-practice gap.

The following section moves on to discuss the pedagogical challenges that schools and teachers experienced during transition from the junior primary phase to the senior primary phase.

6.2.2 Transitioning: the language challenge

As noted earlier, the national language policy sets MTE as the MoI until the third grade after which learners are expected to English-medium instruction. The third grade marks the end of the junior primary phase (Grades 0-3), and Grade 4 is the onset of the senior primary phase (Grades 4-7). The national LiEP states that Grade 4 "will be a transitional year when the change to English as medium of instruction must take place" (MBESC, 2003, p.4). Interview

findings indicate that participants differed on the role that MTE at junior primary level played in facilitating or hindering transition to English instruction at senior primary level.

6.2.2.1 Mother tongue instruction: a hindrance to English acquisition and transitioning?

As per the national LIEP, English is a compulsory subject from Grade 1 onwards. Hence, all schools teach English as a subject. As a subject, English is taught as a second language. In the interviews, two divergent and often conflicting discourses emerged regarding the impact of MTE at junior primary level on teaching and learning at senior primary level and beyond. One view was that MTE at junior primary was problematic at subsequent levels, and another view was that MTE at junior primary level was beneficial to the teaching-learning process at subsequent levels. In the section that follows, I discuss these conflicting discourses.

Some participants argued that the national LiEP should set English as the MoI, so as to ease learners' transition from the junior to senior phase of primary education. The use of English as a MoI at junior primary level was believed to better prepare learners for English instruction at senior primary level and beyond. In the following excerpt, Ms Susan, a teacher at a rural school whose MoI was Oshiwambo, argued that MT instruction alone at junior primary makes it difficult for learners to better acquire English both at the junior and senior phases. She further suggested that MTE at junior primary was responsible for pedagogical challenges that teachers experienced at the both junior and senior primary level.

Excerpt 2a: "Prioritise English instruction"	*Excerpt 2a: "Prioritise English instruction"*
Researcher: Ya. Iyaloo, onda hala iye tu shune pomulandu mpo. Omulandu ndishi otagu ti kutya uunona nawu longwe momalaka gooyina okuza pondondo yotango sigo ontintatu? **Ms Susan**: Mhh. (Mhh.) **Researcher**: Paife otatu kwatele mo ngaa nee noPre- moomvula ndhi dhopaife …uuhm…omulandu ngono . . . nokuza mpono taya longwa nee mOshiingilisa. Omulandu ngono ngele	**Researcher**: Yes. Great. I would like us to go back to the policy issue. The policy says learners must be taught in their mother tongues from the first grade to the third right? **Ms Susan**: Mhh. (Mhh.) **Researcher**: Nowadays we can include the Pre-primary grade…uuhm…this policy. . . and then from there they are taught in English. If this policy could be changed, what changes would you like to

otagu vulu okulundululwa, owa hala pu ye omalunduluko gashike? Ando taku tiwa ala kutya, *mee Susan, otwa hala tu shendje omulandu ngo*, nagu shendjwe ngiini andola? **Ms Susan**: Omulandu gu shendjwe miilongwa nandookuli? **Researcher**: Melongitho lyomalaka; shaashi paife otaku tiwa, aaye aalongwa naya longwe momalaka gooyina sigo opoGrade 3 yo taya zi po nee nOshiingilisa sigo opombanda. Omulandu nguno owu wete gu li nawa nenge nagu shendjwe? **Ms Susan**: Go gwene ogu li nawa ngaa gwaaha li nawa. Ngiika pwamwe omuntu oto hala ngaa wu tye omalaka agehe ngano, Oshiingilisa nOshindonga pwamwe shila naga dhigininwe ngaa tu pewe omulandu nandookuli kutya, natu kale hatu dhiginine okulonga elaka lyOshiingilisa. **Researcher**: OK... **Ms Susan**: …twaaha kale unene tatu longitha ala elaka ndjo lyevalelwamo. Pwamwe uunona otawu vulu ngaa okuya ngaa wa shendja. **Researcher**: OK. Mu longithe agehe nee andola? **Ms Susan**: Ando tu longithe agehe ga kale ga simana. **Researcher**: OK… **Ms Susan**: Twaaha kale ala twa tala unene melaka lyevalelwamo lyOshiwambo. **Researcher**: OK.	see? If it were to be said, 'Ms Susan, we would to change that policy', how should it be changed?) **Ms Susan**: The policy to be change regarding subjects for example? **Researcher**: Regarding the use of languages; because now it says learners must be taught in their mother tongues until Grade 3 and then continue with English from there onwards. Do you think this policy is fine or should it be changed? **Ms Susan**: It is somewhat; neither good nor bad; maybe one may want to say both these languages, English and Oshindonga must be prioritised. If we could get a policy that states that we must prioritise teaching English… **Researcher**: OK... **Ms Susan**: … so that we should not be using the mother tongue too much. Maybe the learners can change. **Researcher**: OK. So you can use both? **Ms Susan**: If we could use both, so that they are important. **Researcher**: OK... **Ms Susan**: So that we don't focus too much on the mother tongue, Oshiwambo. **Researcher**: OK.

It is important to note here that Ms Susan taught at a rural school (R5), and all her learners were Oshiwambo speakers. The learners' exposure to English before and outside class is likely to be minimal and so is their English proficiency. From the excerpt, we see that Ms Susan talked about improving the current policy by "prioritising the teaching of English". Ms Susan wished for a policy that "that states that we must prioritise teaching English so that we should not be using the mother tongue too much", and this is needed for learners to "change". This implies that the change that the school and learners need could not transpire under MTE, and English was therefore needed to rescue the situation/bring about "change". Ms Susan

further did not wish for mother tongues to be used "too much". Ms Susan appeared to associate MTE with the academic challenges that her learners face, and appeared unaware of the potential that MTE had in facilitating learning.

The perceived usefulness of English in comparison to indigenous languages points to a devaluation and problematisation of indigenous languages and their use in education (Ruiz, 1984). There appears to be a messianic view of English, and a despondence with MT instruction. Although Ms Susan's answers were brief, it is evident that there is a clear emphasis on English use/learning and a minimisation of the use of mother tongues for learning. Ms Susan's views bring to the fore teachers' understanding of the pedagogic benefits of MTE instruction especially as it relates to the junior primary level and in contexts where learners have minimal exposure to languages other than indigenous ones.

As noted earlier, perceptions regarding the relationship between MT instruction and transition to the senior primary phase varied among the participants. At some schools, the choice of MoI correlated with the learners' linguistic needs and their linguistic context, and MT instruction was reported to facilitate the transition. Ms Hanna was the principal at U2, an urban school at which an option of three mother tongues (Oshindonga, Otjiherero or Khoekhoegowab) as MoIs was offered. This was the only school in the study with three mother tongue-only options. In Excerpt 2b below, Ms Hanna discusses the relationship between MoI and performance at her school.

Excerpt 2b: "It is booming up performance"

Researcher: All right. I would like to find out now, what do you think is the relationship between… medium of instruction and school performance?

Ms Hanna: Ya…medium of instruction for example at Junior Primary is booming up the… performance because the children understand the language. They speak the language at home, they are taught…most **all** the subjects are taught in mother tongue except English. So, you find that the performance at Junior Primary is **super**.

Researcher: OK…

Ms Hanna: Yes.

Researcher: All right. So, again, similar to that … what role do you think Namibian languages should play in education? Namibian languages here I am referring to Otjiherero, Oshiwambo, Rukwangali, Silozi and we **exclude** English.

Ms Hanna: [*Giggles*]…ya, so…the fact that . . . I think I…I have seen the comparison between when we were. . . when we started we were only having one medium of instruction, and that was English.

Researcher: OK . . .

Ms Hanna: Then we had children who know how to speak English fluently because they (it) hear every now and then, but then we had a problem with reading and writing.

Researcher: Mhh . . .

Ms Hanna: So, for me, I strongly believe that the…the Namibian languages are…are really booming up the performance of the children. So, and I tend to believe that if learners are taught in mother tongue from the beginning then they grasp other content of the subjects when they go to Senior Primary.

Researcher: OK

Ms Hanna: So, I think we are living as a testimony for that. We had children who could not…who can express themselves **well in English**, but when it comes to writing, they were **not** doing well.

Researcher: OK

There are two contrasting discourses in this excerpt, one of these discourses is that MT instruction is the best mode of instruction, and the other discourse is that English instruction is only partially helpful. MTE was represented as the optimum choice, and English instruction was represented as a problematic choice. The former discourse can be observed in Ms Hanna's reference to the use of Namibian languages as "booming up" performance, and her description of performance at junior primary level as "super" owing to MTE. The latter discourse can be seen in the statement: "we had children who know how to speak English fluently because they hear (it) every now and then, but then we had a problem with reading and writing". Here, we see how EMI is perceived to have had been a barrier in some aspects of learning. For Ms Hanna, MTE was associated with improved performance, and the link between the MT and the home language aided such performance. According to Ms Hanna, MTE underpinned successful teaching practices at her school, and aided transition to the senior primary phase. She made this apparent by stating: "I tend to believe that if learners are

taught in mother tongue from the beginning then they grasp other content of the subjects when they go to senior primary."

The school's pluralistic policy encouraged the teaching and use of the most common languages in the school community. The excerpt shows a positive view of MT instruction, and support for its continued use. MT instruction was credited for reforming school performance at the school, and for enabling learners to "grasp other content of the subjects when they go to senior primary". These views are in line with Cummins' (1981) findings that acquiring fluency and literacy in two languages bears academic and cognitive advantages for learners. Cummins further argued that acquisition of English language skills is strongly influenced by the development of the mother tongue.

In excerpt 2c below, Ms Indileni, the principal at a rural MT instruction school, discusses challenges that schools and teachers may experience with exiting MT instruction after three years.

Excerpt 2c: *"Our learners are lost"*	Excerpt 2c: *"Our learners are lost"*
Researcher: Iyaloo. Onda hala tu shune pomulandu gwelaka. Shaashi omulandu gwelaka otagu ti ndishi nee uunona nawu longwe momalaka gooyina okuza pondondo yotango sigo ontintatu nokuza mpono nawu ye mOshiingiisa. Omulandu nguno ngele otagu vulu okushendjwa, omalunduluko gashike wu wete ga pumbwa okweetwapo?	**Researcher**: Great. I would like to revisit the language policy because the language policy states that learners must be taught in their mother tongue from the first grade to the third, and then from there they must move to English. If this policy could be changed, what changes would you like to see?
Ms Indileni: Ando tagu vulu okushendjwa kutya…?	**Ms Indileni**: How it can be changed?
Researcher: Ando kwa tiwa ngaa, *aaye, otwa hala tu shendje omulandu ngu*, nagu ningwe ngiini ano?	**Researcher**: If it were to be said, *well, we would like to change this policy*, how should it be changed?
Ms Indileni: Gokulongitha elaka lyooyina?	**Ms Indileni**: Regarding the use of mother tongues?
Researcher: NOshiingilisa; ndishi paife, omalaka gooyina okuza po- A sigo opo- 3 nokuza mpono OshiIingilisa. Owu wete shi li nawa shono nenge…natu shi shendje?	**Researcher**: And English too; so, currently it's mother tongues (that are used) from Grade 1 until Grade 3, and then from there onwards it's English; do you think this if fine or. . . must we change it?
Ms Indileni: Aaye, sho shene osha pumbwa okushendjwa shaashi uunona wetu kawu na, kawu na	**Ms Indileni**: No, it needs to be changed because our learners do not have enough knowledge especially when it comes to mother tongues; a child needs to be

ontseyo unene ngele tashi ya kelaka lyooyina okaana oka pumbwa elaka ke li pyokokele ngashi ngaa miigwana yimwe. Iigwana yimwe aantu ota- ya longwa mi…uunona otawu longwa melaka lyevalelwamo. Omanga huno otwa fa unene twa dhengelwa unene konankondongolo. Natango otwa fa ala tu li muukoloni. Uunona wetu kawu na. . . ngayingeyi ohaka ningi ala opo ka hala okutseya elaka lyako, ka yi ishewe melaka ndiya lyekwiilongo. Paife iinima mbino yopamuthigululwakalo, iinima kake yi wete we kaa kutya oka uka peni. Uunona wetu owa puka. Kake shi naanaa kutya, shino oshOshiwambo, shino mOshiwambo. . . ngele oke shi tseya mOshiingilisa otaka nyengwa okutula melaka lyevalelwamo. Uunona inawu pyokokela mo natango kaa. **Researcher**: OK. Nashi hedhithwe komeho sigo owa ti opoGrade 6? **Ms Indileni**: Nenge opoGrade 6. **Researcher**: OK.	fluent in the language just like in other countries. In other countries people are taught. . . learners are taught in the mother tongue while here it appears we are being suppressed. It's as if we are still under colonialism. Our learners don't have . . . now, just when the learner is about to become fluent in their language they are moved to a foreign language. Now, the child doesn't understand culture, they don't understand what culture is about. Our learners are lost. The child doesn't really know *this is of Oshiwambo origin, this is Oshiwambo* . . . if they learn it in English, they struggle to put it in the mother tongue. The learners are not fluent in the language yet. **Researcher**: OK. You said it must be pushed up to Grade 6? **Ms Indileni**: Even until Grade 6. **Researcher**: OK.

Ms Indileni talked about the learners being "lost", and likens exiting MT instruction at the third grade to colonial practices. The term *uukoloni* (colonialism) in Oshiwambo is often used in reference to both the German colonial period and to the apartheid era. The likening of current practices to colonial practices in this instance should be understood in view Namibia's colonial and apartheid history. As discussed in Chapter 1, during the colonial and apartheid era, German, English and or Afrikaans enjoyed supremacy, and indigenous languages were practically absent from the education domain. (cf. Fourie, 1997; Haacke, 1994; Jansen, 1995). Colonialism in the Namibian context is therefore associated with the suppression and a denial of indigenous language rights. The likening of current practices to colonialism is therefore a suggestion that current practices are oppressive. Ms. Indileni's view on MT points out two policy issues: 1) the mandatory transition from MTE to EMI is

oppressive of indigenous languages; 2) regarding the period of MTE, we can see from the excerpt that MTE was preferred, and its extension was advocated for.

Ms. Indileni contested the current policy as far as the early transition prescription, and argued that, if academic performance is to be enhanced, MTE should be extended. She stated that, "our learners do not have enough knowledge especially when it comes to mother tongues" and "if they learn it in English, they struggle to put it in the mother tongue", and this highlights, according to Ms. Indileni, the inefficiency of the three-year MT instruction policy. The inefficiency resulted from the fact that learners did not acquire sufficient mother tongue literacy at junior primary level, and as a result, at senior primary level, they acquired content in English which they could not fully grasp in the mother tongue. The statement, "the learners are not fluent in the language yet" sums up the argument that three years of MT instruction was not sufficient in producing learner who are mother tongue literate.

Overall, although Ms Indileni agreed with the current policy, she differed with the stage at which learners exit MT instruction. Ms Indileni reminds us that MT instruction is good, but early-exit policies can be harmful. Ms Indileni's arguments highlight how early-exit bilingual policies can undermine mother tongue learning, impede transmission of cultural knowledge and hamper biliteracy acquisition. Namibian studies including Harris, 2011; Heugh, 2008; Wolfaardt, 2005 have identified early-transition to English instruction as one of the causes for poor performance at primary school level in Namibia. For classroom practitioners this leaves them with learners lacking proficiency in both the first and second language(s).

Biliteracy is one goals of Namibia's LiEP. The policy rationale states that, "proficiency in English does not automatically ensure effective participation in society. One is rather considered an effective participant in society if you are able to communicate and use all the functional tools in your mother tongue to your personal advantage and social benefit"

(MBESC, 2003, p. 2). From the above, it appears that policy creators aimed to produce biliterate learners. Ironically, however, from M Indileni's arguments, the policy appears to fall short of ensuring biliteracy owing to its early-exit position. Kamwangamalu (2016) posited that, "limited exposure to MT education makes it difficult for students to acquire mother tongue literacy and this in turn negatively impacts literacy acquisition in the second language" (p.112) Ms Indileni's views require us to interrogate not only the inclusion of indigenous languages in education in Africa, but the levels of inclusion as well as the resulting impact on educational outcomes.

In this section, I have explained how MT instruction was seen to both hinder and facilitate transition between the junior and senior primary phases. It is apparent that there are polarised views among participants in this study on the matter. Despite the strides made in indigenous language teaching and learning, beliefs towards indigenous language teaching and learning in sub-Saharan Africa remain generally negative. Let us now consider tension that can exist between ideology and reality in relation to language policy appropriation and enactment.

6.2.3 Tension between ideology and reality

Another finding of this study points to tensions between participants' language ideologies and their sociolinguistic realities. In particular, there was noted tension between learners' language needs and participants' desired and current practices. Tension is noted in two areas: 1) contradictions between school LiEPs and learners' linguistic realities and 2) contradictions between school LiEPs and teachers' linguistic realities. In the section that follows, I will discuss the two tensions noted above.

6.2.3.1 Caught between school LiEPs and learners' linguistic realities

Tensions between policies and classroom practices have been widely reported in sub-Saharan Africa (Brock-Utne, 2005; Bunyi, 2005; Mokibelo, 2016; Probyn, 2005). The inclusion of African languages in national policies is a prevalent theme in African language policy

discourse (Bunyi & Schroeder, 2017), and this points to teaching of these languages as well as their use as MoIs. Such inclusion is important in improving the quality of education and providing fairer education. However, the inclusion of indigenous languages in education in Namibia is complex, and this study shows that it is often undermined by negative perceptions regarding the usefulness of the said languages.

Excerpt 3a is drawn from a post-observation interview with Ms Nangula, a teacher at an urban school (Uushimba PS) whose MoI is English and Afrikaans and English are taught languages. Ms Nangula is one of the two teachers whose classes I observed during the study. After observing Ms Nangula's Afrikaans lesson, in which she translated the lesson into Oshiwambo and English, I interviewed her. In this part of the interview, I wanted to assess the effectiveness of the school's EMI policy. Although I started the interview in English, Ms Nangula responded in Oshiwambo.

Excerpt 3a: "The children are supposed to be taught in the mother tongue"	*Excerpt 3a: "The children are supposed to be taught in the mother tongue"*
Researcher: But, why they can't teach Oshiwambo shaashi, I am thinking…	**Researcher:** But, why they can't teach Oshiwambo because, I am thinking…
Ms Nangula: Owu wetee . . . ngashi ike. . . uunona ngashi ike okupopya ike shoshili shaKalunga owu wete ko, nandi tye ike nande uunona sho wa tya nga oproblema Oshiingilisa oshi li po nale. Okupopya oproblema nale, ngweye otwe eta ko oAfrikaans. Uunona owu na okukala ando tawu longwa in mother tongue…	**Ms Nangula**: You see. . . like . . . truth of God be told, you see, let me say English is already a problem for the children as they are sitting there. Speaking (English) is already a problem, and then you add Afrikaans. The children are supposed to be taught in the mother tongue; …
Researcher: Ee, that's what I want to know.	**Researcher**: Yes, that's what I want to know.
Ms Nangula: …elaka ndi taya enjoyinga kegumbo lyo otali kwathele nee elaka ndiya tali ya mo ndi. Shaashi paife ngino, andi translate maara andi translate mOshiingilisa. Natango ngino, Aawambo ondi na okuya kutha mpa ndele e tandi popi ngino kutya mOshimbulu elaka ndjono ohaku ti Afrikaans, ohaku ti meme, "ma". Iilonga natango ya gwedhwa ko mbyo.	**Ms Nangula**: …the language that they enjoy at home and which helps the additional language. Because as it is now, I translate, but I translate into English. Right now, I have to take Oshiwambo speaking learners and tell them that in Afrikaans, the language that we call "Oshimbulu", when we say "ma" we mean mother. That is extra work.
	Researcher: Extra, yes.
	Ms Nangula: To say *father* we say *pa*. To say, "my

Researcher: Extra, ya. **Ms Nangula**: Tate, ohatu ti "pa". Ngele oto ti tate gwandje, oto ti "my pa". **Researcher**: Ya. **Ms Nangula**: Owu wete ko? Iinima mbyo ya fa mpo. Maara okwa li ike…I don't know; this school kandi shi kutya otatu ti ngaa tu implement ngeno omother tongue, uunona wu kale tawu longwa momother tongue.	father" we say, "my pa". **Researcher**: Yes. **Ms Nangula**: Do you see? Such things. But it could have… I don't know; this school. We are saying we will implement mother tongue instruction for the learners to be taught in the mother tongue.

From the excerpt it is apparent that there was tension between the languages of the community/classroom and the school's language policy. The majority of the learners were not fluent in English nor in Afrikaans, but these were the school's MoI and taught languages respectively. The teacher did not argue that the school's English-medium policy was best suited to the learners' language needs. She stated that mother tongues, as the languages that learners "enjoy at home and which helps the additional language", should serve as MoI and be taught languages. Discord between the school's language policy and the learners' language needs and their linguistic reality was identified as a factor that adversely affected the teaching-learning process.

For Ms Nangula, English and Afrikaans were "a problem" for her learners given that her learners were generally not familiar with the two languages. She expresses frustration with having to teach a language that her learners were unfamiliar with (Afrikaans) whilst translating into another language that they were equally not proficient in (English), and referred to this as an "extra" task. By referring to the translations as "extra work" Ms Nangula signalled her frustration with the situation. In what was perhaps an attempt to be more convincing and authentic, Ms Nangula continued to make her argument in Oshiwambo in response to my questions which were primarily in English. Ms Nangula's frustration is summed up in her statement: "English is already a problem for the children as they are sitting

there. Speaking (English) is already a problem, and then you add Afrikaans. The children are supposed to be taught in the mother tongue." Although the school's MoI was English and Afrikaans was the taught language, the reality was that Ms Nangula's learners were not familiar with either of the two languages. Afrikaans was co-mother tongue of 8% (n= 3) of the 39 learners in Ms Nangula's class. Thus, the taught language, Afrikaans, was not a predominant language in the classroom. This was juxtaposed with another reality. That is, earlier in the interview, Ms Nangula had stated that she speaks "a little bit of Afrikaans". That means both the teacher and the majority of the learners had no proficiency in Afrikaans. This resulted in two pedagogical challenges, 1) learners were expected to be a taught a language that they were unfamiliar with (Afrikaans) with the possible help of a language they are equally unfamiliar with (English-the MoI), and 2) the teacher was expected to teach a language which she was minimally proficient in. Tension between the teacher's ideology and learners' linguistic realities and need affected the enactment of the policy at classroom level.

Ms Nangula stated that learners should be taught in the mother tongue, and this belief translated into practice as is evident in her translation of lessons into learners' mother tongues as observed in the Observation Findings chapter. As seen earlier, translanguaging was a prominent feature of Ms Nangula's class. We see that translanguaging was used both as a scaffolding strategy and a coping mechanism. She stated that MT instruction was best for her learners, so despite the school's EMI policy, she opted to teach in English and then have lessons translations. By referring to mother tongues as languages that learners "enjoy at home" and languages that "help additional languages", it is apparent that Ms Nangula viewed mother tongues as important mediational languages in second language acquisition and in the teaching-learning process.

Proficiency in the language of instruction for both teachers and learners is pivotal for effective teaching and learning as it can enable and support classroom participation.

Furthermore, it can facilitate the incorporation of learners' pre-exiting knowledge into the teaching-learning process. However, the above situation meant that learners' pre-existing knowledge and linguistic capital were unlikely to be incorporated into the teaching learning-process, classroom participation may have been limited, and the learning process was therefore likely to be slowed down.

Excerpt 3a shows that school language policies did not always mirror school and classroom language realities, and this resulted in tension between policies, classroom (language) realities and classroom practices (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007). School LiEPs that are incongruous with classroom language realities cannot possibly meet learners' language needs. It is for this reason that Ms Nangula partially resisted the school LiEP, and in the process created her own classroom LiEP in which she used translanguaging. By using translanguaging, Ms Nangula recognised her classroom's multilingual makeup and the value of MT instruction and converted such awareness into action. In terms of Hornberger and Ricento's (1996) LPP framework, we see differences in policy interpretation and modification as policy passes through the national, institutional and interpersonal layers of LPP. That is, the school's English-medium policy was a modification of the national MT policy, and in turn Ms Nangula's multilingual/translanguaging classroom policy was a modification of the school's EMI policy. These modifications signal differences and even contradictions in language ideologies especially with regard to MT instruction vs. English instruction (Hornberger & Ricento, 1996). In this context, LiEP is therefore not static, but evolving through the layers of LPP.

Having discussed how school LiEPs and learners' linguistic abilities can come into conflict with each other, the next section will address the contradiction that can exist between school LiEPs and teachers' linguistic abilities. Excerpt 3b is drawn from an interview with Ms Anna, a teacher at an EMI school (U1). In the excerpt, she called for MT instruction at her school.

Similar to U3, English was the MoI and Afrikaans was the taught language. Ms Anna articulated the MoI challenges she faces as follows:

Excerpt 3b: *"They will understand very well rather than speaking English only"*

Researcher: Uhm, so if your learners do not understand, you said for example they struggle to understand, and you are teaching them in English. What do you do then? How do you **make** them understand?

Ms Anna: Ok, I ll make them understand like. . . as I said, Afrikaans is the second language. I can also translate a bit in. . . Afrikaans.

Researcher: Ok…

Ms Anna: Ya, then they will be able to understand.

Researcher: Ok, uhm…which languages, in **your** view…in your personal view…. which languages should be used a medium of instruction at Junior Primary level- Grade 1, 2 and 3?

Ms Anna: Ok, mhh, I think …uhm…uhm…the learners from Grade 1 to Grade 3, they must be taught in their **mother tongue** as …because they will …they will understand very well rather than speaking English only. Ya.

Researcher: Ok. And which languages do you think should be **taught** as subjects at Junior Primary level?

Ms Anna: Ya, like the…English can be a second language and then while their mother tongue can be a…a… what? The first language.

Researcher: Mhh…

Ms Anna: Yes.

As the teacher of all subjects to her learners, Ms Anna is also the Afrikaans teacher. In the excerpt, Ms Anna refers to Afrikaans as "the second language", and this is reference to its status as a taught language alongside English. Like Ms Nangula, Ms Anna spoke "a bit" of Afrikaans, but the school's LiEP required her to teach it. The fact that she could translate into Afrikaans only "a bit" was an indication of her limited Afrikaans proficiency. This indicates a gap between her linguistic abilities and the school's LiEP. From Excerpt 3b, MTE was understood to be the means through which meaningful instruction could take place, hence Ms Anna statement that, "they must be taught in their mother tongue as …because they will …they will understand very well rather than speaking English only". The phrase "they will understand very well rather than speaking English only" suggests that English alone was not sufficient in meeting learners' linguistic needs in this context.

To understand the practices at U1 and U3, it is important to understand the status of Afrikaans in Namibia from two perspectives: 1) although its association with apartheid and oppression remains, Afrikaans remains a prestigious language in Namibia especially in urban areas where it is generally regarded as the language for socio-economic advancement (Tötemeyer, 2010), and 2) as discussed in Chapter 2, Afrikaans was a powerful, official language and dominant the language of education in Namibia until independence (1990). In present-day Namibia, Afrikaans is used both as a mother tongue (See Chapter 2) and as a *lingua franca* especially in urban areas. In addition, it has further prestige in the employment sector where many employers and economically powerful individuals continue to use it as a main language. In light of the above language hierarchy, Afrikaans has an advantage above other indigenous languages as it is often listed as requirement or an added advantage in job advertisements. Baker and Wright (2017) argued that minority languages typically have minimal economic value, and "the pressure is on minority language bilinguals to move into a majority language" (p.417). It would therefore not be surprising that Afrikaans is preferred above other languages due to its communicative, economic and instrumental values in urban Namibia.

In conclusion, whereas most schools comply with the main policy stipulation on MoI, some appear to be in defiance of the same. Thus, it is evident that policy interpretation, appropriation and enactment varied across layers of LPP. These findings echo Spolsky's (2004) idea that "it is common to find disparities between the policy laid down in the constitution and the actual practices in society" (p.217). In the next section, I briefly present findings on some less pronounced but equally important school language practices.

6.2.4 Resource availability

The quality of education in sub-Saharan Africa is primarily undermined by the paucity of qualified teachers and paucity of teaching materials (Alidou, 2004). To assess resource

availability for policy enactment, and following findings on the matter from the questionnaire phase, participants were asked if they/their schools had sufficient resources for teaching English and indigenous languages. Furthermore, principals were asked about their satisfaction with their Junior Primary teachers' qualifications to teach (in) English and (in) mother tongues. Several studies in relation to policy (Cantoni, 2007; Dlamini, 2000; Harris, 2011; Kgabi, 2012; Mostert et al., 2012; Nicodemus, 1997; Wolfaardt, 2005) have highlighted that Namibia faces resource challenges in enacting the current LiEP. According to Bunyi and Schroeder (2017), Namibia is making progress in developing indigenous languages. Despite this reported progress, findings from this study indicate that at Junior Primary level, schools face a shortage of human resources and teaching material. The challenge of human resource shortages is discussed below.

6.2.4.1 Teacher availability

The shortage of qualified indigenous language teachers in Namibia is a national challenge, and has been recorded in past studies as seen in the literature review. In order to assess and understand the availability of qualified language teachers, principals, as leaders at school level, were interviewed about the qualification levels of language teachers at their schools. In Excerpt 4a below, Ms Diana, the principal at Uushimba PS discusses the challenges her school faced with regard to qualified language teachers.

Excerpt 4a: "*They did Afrikaans in their matric year"*

Researcher: In terms of professional qualifications, would you say your teachers then have qualifications in teaching Afrikaans; so, a diploma or a degree or whatever qualification- a certificate that specialises in Afrikaans teaching?

Ms Diana: No, I do not have such teachers, but most of teachers they have ...uhm...they...you know, they...did Afrikaans in their...matric year[5], in their Grade 12 year, so, uhm...that is what make them really to be able to teach the subject. But, not specifically specialisation in Afrikaans or have it in that. Some of them have Afrikaans in their qualifications, but not a specialisation in that qualification.

[5] The "matric year" refers to the last year of high school education in Namibia- Grade 12. Grade 12 is the last grade prior to tertiary education.

From the excerpt above, we see that Ms Diana was aware that her teachers did not have sufficient language-specific training; however, she appeared to suggest that high school education (matric) qualifies teachers to be language teachers. This is evident in her assertion that "they…did Afrikaans in their...matric year, in their Grade 12 year, so, uhm...that is what make them really to be able to teach the subject". Although the statement is said with some hesitation, as noted in the use of the gap filler, *you know*, and the pauses, Ms Diana's assertion points to the lowering of standards that may exist with regard to language teacher qualifications in the country. So low were the expectations that a high school certificate makes one "able to teach the subject". The perception appears to be that language teaching is easy and does not necessarily require tertiary training.

Excerpt 4b below is drawn from an interview with Mr Kenny, the principal at an urban school where Afrikaans is both the MoI and taught language. When interviewing him about language teaching at his school, he noted:

Excerpt 4b: "We resort to any Afrikaans speaking person that is able to teach it"

Researcher: So, do you experience any problem teaching **in** English at all at Grade 1 to 3?

Mr Kenny: Do you mean in general?

Researcher: For those…

Mr Kenny: … or me as a person?

Researcher: No, no, for your teachers, when they teach in English between Grade 1 and **as a medium** or **those** who choose English as a medium of instruction; how well does that go?

Mr Kenny: OK, well, that will depend now from individual teacher to individual teacher. Normally, we would go for a qualified teacher that is able to teach in English, but as the situation dictates in Namibia, sometimes you opt for a **semi**-qualified, or **under**qualified or **un**qualified teacher and you might get an element of difficulty in teaching English in some cases.

Researcher: OK, and with Afrikaans?

Mr Kenny: With Afrikaans is also the same; we would prefer a person that is a vernacular speaker of the language.

Researcher: OK…

Mr Kenny: The challenges that we get nowadays is that we don't get those vernacular speakers of languages and Afrikaans in general. We find it very difficult especially in the lower primary to get an Afrikaans teacher.

Researcher: OK…

Mr Kenny: So, we resort to **any** Afrikaans speaking person that is able to teach it.

In stating that "we resort to any Afrikaans speaking person that is able to teach it", Mr Kenny accentuated the scope of the challenge of unavailability of qualified language teachers. As Mr Kenny pointed out, schools often have no option, but to hire semi-qualified, unqualified or underqualified teachers. The point to emphasise here is that the paucity of qualified language teachers in the country results in the employment of unqualified teachers at schools. The prevalence of unqualified and under-qualified teachers at junior primary level was also statistically reported in Chapter 5. As discussed in Chapter 2, the shortage of qualified teachers is a national challenge, and Mr Kenny too noted this in stating "as the situation dictates in Namibia". The lack of training can affect the quality of the education offered to learners at classroom level. Furthermore, there is a suggestion in excerpt 4b that being a mother tongue speaker of a language qualifies one to teach the language. This is apparent in the statement, "with Afrikaans is also the same; we would prefer a person that is a vernacular speaker of the language". The recruitment criteria displayed by Mr Kenny shows that the problem of the shortage of language teachers was left to schools and principal to solve. It is unclear as to what the minimum requirements are for teacher recruitment. In other words, it is not clear if there is a national standard for hiring a language teacher whether they are a mother tongue speaker, a semi-qualified person, an underqualified person or an unqualified person. From the excerpt, the process seems rather haphazard which is a serious concern because teaching a language requires training and skills beyond being a mother tongue speaker.

Discourse constructing mother tongue speakers as qualified teachers of their languages suggests a disregard for teaching qualifications and a general lack of understanding of language teaching as a professional skill. It is important that the challenge of the paucity of

qualified teachers in the country be understood from historical and socio-economic perspectives as well. As discussed in Chapter 2, until 1990 Afrikaans and English were the country's co-official languages; however indigenous languages were deprived of socio-economic power (cf. Haacke, 1994; Nicodemus, 1997; Sukumane 2000; Tötemeyer 2010). At independence, the policy advocating for mother tongue instruction at junior primary level and compulsory teaching of English as a subject was adopted. However, studies have found that, when the policy was adopted, teachers were neither trained in MTE nor in English instruction (Harris, 2011; Mostert et al., 2012; Tötemeyer, 2010). Subsequently, this resulted in the employment of unqualified teachers thus making the transition from MTE to English instruction difficult.

In Excerpt 4c, Ms Nelago, the principal at R7, echoed the implications of lack of teacher training at policy adoption.

Excerpt 4c: "They grabbed English out of the blue themselves"

Researcher: Another side of resources is human resources…

Ms Nelago: Mhh…

Researcher: …and I would like to find out: how satisfied are you with your teachers' qualifications to teach English?

Ms Nelago: Ya…mhh… I am quite… not 100% satisfied though, but…that's a general situation. A Namibian unique situation because I am sure when Namibia got independence people were using Afrikaans as a language. And then, when we changed to English, poor teachers were not prepared for the change. They were not trained. So, what happened? They grabbed English out of the blue themselves. You know, there was no training; there was really nothing. And then…eerr…nowadays we are at least getting younger teachers from University…eerr…but still these kids now for them...they speak the English that they have learned there, and then they are not really understanding the practical situations at schools. So, you might find that young ones are now leaving the children behind so to say.

Like Mr Kenny, Ms Nelago acknowledged that the challenges faced by her school were not unique; rather, they are national. This is evident in her description of the situation as "a general situation". The transition to English teaching is perceived to have taken place rather

suddenly in Ms Nelago's assertion that: "they grabbed English out of the blue themselves". The word *grabbed* and the phrase *out of the blue* capture the lack of planning in the decision to adopt English as the MoI. Ms Nelago distanced herself from those who "grabbed English out of the blue themselves", and this is notable in her use of the pronouns *they* and *themselves*. Ms Nelago made multiple references to the lack of training including: "teachers were not prepared for the change", "they were not trained" and "there was no training". The multiple references suggest that the shortage of qualified teachers was a result of poor planning by government. For Ms Nelago, the lack of training of teachers at the adoption of the policy had resulted in the status quo where many teachers were unqualified to teach via the medium of mother tongues and to teach English as a subject. Furthermore, in stating that, "there was really nothing", the principal emphasised her disappointment and perhaps shock at what happened at the time. Although she lamented the lack of training offered to teachers at the transition period, she offered hope noting that younger teachers have received university training.

The shortage of qualified language teachers is perhaps, however, not surprising when observed from a national perspective. The shortage has been reported in the education ministry's budget statements of the years 2014-2017 (cf. MoEAC, 2014; MoEAC, 2015; MoEAC, 2016; MoEAC 2017). In 2008, the country imported teachers from Nigeria and Zimbabwe in order to mitigate the shortage (cf. "Namibia to get Nigerian teachers", 2008). At national level, the Minister of Education, Arts and Culture acknowledged the shortage noting that, "the availability of a competent qualified teaching force in mother tongue education is a challenge and the demand for qualified mother tongue teachers remains unmet" (Ministry of Education Arts and Culture (MoEAC), 2016, p.14). Having discussed teacher availability as a challenge to policy enactment, I will now move on to discuss teaching resources, in particular language textbooks, as a challenge to policy enactment.

6.2.4.2 Textbook availability

Data presented in Chapter 5 and in this section shows that textbook availability is a general challenge. Indigenous languages, in particular, are most adversely affected. The following excerpt is from an interview with Ms Grace a teacher at Uushimba PS, and it underscores the inequitable distribution of textbooks between indigenous languages and English.

Excerpt 5a: "There are a lot of resources for English"

Researcher: OK. We are almost done, but I want to look at resources now. Do you have enough resources, textbooks, everything else, for teaching Afrikaans?

Ms Grace: No.

Researcher: OK. What's missing?

Ms Grace: We don't even **have** a curriculum in Afrikaans. We had a new curriculum that was revised in 2015, and everything, our teaching, how I assess was changed. The books we use were changed, so everything is new. And because everything is new, NIED is still translating things. When it comes to Afrikaans, we have struggled, but we tried to translate here and there our own resources. The form that we have to assess is still in English; it has not been translated into Afrikaans from NIED side and translation is a certain job for a certain person itself. We, as at this level, are just trying our English-Afrikaans. . .our teacher Afrikaans to translate which we maybe are not doing the right way or using the right words because we are not Afrikaans speaking people. Afrikaans is like our third language that we have, so we struggle. We are not Afrikaans mother tongue people. So, maybe we are not using the right words, we are using Google Translate here and there. So, I don't think we can be blamed for that. So, if the curriculum is still not even translated in Afrikaans, then what about the resources the books, the whatever that we need, the scheme of work or syllabus? All those things are still not translated.

Researcher: OK…

Ms Grace: But we are . . . I think we have a syllabus, but the assessment is still not translated

Researcher: OK. And then for English? Do you have enough resources for English?

Ms Grace: Oh! We have resources for English; there are a lot of resources for English.

Researcher: OK.

Ms Grace: **I cannot complain**. And if resources lack we still have the technology to fill in here and there. So, we are fine with English. But, should we even have had a mother tongue. . . because I know a colleague of mine which I graduated with is teaching Khoekhoegowab mother tongue and **all** the books are still written in English only. So, if she needs to use a task, she has to go the extra mile of first translating whereas we can just do it. Imagine typing Khoekhoegowab on a computer; it's like every second time you have to go back to symbols…

Researcher: Ya…

Ms Grace: …to try and find the correct symbol and then first it was a [*Makes click sound*] and now it's a [*Makes click sound*] and then it's a *[Makes click sound*]. Imagine how many times you have to go back to [*Inaudible]* for every second word.

Ms Grace is a Grade 2 teacher at U3 where English is the MoI and a taught subject whereas Afrikaans was a taught subject. In the excerpt, Ms Grace went to great lengths to explain the reasons why and the extent to which resources for Afrikaans teaching are in short supply at her school. On the one hand, we see from the excerpt that Afrikaans teaching materials are gravely in short supply primarily owing to the fact that materials had not been translated. In Namibia, books used to teach in indigenous languages are either authored in the specific languages or are translated from existing English books. Although both English and Afrikaans were taught at the school, the shortage of material experienced in Afrikaans was not experienced in English. It is evident that textbook distribution between Afrikaans and English was inequitable. Ms Grace made this emphatically clear when she stated: "Oh! We have resources for English; there are a lot of resources for English".

Although the LiEP explicitly advocates for MT instruction and the teaching of English, little appears to have been done to ensure provision of indigenous language textbooks. Inequitable distribution of resources was one of the challenges identified by teachers, and was witnessed both between languages (indigenous languages and English) and among schools (urban and rural). While some teachers may have some indigenous languages textbooks for their learners to share, some are left without any textbooks. In addition, some interviewees argued that the shortage of indigenous language resources extended beyond textbooks as other teaching material such as schemes of work and curricula were unavailable or untranslated into indigenous languages.

Translation of material from English into indigenous languages was frustrating for Afrikaans teachers. This frustration was expressed through the use of words such as '*struggling'*, *'trying'* in reference to their attempts to translate material into Afrikaans. Ms Grace further indicated her frustration in phrases such as "NIED is still translating things". Similarly, she noted that "…*all* the books are *still* written in English only". The words *still*, *all* and *only* in

these sentences are indicative of her frustration in waiting on NIED. From the interview, she particularly stressed the word "all" as seen in the transcript. In stating that, "Afrikaans is like our third language that we have, so we struggle. We are not Afrikaans mother tongue people". Ms Grace aimed to clearly explain why the unavailability of Afrikaans materials created further challenges for teachers at personal level. Ms Grace suggested that the problem of inaccurate translations by teachers was a result of NIED's slow pace in translating material. She suggested that teachers were not liable for possible inaccurate translations because they were non-native speakers of Afrikaans, and they had not received training to teach Afrikaans. To make this point, she emphatically stated that, "So, I don't think we can be blamed for that." When individuals with different language levels translate teaching material, the end products are likely to vary and this in turn can affect the quality of teaching. As Ms Grace suggested, Afrikaans teachers' language levels were not the highest and the teachers question the quality of their own translations. This situation echoes Bunyi's (2008) findings in Kenya where it was reported that there were no indigenous language textbooks in the first three years and despite having inadequate English proficiency, teachers were expected to translate content from English to indigenous languages.

In excerpt 5b below, Mr Isack, principal at U5, extensively discusses textbook availability at his school.

Excerpt 5b: "Oshikwanyama we don't have enough"

Researcher: OK. I want to look at resources now, teaching resources. When it comes to textbooks or just teaching resources, do you have enough, let's say resources for teaching **English and in English**?

Mr Isack: [*Sighs*] I would say yes and partly no.

Researcher: OK…

Mr Isack: You know, it's a little bit of a complicated case because it depends on, on the initiative of the teacher. A teacher who is creative, will always have… very close to enough. But that teacher who is not creative or doesn't . . .lack some sort of …making some initiative will struggle. But generally I will say we are above 70 (%) satisfied, 70 having those teaching resources. We are using technology; I have a couple of teachers teaching English with a, with a, with a projector, and I. . . PowerPoint, we have computer lab,

we…we have televisions at school.

Researcher: Oh wow!

Mr Isack: We use CDs; we **are** using CDs. Our computer, our library is not that well-resourced, well-equipped, but there are some books that learners borrow and go read. Though you really don't find some topic that. . . some topic related, I mean syllabus prescribed topic related some of the library books. But …it's better than nothing.

Researcher: OK

Mr Isack: Ya, it really helps them a great deal.

Researcher: OK

Mr Isack: I think, I think we are, we are better; it's not a question of having everything. You don't need everything, but you need the basic, the necessities. If you can make better use of the necessities, then you are just fine.

Researcher: So, the necessities like the textbooks **you have enough**?

Mr Isack: We have enough.

Researcher: OK. And what is the situation with Oshikwanyama in that case? Let's say textbooks, do you have enough?

Mr Isack: Oshikwanyama we don't have enough. The reason being the, the NIED and the NIED committee on Oshikwanyama and … the ministry, one would say, are encouraging people to write books in Oshikwanyama. Now, they have these books being prescribed and getting outdated and they are changing books time and again. And some books are still in the publisher, it's for that particular grade or particular year and these books are simply not there. And to make things worse, Oshikwanyama books are unnecessarily expensive.

Researcher: Oh-hoo!

Mr Isack: Very, very expensive, if the school have to buy them sometimes you just buy… textbooks or reading books enough for a, for a class and then the teacher have to…to go with this textbook to every class, give them during the lesson or during the. . .**even** grammar lesson. But others they are not enough.

Researcher: OK

Mr Isack: Just that. . .I mean there is, there is… lack of Oshikwanyama textbook, maybe people are not writing enough books in Oshikwanyama and I think the way they. . . the readers for Oshikwanyama are simply not there. That's another problem of…most African countries I will say. When you are not using your native language as a language of education, you always have that challenges. So, the books that are there, the majority of books new, outdated and old one are just in English.

Researcher: OK

From the interview, we see two juxtaposed situations with regard to the availability of English textbooks and Oshikwanyama textbooks. On the one hand, Mr Isack asserts that, "we have enough" in response to the question regarding the availability of English textbooks. On

the other hand, in response to the question regarding the availability of Oshikwanyama textbooks, he stated, "Oshikwanyama we don't have enough". As seen in findings from the questionnaire, indigenous language textbooks were unavailable whilst English textbooks were generally available.

In the extensive discussion that follows, Mr Isack outlined factors underpinning the shortage of Oshikwanyama books. These factors relate to the cost, publishing, distribution and readership of the books. Primary among these was NIEDs'[6] poor coordination with regard to the purchasing, printing and distribution of textbooks. As was also noted in the interview with Ms Grace, it appears that processes and coordination at NIED were undermining the provision of indigenous language textbooks. NIED's actions or lack thereof were cited as the key reason for the lack of indigenous languages textbooks in both interviews.

These findings were rather surprising; however following an assessment of the ministry's budget statements it became apparent that there were differences in indigenous languages and English categorisation. English was categorised as one of the "key subjects" at junior primary level, and is therefore likely to receive better funding than indigenous languages. During the 2015/16 fiscal year, the ministry reported that at primary level, the general learner/textbook ratio had been reduced to 1:2. It was further stated that "the purchase of textbooks during 2014/15 have provided each and every learner at primary level with a textbook in the key subjects (English, Mathematics and Science) reaching the target ratio of 1:1" (MoEAC, 2015, p.13). This categorisation, I believe, represents manifest stigmatisation of indigenous languages and sabotages their role as official MoIs at junior primary level. In addition, this ideology positions indigenous languages as less valuable compared to English and as comparatively unimportant subjects. This can be explained in terms of negative beliefs that

[6] NIED is an acronym for National Institute for Educational Development, a directorate within the Ministry of Education, Arts and Culture (MoEAC). NIED is a curriculum development centre responsible for leading Basic Education reform and development.

persist towards indigenous languages in Africa. It is evident that, at national level, a colonial language ideology which gives precedence to ex-colonial languages, i.e. English at the expense of indigenous languages exists. The categorisation of English as one of the "key subjects" is indicative a common phenomenon in Africa of placing high value on ex-colonial languages and the low status of African languages (Kamwangamalu, 2016). This, according to Kembo (2014, p. 287), indicates that "indigenous languages are not being taken seriously as subjects of study which means that the cognitive, affective and social development of young people, which must necessarily occur through a language that is well-known, cannot take place". Similarly, the categorisation corroborates Bunyi's (2008) observation that "a prominent challenge to policy design and enactment in Africa concerns language beliefs that accord English greater value than indigenous languages" (p.154-155). The analysis illustrates that while the country has a mother tongue policy in place, ministerial efforts to support the realisation of this policy fall short. This apparent discord between the LiEP and subject classification is likely to thwart policy enactment endeavours at school and classroom level.

It appears that the ministry's actions such as the categorising of subjects and the national LiEP conflict each other. The second of the three goals of the national LiEP states that, "education should promote the language and cultural identity of learners through the use of mother tongue as medium of instruction in Grades 1-3 and the teaching of mother tongue throughout formal education" (MBESC, 2003, p.3). This statement places mother tongues/indigenous languages at the centre of basic education as both MoIs and as taught languages. Ironically, the same languages are not considered key subjects according to the ministry's categorisation. The categorisation represents a biased, and likely to be counterproductive ideology. After all, "key subjects" such as Mathematics and Science are expected to be taught via the medium of indigenous languages.

Ricento & Hornberger's (1996) model identifies three layers of policy enactment: national level, institutional level and interpersonal level, all of which underscore likely sources of success and failures of LPP and LPP enactment. According to data on textbook availability, we can infer that policy enactment at the institutional level is being undermined by language beliefs cum practices at national level. That is, whereas schools may already be or intent on offering MT instruction, the ministry's failure to prioritise mother tongues and avail textbooks threatens MT instruction and by extension policy enactment. Practices at interpersonal level are unlikely to succeed if support, in the form of resource provision at national level, is not ensured. Combined, the lack of teaching resources and textbook, and arguably low professional qualifications of teachers may have a strong influence on the quality of teaching and policy engagement in general. The interplay between textbook availability and policy realisation cannot be overlooked. As Probyn (2005) reminds us, textbooks play a significant role in constraining language choice (p. 166). As seen earlier, the lack of indigenous languages resources has been cited as a reason for replacing MT instruction with English-only instruction. This is due to the fact that the shortage of indigenous languages textbooks results in an increased workload on teachers as they have to translate, source or create their own material.

To conclude, I would like to return to Spolsky's (2017) key questions of assessing language policy enactment namely: are there enough teachers to teach in the prescribed MoI, and are written material available for schools use in the prescribed MoI? (p.45). Data presented so far indicate that the brief answer to these questions is: teachers to teach in the Namibia's prescribed MoI are not enough and neither is the available written material.

6.3 Summary

In this chapter, I presented the major findings from the interview data. Major findings from the interview data are: 1) translanguaging practices in EMI classes are a common means of bridging the communication gap between teachers and learners; 2) beliefs towards MTE vary but are generally supportive; 3) school LiEPs are sometimes detached from learners linguistic realities and needs, and 4) there is a shortage of qualified indigenous language teachers and indigenous language teaching material. Owing to their different socio-linguistic profiles, there are differences between urban and rural schools; these differences are reflected in micro-level policy interpretation, appropriation and enactment.

Regarding translanguaging, linguistic homogeneity and heterogeneity and language beliefs are some of the prominent factors underpinning classroom and school language practices. Teachers did not always agree with school language policies, and this often resulted in a re-contextualisation of such policies at classroom level. This in turn, created a gap between school policies and micro-level practices. Re-contextualisation of the policies can be seen as an attempt by teachers to harmonise their classroom practices with their learners' linguistic realities.

Regarding resource availability, as a country, Namibia has been experiencing a shortage of qualified teachers, and this shortage includes English and mother tongue teachers. This in turn affects the quality of teaching in general and specifically the teaching of English and indigenous languages and inevitably policy enactment. While textbook availability is a known national challenge, the shortage of indigenous languages textbooks appears to be severe. The acquisition of indigenous language textbooks had not been prioritised at national level. There appears to be discord between postulations of the current LiEP and language categorisations at ministerial level. The next chapter presents findings from the classroom observations.

7 Chapter 7: Classroom Observation Findings

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I present and analyse findings collected from two primary schools, one in Khomas Region and one in Oshikoto Region. The data was gathered via classroom observations- the third phase of this multi-method study. Two teachers were observed during this phase, Ms Nangula at Uushimba PS (Khomas Region) and Ms Taati at Omukunda PS (Oshikoto Region). Profiles of the two schools and teachers who were observed are provided in Chapter 4. In this chapter, data is analysed from a discourse analytic perspective, and a thorough discussion of the findings is undertaken in Chapter 8.

Classroom observations were the key means of assessing and understanding LiEP interpretation and enactment at classroom level. Although the same aspects of LPP could have been explored via interviews, observation helped me develop an emic perspective regarding language choice and use in the classroom. Through observations, I gathered primary data regarding teachers, as key LPP agents in the interpretation and negotiation of the national LiEP. Johnson (2013) asserts that observations are important in bringing to the fore aspects of interpretation that one may not uncover via interviews.

Analysis in this chapter will reflect upon classroom language practices in relation to LiEP interpretation, appropriation and enactment and the challenges that the two teachers experienced in enacting the national LiEP. Inclusion of excerpts from the interview phase and references to interview data is made in this chapter to provide a holistic view of some themes. This inclusion is part of data triangulation, and allowed me to discuss similar findings as emergent from the different methods. Thus, interview excepts included in this chapter are discussed alongside observation data, before or after observation excerpts as supporting data/(further) evidence phenomena under discussion. The observations sought to provide an emic perspective and a snapshot of the realities of appropriating and enacting Namibia's

LiEP in urban and rural contexts. Language practices in the urban and rural classroom have been discussed separately with the support of excerpts from the classroom observations. It was important to present urban and rural school findings separately since, although there are similarities between the findings, there are more differences and factors underpinning interpretational and enactment in the two context differed. The division of the two findings, it is hoped, will aid an understanding of the phenomena in the two contexts in their situatedness. Aspects of the situatedness including linguistic and socioeconomic realities of the two contexts cannot be divorced from data interpretation. Findings from the two schools are discussed with the focus on the overarching categories namely: teaching and learning, translanguaging and classroom management.

Previous studies have indicated that due to a shortage of resources, skills and different beliefs towards MTE, the enactment of the policy has been challenging for teachers and schools alike. As Garcia and Lin (2017) point out, "not all language groups fare equally in bilingual education even in the same geographic territory and with the same macro-societal policies" (p.5). Therefore, it is possible that in Namibia, the language policy, meant for application in contexts with various levels of linguistic diversity nationwide, is appropriated and enacted differently in urban and rural contexts.

7.2 Findings

Teacher-learner interactions in both Ms. Nangula and Ms. Taati's classrooms generally followed an *initiation, response, evaluation* (IRE) and *initiation, response, feedback* (IRF) patterns (Mehan, Cazden & Coles, 1976). That is, teachers-initiated conversations, students provided responses and teachers then evaluated their responses and or provided feedback. A key finding is the use of translanguaging (Garcia and Li, 2014) in the EMI classroom at Uushimba PS and during English language teaching at Omukunda PS. In the discussions that

follow, I will first discuss LiEP appropriation and enactment first at Uushimba PS then at Omukunda PS.

7.2.1 Language practices in the urban classroom (Uushimba PS)

In this section, the language situation in the urban classroom is presented based on the classroom observations. The discussion highlights classroom language practices, language ideology and the challenges that teachers encounter in enacting the official national LiEP.

7.2.1.1 English as the MoI

At Uushimba PS, English was a taught language as per the national LIEP stipulation. However, contrary to the national LiEP, English, and not MTs or predominant local languages, was the MoI at the school. This marked a policy gap between the national LiEP and the institutional LiEP. Furthermore, this policy set English, at institutional level, as the legitimate language of instruction at school level. From classroom observations, it was apparent that enacting the school's monolingual policy was a challenge, and classroom language practices appeared to contradict the school's LiEP. This was due to the fact that multilingual practices (translanguaging) featured prominently in Ms. Nangula's teaching.

7.2.1.2 Monolingual ideology meets multilingual practices

Although the school LiEP set English as the MoI, findings indicate that at classroom level, language practices at Uushimba PS were different. A key finding from the interviews and observations is that translanguaging played a prominent role in the teaching-learning process at Uushimba Primary School. The following discussion looks at the use of translanguaging (Garcia & Li, 2014) in what, according to the school policy, should be an English-medium classroom.

Translanguaging was the norm rather than the exception in Ms. Nangula's class as there was an apparent blending of her and her learners' linguistic repertoires. This blending was in the

form of lesson translation and the use of her and some of her learners' languages during teaching. The concept of translanguaging is thus used in this section to describe language practices in Ms. Nangula's class. Ms. Nangula acknowledged that teaching in English alone was a challenge, and the use of MTs was best in helping learners understand the second language (English). She argued that, for her learners, both Afrikaans and English were "foreign languages", and this compounded the challenges that learners experienced in learning in English. Asked if she taught Afrikaans as a subject she stated:

***Excerpt 1:* "English is already a foreign language"**

Ms Taati: It was a problem, the sounds, now we are teaching sounds, you teach sounds, the same times you teach English sound then you bring in Afrikaans sound which is another foreign language. English is already a foreign language, then it makes them confuse. But if they were learning like in the mother tongue, their own mother tongue then they could learn better in the second language. Now we have two second language[sic] which is not right. It is supposed to be a mother tongue which is supposed to be a first language and then a second language. Then the first language will help the child to understand the second language. But now is two second language; English is already a problem.

Throughout the observation, it was clear that Ms. Nangula had a "translanguaging lens" because in view of Garcia and Li's (2014) description of a translanguaging lens, she "*strategically*[7] selected features of her linguistic repertoire to communicate effectively" (p.22). The above excerpt highlights the gap between the school LiEP and classroom practices at Uushimba PS. Whilst Ms. Nangula regarded the MT as the ideal MoI and a key player in the acquisition of the second language, the school LiEP excluded the instruction both of and in the MT in its unwritten LiEP which positioned English as the MoI and Afrikaans as the taught subject respectively. The statements: "English is already a foreign language, then it makes them confuse"; "now we have two second language which is not right; it is supposed to be a mother tongue which is supposed to be a first language"; and "but

[7] Emphasis in original text

now is two second language; and English is already a problem" signal Ms. Nangula's disapproval of her school's LiEP and her preference for mother tongue instruction. Translanguaging practices in Ms. Nangula's class can be seen to index her mother tongue language policy ideology.

In Ms. Nangula's class, translanguaging was primarily used as a scaffolding technique to facilitate the teaching-learning process. As a scaffolding technique, translanguaging allows "emergent bilinguals to engage with content, understand complex texts and bring forth new language practices and new knowledge" (Garcia & Li, 2014, p.92). In light of the above, although translanguaging is an overarching category in the study, it has further been sub-categorised into two categories namely: translanguaging for pedagogic support and translanguaging for discipline. In the next sub-sections, the phenomena are discussed under the two sub-categories.

7.2.1.3 Pedagogical classroom practices

This section presents excerpts demonstrating the presence of multilingual language practices in what is theoretically an English-medium classroom. The discussion focusses on the use of translanguaging as a means of offering pedagogic support to young emergent bilingual learners. *Translanguaging for pedagogic support* is similar to Garcia and Li's (2014) concept of *translanguaging as pedagogy*. In brief, both terms relate to the use of translanguaging "to enable learners to make meaning and learn" (Garcia & Li, 2014, p.120). Although, English was the medium of instruction at Uushimba PS, the use of MTs, especially Oshiwambo, was commonly observed. Learners' MTs were mostly used on a one-to-one basis, and not to address the entire multilingual classroom.

Although there was one official MoI at Uushimba PS (English), translanguaging was heavily integrated into the pedagogy at classroom level that no one language was solely used during

teaching. Garcia & Li (2014) identify seven goals of translanguaging as is practiced by teachers. In this study, the most common goals for translanguaging include: differentiate and adapt, deepen understanding, deepen and extend new knowledge, critical thinking, cross linguistic transfer and metalinguistic awareness, cross-linguistic flexibility and identity investment and positionality. These goals and the strategies employed by teachers will be discussed below.

The use of translanguaging for pedagogic support refers to the use of local languages, alongside English, to enable learners to (better) engage with the teaching-learning process. For example, in this study, the use of MTs to explain, restate, reinforce instructions and clarify lessons is considered acts of translanguaging for pedagogical support. Ms Nangula often switched to MTs to clarify and explain lessons after it had become apparent to her that learners had not understood the same lesson as was presented in English. Below, translanguaging for pedagogic support is discussed under various sub-themes.

7.2.1.3.1 Translanguaging to differentiate instruction

In Excerpt 2 below, I demonstrate the use of local languages to differentiate instructions among learners. The excerpt is from a combined English and Art lesson. Ms Nangula explained, in informal an interview, that she did not necessarily teach Art as a separate subject, rather she often incorporated it into other lessons. During the lesson, learners wrote down the five vowels following the teacher's explanation, sounded them and gave examples of words beginning with each vowel sound. Next to each sound/letter was a picture of a word beginning with the noted vowels. The lesson was delivered first in English, and MTs were then used on a one-to-one basis with learners when Ms Nangula evaluated their completion of the activity. This conversation took place as the teacher was walking among the learners to assess how they were copying notes from the board. She had given instructions to the learners

to write notes on the left side in their notebooks. Here, she had come across a learner who had copied the notes on the wrong side of their exercise book.

***Excerpt 2:* "Show me your right!"**

1. T: Why you didn't write on this side all of you? I told you; write on your left side. 2. John: Teacher… 3. T: I am busy; don't call me. 4. T: [*To Tom*] Tom, go back to your place and sit there. I don't want to see walking around in the class. 5. T: [*To Anna*] Anna, **kuutumba wu ukilila!** 6. T: [*To Salmi*] **Inandi tya shangeni kolumosho?** Huh? 7. Salmi: [*Silent*] 8. T: **Ulikila ndje olumosho lwoye. Ulikila ndje olefta yoye. Oleft olumosho. Owu uvite ko? Ulikila ndje okulyo koye. Okulyo, okulyo koye, okulyo mOshiingilisa is right**. **Owu uvite ko**? Show me your right! 9. Salmi: [*Lifts right hand*] 10. T: Show me your left. 11. Sophie: [*Lifts left hand*] 12. T: **Ngeenge teacher okwa ti, write on the left side, otashi tii, shanga kombinga yokolumosho. Owu uvite ko?** 13. Salmi: Mhh.	T: Why you didn't write on this side all of you? I told you; write on your left side. John: Teacher… T: I am busy; don't call me. T: [*To Tom*] Tom, go back to your place and sit there. I don't want to see walking around in the class. T: [*To Anna*] Anna, sit up straight! T: [*To Salmi*] Didn't I say you must write on your left-hand side? Huh? Salmi: [*Silent*] T: Show me your left-hand side. Show me your left. Left is *olumosho*. Do you understand? Show me your right hand. *Okulyo, okulyo* means the right side in English. Do you understand? Show me your right! Salmi: [*Lifts right hand*] T: Show me your left. Salmi: [*Lifts left hand*] T: When teacher says, write your left side it means "shanga kombinga yokolumosho". Do you understand? Sophie: Mhh

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The excerpt demonstrates the use of the MT for CE (clarification and explanation). Ms. Nangula used Oshiwambo to clarify and explain what the term *arm* means. It is evident from the exchanges above that English was the main language of communication between Ms. Nangula and her learners. However, given that the majority of the learners spoke Oshiwambo as their MT which is also Ms. Nangula's first language, she often switched to Oshiwambo to offer further pedagogical support. In line 7, the teacher checks a learner's comprehension of the instructions following the learner's silent response (line 6), which she seems to have understood to indicate lack of comprehension. Thus, she continued in lines 8 and 9 to ask the learner to show her left and right hands in Oshiwambo. Following this interaction, Salmi

correctly identified their left and right hands. The teacher then offered reinforcement to the individual learner in Oshiwambo (lines 11). After this interaction, given her response in line 8 and 10, the learner appeared to have understood the instructions.

From this excerpt, the teacher appeared ready to ensure that the learner understood the concepts in her (the learner's) MT. This is illustrated by teacher's further use of learners' MT to asses her comprehension when she asked, "owuuviteko?" (Do you understand?). It is worth noting that in lines 7, although the majority of the utterance is in Oshiwambo, the teacher used English intra-sententially by referring to the left hand as *olefta* and ending the sentence in line 7 with okulyo moshIingilisa *is right.* This signals that English was the main MoI and the MT was used here for support. The use of learners' MTs was therefore not exclusive, but may, as seen above, be intra-sententially mixed. This conversation shows the use of translanguaging to differentiate instruction (Garcia and Li, 2014) even on a one-to-one basis. Whereas the learner was struggling to complete the task after English instructions, it became apparent that the learner did not lack comprehension of the concepts (left and right) in her MT, and was able to complete the task following pedagogic support offered in her MT. A switch to a learner's MTs was necessary to assess understanding, repeat instructions and to offer lesson reinforcement. We learn here that translanguaging in multilingual classrooms can play the dual role of ensuring inclusion and harnessing learners existing knowledge. This practice, however, resulted in contradictions between the school policy and classroom practices. Whereas the school policy was monolingual, classroom practices were, and at the least bilingual. In the next section, I demonstrate how translanguaging was used to differentiate instructions, build background knowledge, deepen understanding and demonstrate cross-linguistic flexibility.

7.2.1.3.2 Translanguaging to deepen understandings

According to Baker (2006), an advantage of translanguaging is that it allows learners to gain a "deeper and fuller understanding of the subject matter" and if a learner "has understood it in two languages, they have really understood it" (p.297). In excerpt 3 below, we see how Ms. Nangula used translanguaging to assess learners' understanding and to permit a deeper and fuller understanding of the content. This interaction took place during a School Readiness Week lesson in which learners were learning about parts of the body. The teacher had instructed learners to complete a writing activity in their exercise books. The learners had been instructed to complete the activity by writing the names of the parts of the body pictured in their books. The names of the parts of the body were to be written from left to right. The teacher walked through the class assessing learners' progress in completing the activity. This excerpt is an example of labels CE (Clarification and Explanation), AA (Activity Assessment) and AU (Assessing Understanding).

***Excerpt 3: "Arm* otashiti ngaipi?"**

1. T: [*Speaking to Mary-an Oshiwambo speaking learner*] On the left side!! **Shampa ike iho pulikine, owu na okuninga omapuko ashike. Apa wa shanga. . . owa shanga, this, owa shanga eshi osha puka. Paife *arm* opaapa, paife ku na kutya oto shanga okwooko peni. Tala ashike kutya oto shanga peni shaashi kandi shi kutya oto shanga peni.** 2. John: Teacher I did finish. [*Learners continue to call upon the teacher to go look at their individual work.]* 3. T: [*Teacher repeats instructions to Mark*] Write *arm*, write *arm*, on the left side. On the line which is pointing to the arm. You write arm there. *Ne*? (Right?) [*Switches to Oshiwambo*] **Omu udite ko ngoo? Olaina eyi ya ulika pwokooko oyo to shanga *arm*. *Arm* otashi ti ngaipi?** 4. Ls: **Okwooko.** 5. T: **Okwooko**.Mark, **owu udite ko ngoo?** 6. Mark: [*Silent]* 7. T: ***Arm* otashi ti ngaipi? Ulikile nge okwooko kwoye.** 8. Mark: [*Points to his arm*] 9. T: **MOshiingilisa?** 10. Mark: Arm.	T: [*Speaking to Mary-an Oshiwambo speaking learner*] On the left side!! If you don't listen you'll always make mistakes. When you have written. . . you wrote this, what you wrote is wrong. Now, *arm* is here and now you don't have anywhere to write *arm.* Find where you will write because I don't know where you will write. John: Teacher I did finish. [*Learners continue to call upon the teacher to go look at their individual work.]* T: [*Teacher repeats instructions to Mark*] Write *arm*, write *arm*, on the left side. On the line which is pointing to the arm. You write arm there. *Ne*? (Right?) [*Switches to Oshiwambo*] Do you understand? You write *arm* on the line that is pointing to the arm. What does *arm* mean (in Oshiwambo)? Ls: Arm. T: Arm. Mark, do you understand? Mark: [*Silent]* T: What does *arm* mean? Show me your arm. Mark: [*Points to his arm*]

	T: In English? Mark : Arm.

In Excerpt 3, we see Ms. Nangula alternating between Oshiwambo and English when speaking to Oshiwambo learners to help them understand the content-parts of the body. In line 3, she switched from English to Oshiwambo, and to check learners' understanding by asking them in Oshiwambo- *Omuuditeko ngoo?* (Do you understand?). Immediately, she then assessed the learners understanding of the concept in English asking them "What does *arm* mean (in Oshiwambo)?" The same understanding was assessed once again in lines 7, and 9 until she was satisfied that the learners have a full comprehension of the concept in both Oshiwambo and English. When most Oshiwambo-speaking learners correctly mentioned what *arm* is in Oshiwambo, Ms. Nangula employed translanguaging to check Mark's understanding. Following the learner's silent response, she translanguaged to involve the learner by asking her: *Arm* otashiti ngaipi? Ulikilenge okwooko kwoye. (What does *arm* mean? Show me your arm). We observe that Ms. Nangula acknowledges correct answers in both Oshiwambo *okwooko* (line 4) and English *arm* (line 10). After learners correctly responded with *okwooko* as the answer in line 4, Ms. Nangula reaffirmed their answer in Oshiwambo by repeating what they had said (line 5), and in line 16 she provided Learner 1 with the equivalent of *okwooko*. In what was perhaps an effort to reinforce the English term (arm), Ms. Nangula asked Mark to provide the English term (arm) in line 9, and correctly did so. Her acknowledgement of answers in both languages and use of both languages in this instance shows her approval of bilingual language practices in class, her bilingual ideology and her flexible bilingual pedagogy. Although the school's LiEP was monolingual, Ms. Nangula adopted a bilingual/multilingual LiEP.

In line 7, Ms. Nangula translanguaged to asses, for the last time in this interaction, learners' comprehension of the term *arm* in both languages. Posing the question, *what does "arm" mean (in Oshiwambo)*? in Oshiwambo, allowed Oshiwambo-speaking learners of all English language proficiencies to participate in the lesson and to learn. This may be something that learners with a more limited English proficiency would have been otherwise unable to do in what Garcia and Li (2014) refer to as "their limited voice" (p.103). Translanguaging thus served as a scaffolding tool. This appears to be prevalent in sub-Saharan Africa. In Tanzania, Brock-Utne (2005) found that learners could not understand lessons unless teachers translated them into their MTs. In Cameroon, Ngomo (2011) reported that learners grasped content better when it was taught in a language familiar to them. In Namibia, teachers reported that their learners struggled to learn in English (Harris, 2011). In South Africa, the use of English as the MoI in the place of learners' MTs was found to limit learners' ability to express themselves, hence counterproductive (Heugh, 2009; Ngcobo, Ndamba, Nyangiwe, Mpungose & Jamal, 2016; Orman 2008). The above practices illuminate the preference for multilingual language practices reported by teachers in Chapter 5.

The interaction appears to show that Ms Nangula was skilful in her translanguaging and she dedicated to ensuring that learners understood the concept (arm/okwooko) in both Oshiwambo and English and therefore once they "understood it in two languages, they have really understood it" (Baker 2006, p.197). Ms Nangula's translanguaging was fluid and flexible, and overall was aimed at ensuring a full and deep understanding of the content while ensuring participation by as many of her learners as possible. It is important to remember at this point that more than half of Ms Nangula's learners are Oshiwambo-speaking; therefore the simultaneous use of Oshiwambo and English as observed in the interaction above was common throughout lessons.

In Ms Nangula's class, we see a co-existence and appreciation of English and Oshiwambo. Concurrently, we witness a gap between policy creation at national level and policy realisation at interpersonal level. There is thus a discrepancy between the official national LiEP, the school LiEP and the classroom LiEP as spontaneously created by Ms Nangula in her classroom. In defiance of the school's monolingual policy, Ms Nangula incorporated the most common MT in her classroom in her teaching; thus demonstrating the instrumental and communicative value of MTs in her classroom. In view of the above discussion, it is perhaps true that Namibia's LiEP ought to be bi/multilingual (cf. Putz, 1995).

In Excerpt 4, we observe the codes LT (lesson translation) CE (Clarification and Elaboration) and AU (Assessing Understanding). The excerpt is from a Religious and Moral Education (RME) period during a lesson about the creation story as presented in the Bible. In this instance the lesson was first taught in English, and an oral quiz about the story then followed in English. After realising that some learners were not responding to the quiz in English, Ms. Nangula conducted a similar oral quiz in which she elicited responses Oshiwambo.

Excerpt 4: Oshiwambo as the medium in an English-medium classroom

1. T: Anna, **andi ti Kalunga sho a shiti egulu nevi, okwa shiti omunhu. Edhina le ole?**	T: Anna, I am saying, when God created heaven and earth, he created a human being. What is his name?
2. Anna: [*Silent*]	Anna: [*Silent*]
3. T: **Okwe mu pa edhina. Edhina ole?**	T: He gave him a name. What is the name?
4. Simon: [*Silent*]	Anna: [*Silent*]
5. T: [*Turning to another learner*] Lukas, edhina ole?	T: [*Turning to another learner*] Lukas, What is the name?
6. Lukas: [*Silent*]	Lukas: [*Silent*]
7. T: Adam. **Okwe mu pa edhina Adam. Ye ota mono kutya, omunhu nguno, omulumenhu nguno ita vulu kwiikalela. Owu uvite ko? Ndele e ta ningi omukulukadhi gwokukala nomulumenhu. Te mu pe edhina, Eve. Edhina le? Edhina le?**	T: Adam, he gave him the name Adam. Then he saw that the man cannot be alone. Do you understand? He then created a woman to be with the man. He gave her the name, Eve. What is the name? What is the name?
8. Ls: [*Silent*]	Ls: [*Silent*]
9. T: **Eva. Eva omOshiwambo nee. Edhina Eva. Ngele onde ku pula kutya edhina lomukulukadhi ole? Lyomusaane ole? Lyomusaane ole? Lyomusaane ole?**	T: Eva. Eva is the Oshiwambo version. The name is Eva. If I ask you what is woman's name? What is the man's name? What is the man's name? What is the man's name?
10. Lukas: Adam.	
11. T: Huh?	
12. Lukas: Adam.	
13. T : Adam. **Lyomusaane ole?**	

14. Ls : Adam. 15. T: Huh? 16. Ls: Adam	Lukas: Adam. T: Huh? Lukas: Adam. T: Adam. What is the man's name? Ls : Adam. T: Huh? Ls: Adam

From the excerpt we see that when learners failed to answer the questions, Ms Nangula offered a summative translation of the lesson in Oshiwambo-having realised that some learners had not understood the English version. By doing this, Ms Nangula's teaching was bilingual (English and Oshiwambo). Her willingness to translate the lesson into Oshiwambo and then revert to English once again showed her flexible bilingualism, her awareness of her learners' linguistic needs and the fact that English is the main MoI. Differences in learners' language proficiencies mean that Ms Nangula had to differentiate her instructions through lesson translation to cater for learners whose English proficiency may be limited.

Lin (1990) pointed out that teachers may offer summative lesson reiterations due to conflicting demands placed on them by policies and authorities requiring them to teach learners with limited L2 proficiency in the L2. In Namibia, Grade 1 learners are typically emergent bilinguals, thus communication in English is limited given that, as mentioned earlier, African and Namibian learners' exposure to English before and outside school is limited (cf. Ferguson, 2006; Frydman, 2011). The learners' inability to answer questions about the story seemed to have indicated to Ms Nangula that they had not understood the story as read in English. The reason for the re-teaching of the lesson in Oshiwambo instead of repeating it in English was to deepen learners' understanding of the lesson something that appeared to not have happened in English. Ms. Nangula was, in this interaction, intent on helping the learners negotiate to meaning and therefore learn. After this conversation, the

teacher reverted to English signalling that English was the official MoI. Once again, we see how classroom practices differ from the school's LiEP and how translation of lesson or parts thereof was a prominent feature of the classroom.

7.2.1.3.3 Translanguaging for inclusion and classroom participation

Another reason for translanguaging that was frequently observed is the switch to learners' MTs which appeared to have been motivated by the need to encourage learner participation and to include learners with limited English proficiency. The excerpt below is from the same lesson in Excerpt 4. In the interaction, the teacher was encouraging learners to ask her questions about the Bible story she had narrated. Initially, she made the call for questions in English, and then continued to inform learners that they could pose the questions in their MTs.

***Excerpt 5:* "Pula ike nande omOshiwambo ngeenge owa hala"**

1. T: Who want to ask? Maybe, you want to ask me about that story, ask me; I am here. 2. Salmi: [*Raises hand*] 3. T: Yes, Salmi …Shhh!! Listen to the question. Then we can all answer if we know the answer. Yes, Salmi … stand up. 4. Salmi: [*Stands up*] 5. Ben: [*A different learner asks a question*] Teacher, why is the clouds moving? 6. T: Do you see them moving? 7. Ben: Yes. 8. T: Because it's God who created…they are created like that; they move, so that they can meet. And when they meet, the rain do what? 9. Ls: [*Shouting in unison*] Comes! 10. T: Good. Yes, listen to the question…[*Turns attention back to Ben*] 11. Salmi: [*Silent*] 12. T: Ask! **Pula ike nande omOshiwambo ngeenge owa hala**. 13. Salmi: [*Silent*] 14. T: [*To a different learner*] Alex, stand up! Alex, **fikama**! 15. Alex: [*Stands up*] 16. T: **Ila huno**. 17. Alex: [*Walks towards the teacher*] 18. T: **Andiya**. Wait. Learner 3, did you hear the story? Huh? Did you hear the story? 19. Alex: [*Shakes head*] 20. T: You didn't hear the story? 21. Emma: He was sleeping.	T: Who want to ask? Maybe, you want to ask me about that story, ask me; I am here. Salmi: [*Raises hand*] T: Yes, Salmi …Shhh!! Listen to the question. Then we can all answer if we know the answer. Yes, Salmi … stand up. Salmi: [*Stands up*] Ben: [*A different learner asks a question*] Teacher, why is the clouds moving? T: Do you see them moving? Ben: Yes. T: Because it's God who created…they are created like that; they move, so that they can meet. And when they meet, the rain do what? Ls: [*Shouting in unison*] Comes! T: Good. Yes, listen to the question…[*Turns attention back to Ben*] Salmi: [*Silent*] T: You can even ask in Oshiwambo if you want. Salmi: [*Silent*] T: [*To a different learner*] Alex, stand up! Alex stand

22. T: Huh 23. Emma: He was asleep.	up! Alex: [*Stands up*] T: Come here. Alex: [*Walks towards the teacher*] T: Wait. Wait. Alex, did you hear the story? Huh? Did you hear the story? Alex: [*Shakes head*] T: You didn't hear the story? Emma: He was sleeping. T: Huh Emma: He was asleep.

In the excerpt, we see a fluid switch between Oshiwambo and English. The approach in this interaction is similar to the language alternation strategy of translanguaging. The interaction began in English, and, from observations, learners were generally keen to take part in the interaction. However, one of the learners who had enthusiastically raised his hand to ask a question appeared to be unable to ask it. The teacher instantly used translanguaging to encourage him to ask the question in his MT. Thus, in lines 12, she encouraged him to ask the question in his MT. This encouragement of the learner to pose the question even in his MT indicates that languages other than English were welcomed and embraced in the classroom. Ms Nangula recognised that, due to a possibly limited English proficiency, the learner may not be able to articulate himself in English, but that it was important for him to be part of the teaching-learning process even if this meant he would use his MT.

Translanguaging and encouraging Ben to do so by speaking his MT can be regarded as an attempt to facilitate learner participation and to break down possible communication barriers that may have been in place. Translanguaging was thus used as a tool to maximise participation by releasing the voices of emergent bilinguals that would otherwise have been silent (Garcia and Leiva, 2014). This instance further resonates with Garcia and Li's (2014,

p.93) assertion that, “translanguaging in teaching is always used in the service of providing rigorous instruction and maximising interactions”. It is evident that the teacher sought to maximise interactions as she encouraged the learners to use the language he was most comfortable with-the MT. The learner received the instructions in his MT, and was given the liberty to respond to the instruction in a language of their choice. A direct result of this was two LiEPs in one setting (school).

In view of Schiffman’s (1996) concepts of *de jure* and *de facto* policies, the school’s *de jure* and *de facto* policies pointed in different directions. The school’s *de jure* MoI is English-only; however, its *de facto* MoI is English + MTs. While translanguaging in this class encouraged participation and inclusion, it showed a deviation from the school’s official LiEP. Translanguaging indicates a deviation from the school’s monoglossic LiEP. Similarly, although translanguaging points to a legitimation of the learner’s MT, policy enactment at Uushimba PS is not successful. Successful policy enactment would occur when the school’s official LiEP is harmonised with language practices at classroom level. However, practices at Uushimba PS point to classroom language practices that are not reflective of the school’s LiEP.

Ms Nangula deliberately encouraged translanguaging in her class. In doing so, she acknowledges the instrumental and communicative values of MTs in the teaching-learning process. In the process, she did not restrict learning by forcing the learner to learn in the dominant language; instead she allowed her to learn in their own language. In this sense, it could be argued that Ms Nangula created a translanguaging space in the process (Li, 2011). Although translanguaging legitimises learners’ MTs and defies English symbolic power at school and classroom level, it reveals a gap between policy interpretations and interactions at

institutional and interpersonal levels. This gap results from teachers' ideologies and classroom realities (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996).

7.2.1.4 Flexible bilingualism as classroom practice

The interaction in Excerpt 6 below took place during a Mathematics lesson. The lesson combined Math and English, as learners were taught how to count and to read. Overall, throughout the lesson, many learners struggled with reading. As usual, Ms Nangula taught the lesson and thereafter gave the learners an activity to complete. As they were completing the activity, she walked among them to evaluate their progress and offer one-on-one guidance. At the time of the interaction, the learners had been counting pictures of animals in their exercise books, and circling the number that correctly corresponded with the total number of animals in the pictures (See Figure 16). Codes AA (Activity Assessment) and CE (Clarification and or Explanation) were applied to this excerpt.

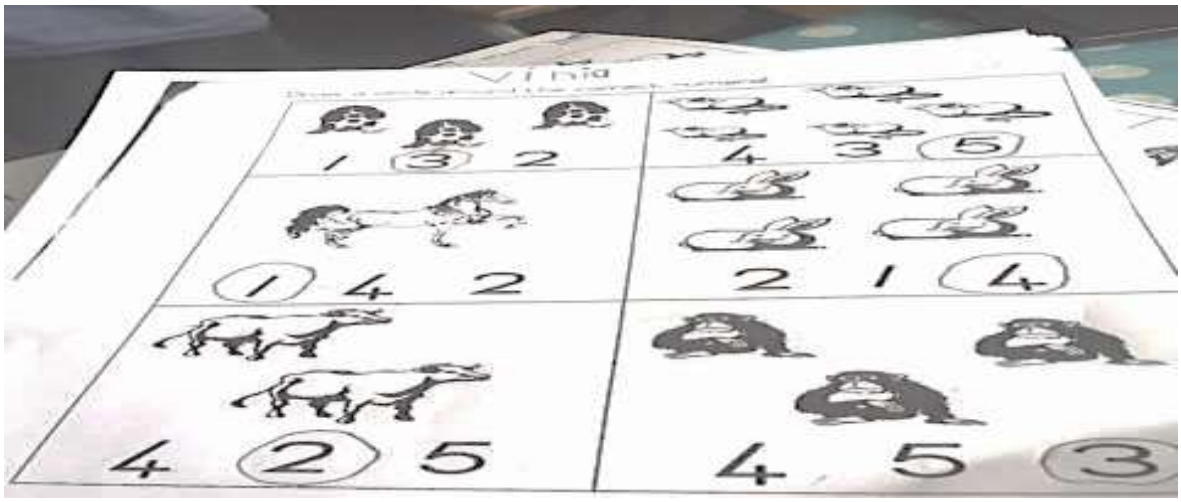

Figure 16: Classroom activity completed during interaction in Excerpt 6

Excerpt 6: "Put it in a circle. Simple as that!"

1. T: [*To Emma*] Didn't you hear me? Count the number of the animals and then you put in the circle the right number. For example, here, count for me this mouse… 2. Emma: *One, two, three, four, five…[Correctly counts the mice in the picture*] 3. T: Now which number is the right number there? 4. Emma: [*Points to the correct answer/number*]	T: [*To Emma*] Didn't you hear me? Count the number of the animals and then you put in the circle the right number. For example, here, count for me this mouse… Emma: *One, two, three, four, five…[Correctly counts the mice in the picture*]

5. T: Put it in a circle. Simple as that! 6. [*Teacher continues walking through assessing learners*] 7. T: [*To John*] John, **to valula kutya, omafano aa owu wete eembwa odi li po ngapi? To di valula. Shaa we di valula, ove oto tala nee kutya, ngenge odi li po two, onumber two oyo to tula mocircle. Paife oto shanga iikwashike oyo?** Count the dogs. Count! Count them! 8. John: [*Counts*] *One, two, three*… 9. T: Now, put *three* in the circle. Where is three? Where is number three? Show me number three. 10. John: [*Points to the correct number*] 11. T: The answers are here. Now put number three in a circle. Ya. **Tula**…put the number in the circle **otashi tii, tula onumber ndjono mongonga, mocircle**. 12. T: [*To the rest of the class*] Look here. It seems that if I say, "put the number in the circle", it's like you don't know.	T: Now which number is the right number there? Emma: [*Points to the correct answer/number*] T: Put it in a circle. Simple as that! [*Teacher continues walking through assessing learners*] T: [*To John*] John, count the dogs. Count! Count them. John, you should count, these pictures how many dogs do you see in these pictures? You count them. Once you have counted them, then you see that if they are two, you circle the number two. Now what is this that you are writing? Count the dogs. Count! Count them! John: [*Counts*] *One, two, three*… T: Now, put *three* in the circle. Where is three? Where is number three? Show me number three. John: [*Points to the correct number*] T: The answers are here. Now put number three in a circle. Ya. Put…put the number in the circle means [*Translates phrase into Oshiwambo*]. T: [*To the rest of the class*] Look here. It seems that if I say, "put the number in the circle", it's like you don't know.

The excerpt provides an example of what Creese and Blackledge (2011) refer to as *flexible bilingualism*. As a pedagogic resource, flexible bilingualism offers multiple advantages including learner inclusion and engagement, meaning-negotiation and meaning making (Creese & Blackledge, 2011). Ms Nangula engaged in different interactions with different learners in different languages- Oshiwambo, English and Otjiherero. There is an overlap in the use of the three languages by the teacher as the languages were used during interactions without separating them. At the beginning of the interaction, the teacher conversed with one learner exclusively in English. However, in line 7, she drew on both English and Oshiwambo showing her ability to move from one language to another. In line 11, Ms Nangula continued to move between English and Oshiwambo to guide the learner. Ms Nangula used the phrases, "Count the dogs. Count! Count them", and the number two as "two" and "onumber two" in English. In line 11, she instantly translated the same instructions into English. The translation

implies that the teacher wanted the learner to acquire and understand concepts both in English and his MT. Once again, the teacher legitimised learners' MTs and acknowledged their instrumental value in the classroom. On the other hand, in stating that, "Put it in a circle. *Simple as that! [Emphasis added]",* Ms. Nangula appeared to suggest that understanding the instructions given in English is "simple"; however it evidently would not have been that simple for the learners had it not been translated.

7.2.1.5 Multimodality and language practices

It is important to note that translanguaging in Ms. Nangula's class was limited to oral interactions. That is, information was not presented multimodally, in the multiple languages in written texts by the teacher nor by the learners. So, translanguaging was arguably limited in that, beyond oral use of multiple languages, learners were not exposed to translanguaged work in writing nor were they encouraged to respond to written activities through languages other than English. Similarly, posters displayed in class (Figures 17 and 18 below), other than those meant for teaching Afrikaans, were exclusively in English. Multimodality in the form of multimodal texts was thus not observed. The use of English in writing and English textbooks only could be understood to index the language's role as the school's MoI and its national power and prestige.

Figure 17: English posters in Ms. Nangula's class

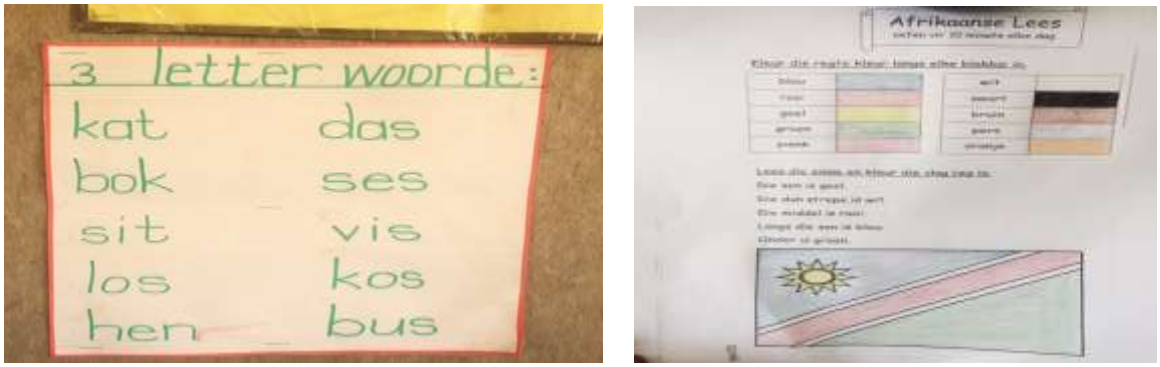

Figure 18: Afrikaans posters in Ms. Nangula's class

The discussion in this section demonstrates the use of translanguaging for pedagogic support, however, translanguaging for discipline was also observed in Ms. Nangula's classroom. The following section will present findings regarding the use of translanguaging for classroom management purposes.

7.2.1.6 Language practices in classroom management

Oshiwambo was especially used for meting out punishment and disciplining learners. It is important to note here that, with 39 learners, the class was relatively overcrowded, and this may have been a contributing factor to the numerous cases of class disruption observed. During data analysis, the codes DP (Discipline and Punishment) and CM (Classroom Management) were applied to the data in excerpts 7-10.

In the classroom, learners sat in pairs besides each other, and often chatting to each other amid lessons. In disciplining learners, Ms Nangula primarily used Oshiwambo in addressing Oshiwambo-speaking learners, in one interaction, she used Otjiherero with an Otjiherero-speaking learner and in another interaction, and she briefly used Portuguese with a Portuguese-speaking learner. The interaction in Excerpt 7 took place during an Afrikaans lesson. At the time, the teacher had been explaining the content when she noticed that a learner was talking to the learner next to him. She then stopped mid-lesson and began to reprimand the disruptive learner.

Excerpt 7: Owuuviteko ndishi? Takamitha!

1. T: **Jen, owahala wuye wiipopile ongwaayike? Toya wupopye ongwaayike wuli hu wathikama ongwayike hu. Owuuviteko ndishi? Takamitha!** 2. T: [*Resumes lesson*] Now, we have family members . . . family members here. Five fingers… 3. Ls: [*Raise five fingers*] 4. T: Now let us . . . Who is this one? [*Using her hand to demonstrate by raising a finger at a time*] 5. Ls: Father.	T: **Jen, do you want to come recite alone? You will come and recite alone up here in front by yourself. Do you hear me? Be careful!** T: [*Resumes lesson*] Now, we have family members . . . family members here. Five fingers… Ls: [*Raise five fingers*] T: Now let us . . . Who is this one? [*Using her hand to demonstrate by raising a finger at a time*] Ls: Father.

It is interesting to note that although Ms Nangula was teaching an Afrikaans lesson through the medium of English, when she stopped the lesson to reprimand the learner, she did not reprimand the learner in Afrikaans nor in English. Instead, she did so in the learner's MT-Oshiwambo. By switching from English and choosing to reprimand the learner in Oshiwambo, there was a transition between tasks- from teaching to classroom management. Hence, it appears that there was a demarcation of roles to languages. That is, English (and Oshiwambo) were used for teaching and Oshiwambo alone was used for classroom management. This is evident in the fact that the teacher immediately reverted to using English for teaching once the reprimanding was done. In the post-observation interview, I enquired about the apparent association of Oshiwambo with classroom management activities. The excerpt below is from the said interview.

Excerpt 8: "I have to speak in the language they understand"

Researcher: And then, I also noticed that when you discipline…uhm… Oshiwambo speaking learners….
Ms Nangula: Mhh…
Researcher: …you discipline them in Oshiwambo. Why? [*Laughs*]
Ms Nangula: [*Laughs*] I just want them to understand **better**[8].
Researcher: Mhh…
Ms Nangula: Because this, like at the beginning…
Researcher: Mhh…
Ms Nangula: I am sure that even if you are … speaking English [*makes sound*] "rrrrrrrrr". . .
Researcher: Mhh.

[8] Bolded text interview transcript= patterns emphasised/stressed by interviewee

Ms Nangula: . . . they don't understand; they just look at your face.
Researcher: Ya.
Ms Nangula: For them, for me to make sure **that they heard my message**, I have to speak in the language they understand.

Translanguaging here was about communicating in the language that, amongst the three languages -Afrikaans, English and the MT, the learner would best and quickest respond to. Ensuring understanding appears to have been the aim of translanguaging in Ms Nangula's class. This is apparent in her multiple references to the notion of "understanding" in excerpt 8. This is evident in the following statements: *I just want them to understand better; they don't understand; they just look at your face; for me to make sure that they heard my message, I have to speak in the language they understand*. These are three direct references to the concept of *understanding* in the excerpt, and this demonstrates the importance of *understanding* as a key concept underlying the practice. In stating, "for me to make sure that they heard my message, I have to speak in the language they understand", Ms Nangula suggests that the MT was the language that learners best comprehend and relate to. Owing to different English proficiencies in the classroom, MTs and English were needed to deliver information to different learners. MTs appeared to be the quickest means of ensuring that learners understood a message. Multilingualism thus demonstrated to be a resource in Ms Nangula's class. In Africa, the use of MTs in non-MT medium classes for discipline has been noted in studies such as Bunyi, 2005; Harris 2011.

Excerpt 9 below is another illustration of demarcation of languages to different tasks. At the time of the interaction, Ms Nangula was collecting learners' worksheets following completion of an activity. In the process, she came across a learner, Petra, whose worksheet was torn due to excessive rubbing/erasing.

Excerpt 9: "Ombapila oweyi tuulila shike?"

1. T: [*Teacher begins to collect worksheets from learners*] Some of you I am not happy with your work. Some of you I am happy with your work; some of you, teacher is not. 2. T: [*Petra*] **Ombapila owe yi tuulila shike?** 3. Petra: [*Silent*] 4. T: [*To a learner next to the learner with a torn worksheet- Paul*] **Ombapila okwe yi tuula ngaipi? Okwali taningi shike?** 5. Paul: **Okweyi tula omate.** 6. T: [*To Petra*] **Otashi kudhengitha kungaye. Ngu ekulombwele kutya ombapila oha yi tulwa omate? Olye ekulombwela kutya ohatu dhimi?** 7. T: [*To the rest of the class*] Do we erase in this class? 8. Ls: No. 9. T: If you make a mistake, you just make a mistake- simple as that.	T: [*Teacher begins to collect worksheets from learners*] Some of you I am not happy with your work. Some of you I am happy with your work; some of you, teacher is not. T: [*Petra*] Why did you tear the worksheet? Petra: [*Silent*] T: [*To a learner next to the learner with a torn worksheet- Paul*] How did she tear the worksheet?) Paul: She put saliva on it. T: [*To Petra*] You will get spanked for that. Who told you that we put saliva on worksheets? Who told you that in this class we erase?) T: [*To the rest of the class*] Do we erase in this class? Ls: No. T: If you make a mistake, you just make a mistake- simple as that.

Similar to the interaction in Excerpt 8, there is a demarcation of language roles in Excerpt 9. Under this demarcation, when speaking to the entire class, Ms Nangula spoke English, but when addressing individual Oshiwambo-speaking learners, she resorted to Oshiwambo. Thus, non-pedagogic tasks as they relate to discipline were conducted in the MT for Oshiwambo speaking learners. At the onset of the interaction, Ms Nangula addressed the entire class in English about her displeasure at some of their work. However, when she interacted with two Oshiwambo-speaking learners, she did so in Oshiwambo before reverting to English. The pattern of speaking to the whole class in English and to individual learners in Oshiwambo was persistent. The order of the pattern was commonly that information was first communicated in English before it was communicated in the MT. In Excerpt 9, Oshiwambo was used to address specific learners and to achieve a specific goal (disciplining the learner), and once that goal had been achieved, Ms Nangula reverted to English. The interaction with Paul was not for discipline purposes, but to get information about Petra yet it remained in Oshiwambo. Noticeably, Paul responded in Oshiwambo. This suggests that the learners

realised that the use of their MT was embraced in the classroom. In classroom management activities, like in pedagogical activities, Ms Nangula did not enact the school's English-medium (monolingual) LiEP but created a multilingual LiEP.

In Excerpt 9 and in many other interactions, learners responded to the teacher in the language in which Ms Nangula addressed them. Instances of translanguaging reported in this study were teacher-initiated. As such, it was the teacher who first shifted from English to a different language and the learner(s) followed suit. Therefore, situations in which learners shifted to a different language were in response to teachers' use of the same language. It is possible that this may be a display of the awareness of implicit ground rules of educational discourse (Edwards & Mercer, 1987). As Edwards and Mercer explain, " the notion of ground rules refers to a set of implicit understandings that participants in conversation need to possess, over and above any strictly linguistic knowledge, in order to make proper sense of what each is trying to say, or trying to achieve in saying something" (p.42). This awareness of the ground rules may equally be indicative of the *practiced language policy* (See Bonacina, 2010) in Ms Nangula's class.

The interaction in Excerpt 10 is from an English lesson focused on reading. During the lesson, the teacher reviewed reading techniques such as reading from left to right and using the index finger during reading to track one's reading. The interaction took place during a read-aloud session. At the point of the interaction, the teacher had read aloud using her index finger to point to each word as she was reading it. The learners were then asked to replicate what Ms Nangula had just shown them. Ms Nangula then noticed that one learner, Jen, was not using her index finger during reading as directed, and she stopped mid-lesson to talk to her.

Excerpt 10: One class, three languages

1. [*Teacher stops reading and walks over to Jen*] 2. T: [*Reprimanding Jen*] I said we are reading the next sentence. Jen, where are you? Jen, where are you? Huh? We are on Page Two! 3. Jen: [*Silent*] 4. [*Reading resumes*] 5. T: [*Correcting another learner who appears to not be following instructions*] Put your pencil down. Your index finger, **onyala yoye oyo index finger. Omuuliko, onyala this. Omuuliko ngu ogo hatu lesha nago ye** (Oshiwambo) 6. Lisa: Mhh. (Yes) 7. [*The lesson continues as the teacher reads and learners repeat word by word as teacher reads. The sentence being read is "What does she find", and it is repeated multiple times word by word.*] 8. T: [To Andrew] [*Speaking to an Otjiherero speaking learner-the learner is not reading along by looking in the book like the rest, but is rather staring at the teacher*.] **Muatje! Kondjitara momurungu. Mondji tara iye momurungu hapo?** (Otjiherero) 9. Andrew: [*Silent*] [*Reading resumes]*	[*Teacher stops reading and walks over to a Jen*] T: [*Reprimanding Jen*] I said we are reading the next sentence. Jen, where are you? Jen, where are you? Huh? We are on Page Two! Jen: [*Silent*] [*Reading resumes*] T: [*Correcting another learner who appears to not be following instructions*] Put your pencil down. Your index finger, **this finger is your index finger. This finger. We use the index finger to read okay.**) Lisa: Mhh. (Yes) [*The lesson continues as the teacher reads and learners repeat word by word as teacher reads. The sentence being read is "What does she find", and it is repeated multiple times word by word.*] T: [To Andrew] [*Speaking to an Otjiherero speaking learner-the learner is not reading along by looking in the book like the rest, but is rather staring at the teacher*.] **Child! Don't look at my mouth. Why are you staring at my mouth?** Andrew: [*Silent*] [*Reading resumes]*

Of interest here is that Ms Nangula used three languages to interact with three different learners. Being aware of her learners' linguistic abilities and needs, Ms Nangula once again practiced flexible bilingualism by moving between three languages in her interactions with different learners. In lines 2, she addressed Jen in English, in lines 5 she corrected Lisa in Oshiwambo, and in lines 8 she reprimanded Andrew in Otjiherero. There was thus a flexible use of language in this interaction to negotiate and mediate her learners' different English language proficiencies. Three languages were used to convey meaning as well as to enable to the teaching-learning process to move on. Specifically, translanguaging was used for several reasons in the excerpt. In lines 2, English as the primary language of interaction was used to reprimand a Khoekhoegowab speaking learner. Since she did not speak Khoekhoegowab, Ms Nangula always spoke to Khoekhoegowab-speaking learners in English throughout the observations. However, as Oshiwambo is her MT and the MT of more than 50% of her class, the use of Oshiwambo to address Oshiwambo-speaking learners was prevalent in the class. It

is thus not surprising that in lines 5, Ms Nangula used Oshiwambo to correct an Oshiwambo-speaking learner. This suggests that both languages were required in this interaction to help the learner understand the content. A close look at the interaction (in line 5) showed that Ms Nangula translated the term "omuuliko" into English (index finger) before explaining how it is used during reading. In doing so, Ms Nangula taught both content and language, thus "offers learners access to academic content through the communicative repertoires that teachers and learners bring to the classroom while acquiring new ones" (Hornberger & Link, 2012, p.245).

Ms Nangula's translanguaging, as seen in this chapter, demonstrates that she had what Garcia (2017) refers to as a *translanguaging stance.* This is apparent in her she re-imagination of the monolingual English school LiEP that do not reflect learners' multilingual languaging resources. Ms Nangula's multilingual classroom practices created a different language policy at classroom level - a multilingual language policy. These practices and the resulting unofficial *de facto* policy are at odds with the school's policy and ideology, but seem to ensure that learners receive comprehensive instructions something that the school's monolingual policy appears not to do. The adoption of the school policy appears to have been made based on an erroneous assumption that all learners will fare well in a monolingual-medium classroom.

Overall, in Ms Nangula's class, translanguaging was used to support learning for learners whose proficiency in English is limited, to facilitate teaching and to manage classroom interactions. Although English remained the dominant language in the classroom, for Ms Nangula, correction and discipline were best delivered in multiple languages and not just English. Thus, the interactions highlights the complex ways in which teachers (and learners) harness their linguistic resources to (re)-create LiEPs set at national and institutional level to facilitate the teaching-learning process (Martin-Jones, 2007).

7.2.1.7 Interpersonal-level policy modification: teacher policy-creation

At Uushimba PS, policy enactment at classroom level changes the school's policy orientation from a monolingual one to a bilingual/multilingual one. This change is indicative of the agentive power that teachers, as key player in policy enactment, have and can use with regard to policy interpretation and enactment. As key policy agents, teachers can contest, re-create or wholly comply with policies (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996; Throop, 2007). In Ms. Nangula's class, monolingualism was contested at her initiation and under her support so as to "make sense of the learning moment" (Garcia & Leiva, 2014, p. 205). Ms. Nangula often stepped outside the school's monoglossic ideological space and exemplified teacher agency in enacting LiEPs. Ms. Nangula's use and encouragement of the use of learners' MTs is a way of contesting and re-imagining the school's monolingual policy.

Teachers' roles in LiEP enactment may thus not be to simply put policies into practice as set at national or even school level, but to interpret and appropriate them to accommodate what they considers to be their learners' linguistic needs (Johnson, 2013). Evidence presented so far highlights human agency and its role in spontaneous policy creation in Ms Nangula's classroom. Ms Nangula created a language policy unique to her class in which translanguaging featured prominently. She did this primarily through her language choices in her interactions with learners. Theses interactions drew on Ms Nangula's as well as her learners' bilingual repertoires. Baldauf (2008) states that, until recently, LPP activities have been assumed to be macro top-down operations involving government officials as the key actors and teachers were mere implementers of top-down LiEPs. There has however been a shift in this mind-set, and Baldauf states that:

> Over the past decade language planning has taken on a more critical edge and its ecological context has been given greater emphasis, leading to an increasing acceptance that language planning can (and does) occur at different level, i.e. the macro, meso and micro. This shift in focus has also led to a rethinking of agency-who has the power to influence change in these micro language planning situations. (Baldauf, 2008: 18)

Hence, discussions of LiEP enactment in multilingual contexts require consideration of teacher agency at micro level including extents to which teachers resist or do not resist LiEPs and ways in which they possibly transform LiEPs. Findings in this study show that classroom-level (micro) policy enactment by Ms Nangula resulted in the creation of a classroom LiEP that she considers to be most effective in view of the social and historical realities of her classroom. That is, based on her learner's linguistic reality and needs, Ms Nangula spoke to them in English or their MT-Oshiwambo or Otjiherero. Language practices and language choices in Ms Nangula's class were largely influenced Ms Nangula's language ideology (see Excerpt 1) and her learners' linguistic needs and realities. Therefore, the school's monoglossic policy is not enacted uncontested; rather it is resisted and reimagined at micro level.

In urban multilingual contexts, monolingual LiEPs had proven to be unworkable, and the task to make them workable appeared to be left to the teachers. At Uushimba PS, and specifically in Ms Nangula's classroom, the school LiEP was unworkable because it was especially detached from the learners' sociolinguistic realities. Teacher agency should therefore not be disregarded in multilingual contexts like Uushimba PS where different interactional contexts may require different language practices. In response to varying language needs at classroom level, Ms Nangula's policy enactment has proven to be varied and defiant of the meso

language policy and ideology in place. Skilton-Sylvester's (2003) study of classroom practices in English-medium US schools has demonstrated how the deviant act of using learners' MTs in multilingual classrooms by teachers was a form of powerful teacher policy-making. Ms Nangula's classroom language practices in defiance of the school LiEP created space for MTs at classroom level irrespective of the school LiEP.

Ms. Nangula's language choices and practices have to be considered in consideration of their situatedness. They are situated in 1) the context of Namibia's apartheid history of Bantu Education as outlined in Chapter 1; 2) Namibia's linguistic make-up as a linguistically heterogeneous country, and 3) the power and prestige of English nationally, regionally (sub-Saharan Africa) and globally. In Namibia, English has great power and privilege in education and is the main language of education, which was established in the education language policy. The policy states that a criterion considered in the policy's development is: "the need for learners to be proficient enough in English, *the official language* [emphasis added], at the end of the seven-year primary school cycle in order to *gain access to further education* [emphasis added], as well as to *a language of wider communication* [emphasis added]*,"* (MBESC, 2003, p.1). We see here that, access to higher education is linguistically only possible through English. This power and prestige mean that English enjoys greater instrumental and economic power in education and the country as a whole, and this is something that indigenous languages lack.

7.2.2 Language practices in the rural classroom (Omukunda PS)

Owing to differences in linguistic makeups, language policies and practices at Omukunda PS differed from those observed at Uushimba PS. In what appears to be compliance with the national language policy, Oshindonga is the MoI at Omukunda PS in Grades 1-3, and in Grades 4-7, English is the MoI. Oshindonga is further taught as a subject while English is taught as a subject in all grades (1-7). So far, it is clear that although theoretically Namibia

has one official LiEP, schools in different contexts have different meso-level policies. Omukunda PS's teaching staff complement includes eight (8) Oshiwambo mother tongue speakers and one Silozi mother tongue speaking teacher. The Silozi-speaking teacher is fluent in Oshiwambo owing to his 16-year stay at the school. As noted earlier, the school and Ms Taati's classroom were virtually monolingual as all learners were Oshiwambo speakers.

7.2.2.1 The mother tongue as the MoI: harmonized policy and practices

Omukunda PS is located in Oshikoto Region, a historically and traditionally Oshindonga-speaking region. Oshindonga was the main language communication in the village, and communication between teachers and learners was observed to be mostly in Oshiwambo. At Omukunda PS, all subjects, other than English were taught through the medium of Oshindonga (See figures 19 and 20).

Figure 19: A learner reading Oshindonga words from the chalkboard

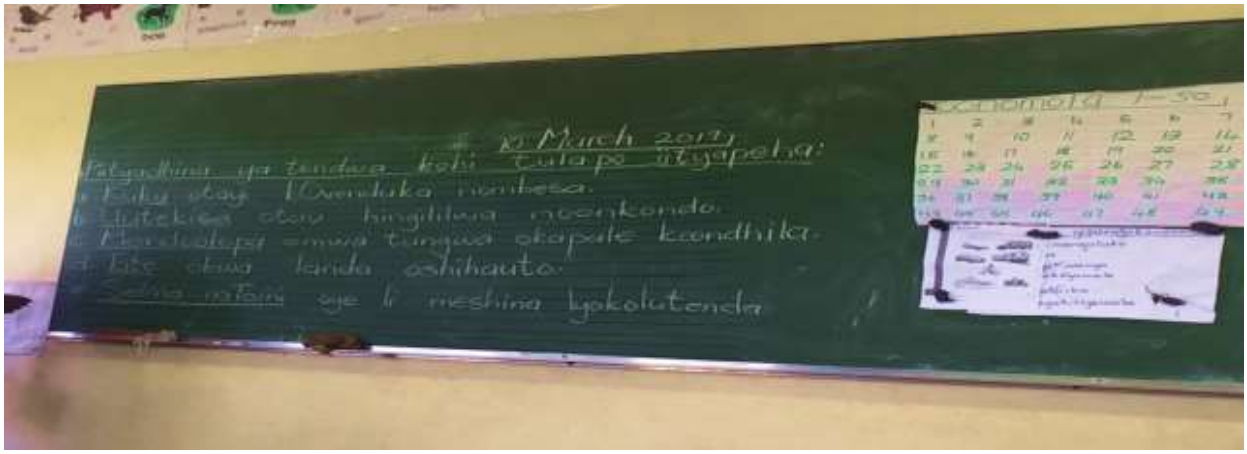

Figure 20: Environmental Studies class notes in Oshindonga

Instances of translanguaging were very few in Ms Taati's class, and these took on the form of translation of sentences and the use of common English phrases as seen in Excerpt 11. Excerpt 11 below is from an Environmental Studies class recorded on the first day of the observations. The topic of the lesson was *Means of transport*. In the interaction, the teacher was asking learners about the means of transport they use to come to school.

Except 11: The mother tongue as MoI- Environmental Studies Lesson

1. T: Omwe ya nashike ano nena sho mwa zi komagumbo? 2. Ls : Noompadhi. 3. T : Huh? 4. Ls : Noompadhi. 5. T : Noompadhi nadho nani iiyenditho. Oshike tayi vulu oku tu kutha komagumbo ndele tayi tu eta koskola? Hasho? 6. Ls : [*Silent*] 7. T : Huh? Oompadhi nadho iiyenditho nande inaye dhi kondolola ye dhi tule momambo kutya nadho osheenditho. Shaashi otadhi ku kutha megumbo e tadhi ku eta pehala penongelo. OK. Oshi li mondjila nee nga. Eewa, onda hala nee natango, miiyenditho omo ngaa mono wu lombwele ndje mo kutya: iiyenditho yini ho mono momudhingoloko gwoye nenge momidhingoloko dhetu? 8. Ls : [*Raise hands*] 9. T : Huh? To tumbula naanaa kutya, ngaye olundji ohandi mono ala…nenge sho handi mono momudhingoloko gwetu, ongaashi shike, nashike, nashike. Helena…to popi lela to tii; ngame ohandi mono… iiyenditho mbyono handi mono momudhingoloko gwetu…to tameke nomatumbulo. To tumbula nga.	T: *What (means of transport) did you come with when you came from home today?* Ls: *By foot* T: Huh? Ls: By foot T: *Then it means feet are also a means of transport. How come they can take us from home and bring us to school? Isn't it?* Ls: [*Silent*] T: Huh? The *feet are also a means of transport even if they (the authors) did notice that they are a means of transport to put them in the book. Because they can take you from home and bring you to school. OK. It is correct in that manner. I want you to tell me; amongst those means of transport which ones do you see in your community or our communities?*) Ls: [*Raise hands*] T: *Huh? Mention clearly that, I mostly see …or what I see in our community is such and such.* Helena *…mention specifically that; I see…the means of transport I see in my community…begin with a*

10. Helena: Ohandi mono… 11. T: Mokule. 12. Helena: Ngame ohandi mono iiyenditho momudhingoloko. 13. T : Ee, ngaashi? 14. Helena : Ngaashi ehauto… 15. T : Mh-uh. . . 16. Helena : Neloli. 17. T : Eloli. OK. **Sit down** ngele opo wa hulila mpo. Helena: [*Sits down*]	*sentence. Speak like that.)* Helena: *I see . . .* T: *Loudly.* Helena: *I see means of transport in the community.* T: Yes, like what? Helena: *Like cars. . .* T: Mh-uh. . . Helena: *And a lorry.* T: *A truck. OK. Sit down if that's all you had to say*.) Helena: [*Sits down*]

From the observations, it was apparent that learners understood Ms Taati's instructions in Oshindonga, and classroom participation was generally high. From the excerpt, we can see that teacher-learner interactions were primarily in Oshindonga- the MoI. By and large, language practices in Ms Taati's class appeared to be in harmony with both the national and school LiEP. English was used only briefly in concluding the interaction when the teacher instructed a learner to *sit down*. *Sit down* is a common and basic phrase that learners are likely to have learnt during the English lesson, thus its use by Ms Taati and understanding by her learners ought not to be surprising. The isolated use of common basic phrases such as *sit down*, *stand up*, *come here* etc. was observed in during the observation period. In Ms Taati's classroom, these English phrases were a part of everyday interactions, and were used in place of their Oshindonga equivalents. As seen in excerpt 11, Ms Taati immediately resorted to Oshindonga after using these phrase *sit down* thus indexing that that Oshindonga was the MoI and the preferred language of interaction between her and her learners.

Throughout the lessons, M Taati posed questions in Oshindonga and learners responded in the same language. Learners appeared to respond to questions with ease and interactions did not appear to have been inhibited by language limitations. The interaction in excerpt 11 shows that Ms Taati and her learners were able to engage in teaching and learning via the

medium of the MT. This is understandable in view of the differences in the linguistic make-up of the two classes- Ms Nangula's class was highly linguistically diverse and Ms Taati's class was virtually monolingual. Ms Taati shared a mother tongue with all her learners whereas Ms Nangula had seven languages in her class in which she was not proficient. In the post-observation interview with Ms Taati, she shed light on differences in the use of English and Oshindonga in her classroom.

Excerpt 12: "English is a really difficult language for the children"

Researcher: OK. Ngele to ya longo Oshiingilisa ongelaka… oshilongwa to shi longo, uudhigu wi ipi ho mono po? **Ms Taati**: Elaka lyOshiingilisa edhigu lela ala kuunona shaashi momudhingoloko ihamu uvika nande elaka ndjono lyOshiingilisa ngashi unene komagumbo, ohaye li tsakaneke ala unene ngele ya tameke opre-. Kuza kopre- ngaa nee taya ende taya tseya ngaa nee uutya wumwe nosho wo taye ya mo Grade 1; sho taye ya ko 2 huno, otaya tameke ngaa taya…taa…taa lesha iitya, nuutumbulo uushona. Ashike oshidhigu noonkondo. Oku uka ngaa nee ko third term hwiya oko ngaa nee haya ka tameka ya fa ngaa taye ya hwepo. **Researcher**: OK. Uuwanawa washike ho mono ongomulongi, naalongwa yoye tuu, mokulongitha elaka lyOshindonga ongomedium of instruction? **Ms Taati**: Elaka lyOshindonga ewanawa shaashi konyala iinima mbi hayi popiwa komagumbo kaakuluntu, uuna uunona wu li komagumbo, oyindji sho to ya wu yi popye moklasa oye yi tsakaneka nale komagumbo. Onkene ohaye yi dhimbulukwa mbala nohaya kambadhala oku yi tula kumwe mbala mokunyola.	**Researcher**: OK. What difficulties do you encounter when you teach them English as a subject? **Ms Taati**: English is a really difficult language for the children because it is not heard in the community; especially at home. They only encounter it (English) at pre- (primary school). From pre- (primary school) they begin to learn few words until they come to Grade 1; when they come here in Grade 2 they begin to…to read words and simple/short sentences. But it is really difficult. Going into the third term that's when they start getting better. **Researcher**: OK. What benefits do you as a teacher and your learners get in using Oshiwambo as the medium of instruction? **Ms Taati**: MSK: Oshindonga is good because by the time I teach many concepts the learners had already encountered them at home. Therefore, they (learners) remember them quickly and they try to make connections quickly in writing.

In stating "by the time I teach many concepts the learners had already encountered them at home", Ms Taati highlighted the value of pre-existing knowledge possessed by her learners prior to schooling. This pre-existing knowledge existed as a result of the learners' exposure to the MoI in the home domain. According to Spolsky (2007), the languages that children are exposed to in the home domain are useful at school as they empower learners with "established language abilities, behaviours, and values" (p.7). For Ms. Taati, there was therefore an opportunity to benefit from learners' pre-exiting language abilities. The

usefulness of this pre-existing knowledge in Ms. Taati's class was signalled by her statement, "therefore, they (learners) remember them quickly and they try to make connections quickly in writing". At policy level, we see here that the national LiEP, the school's LiEP and the learners' MTs were harmonised. Unlike in Ms Nangula's class, there was no "home-school language gap" in Ms Taati's class (Spolsky, 1974). In Namibia, learners' unfamiliarity with the MoI at primary school level has been noted to contribute to deficient performance at primary level (Swarts, 2001; Tötemeyer, 2010; Wolfaardt, 2005).

To further illustrate language practices in Ms Taati's classroom, Excerpt 13 is provided to demonstrate classroom interactions during a Mathematics lesson via the medium of the MT. In the interaction, Ms Taati was teaching about capacities using bottles of learners' *ontaku*[9] to demonstrate the capacity of different bottle sizes. The codes MTI (Mother Tongue Instruction), CE (Clarification and explanation) and AU (Assessing understanding) were applied to Excerpt 13.

Excerpt 13: The mother tongue as MoI- Mathematics Lesson

1. T: Okandini ha [*Raises bottle*] o**one litre**, oliitela yimwe ha. Omwe ka tala? 2. Ls: Ee. 3. T: [*Raises bottle*] Hano, etata lyoliitela ndi wete ndi. [*Raises another bottle*] Naahuuno ondi wete ku na ala kashona oliitela yi udhe. Oku na kashona, ashike nguno, nguno etata lyoliitela ngu. Eewa. Shampa wa tala nee uundini mbu otatu tala omitima dhiinima kutya odhi li ngiini. Ngele ando otaku tiwa kutya, tala nee e to elekanitha nee omitima dhiikwatelwa ndho. Shampa wa tala okandini ha, ontaku ndjono omu wete mpa ya hulila? 4. Ls Ee. 5. T : Huh? 6. James : Ee. 7. T : Owu wete mpa yi li? 8. Ls : Ee. 9. T : Oyi li metata lyokandini hono nenge oya pitilila metata lyokandini? 10. Ls : [*Silent*]	T: *This bottle [Raises bottle]* it is a one litre bottle. Can you see it? Ls: *Yes.* T: ([*Raises bottle]* I think this one is half a litre. [Raises another bottle] I think in this one, there isn't much left to fill the litre. There is a bit, but this one, this one is half a litre. Yes. When we look at these bottles we are looking at how the capacities of containers are. You can be asked to compare containers and identify its capacities. Can you see how far the ontaku in this bottle is?) Ls Yes. T: Huh? James: Yes. T: Can you see how far it is*?* Ls: *Yes.* T: Is the ontaku taking up half the bottle or is it more

[9] A traditional non-alcoholic drink

11. T : Tu taleni kungaye atuheni. 12. Ls: [*Look at the teacher*] 13. T: Oyi li metata nenge oyi li ngiini ano sho we yi tala ngawo? [*Pointing on the bottle*] Huno okuunene nenge huno oko kuunene? Endeleleni. Luisa… 14. Luisa: Huno oko kuunene. [*Pointing on the bottle*] 15. T: Huno okuunene. Nena osha yela kutya ontaku ndjino nenge okandini hano kake li metata. Okutya oka pitilila metata. Hasho? Nena oka pitilila metata ku uka pombada.	than half the bottle? Ls: [*Silent*] *T:* All of you look at me. Ls: [*Look at the teacher*] T: Does it take up half the bottle or how is it when you look at it? [Pointing on the bottle] Is there more on this end or is there more on this end? Hurry up. Luisa… Luisa: There is more on this side. *[Pointing on the bottle*] T: There is more (ontaku) on this side. So, it is clear that this ontaku or this bottle is not half- full. It is clear that it is more than half-full. Right? It is more than half-full.

Similar to what we saw in Excerpt 11, interactions in Ms Taati's classroom were teacher-centred with learners providing brief responses to the teachers' questions before longer feedback is provided. Ms Taati taught the lesson in the MT, and learners then provided choral *yes/no* responses. Overall, classroom participation was high, and learners were generally eager to respond to questions even when their answers were incorrect. It, however, became apparent that there were differences between Ms Taati's learners' understanding of the content. This was especially evident during learners' completion of written activities as some learners could barely write while some excelled in completing activities. Upon inquiry, Ms Taati explained that not all learners had attended pre-primary school before commencing Grade 1 and that some learners moved to the school at Grade 2 from other regions and even from a neighbouring country- Angola. Learners from other regions and Angola, she noted, were exposed to different content than what she and the school expected. In view of the school's MT policy, this presented a challenge to the teacher because although the MoI may not be a challenge, there was a need to differentiate instructions to mitigate the content comprehension gap. Even with a MoI that is harmonised with the learners' MTs, policy enactment can be hampered by factors external to it such differences in pre-existing

knowledge. So, merely teaching in a comprehensible language may not be sufficient as instruction may need to be differentiated not linguistically but content-wise.

7.2.2.2 Teaching English in mother tongue-instruction schools

As noted earlier, Omukunda PS complied with the national stipulation regarding the compulsory teaching of English as a subject. The actual realisation of this stipulation at classroom level was modified at classroom level in accordance with the learners' and Ms. Taati's limited English proficiency. This constituted policy modification from national level to the interpersonal, and illustrates the dynamic and fluid nature of LPP as it moves from one level (national, institutional and interpersonal) to another (Hornberger & Ricento, 1996). To illustrate policy modification at interpersonal/classroom level, excerpts 14-16 have been provided to show teacher-student interaction during English lessons.

7.2.2.2.1 Mind the gap: English language proficiency and interpersonal level policy modification

In this subsection, I use excerpts from different English lessons by Ms Taati to show how the teaching of English intersects with limited English proficiency. Other than the teacher, limited English proficiency was equally observed among learners. In excerpt 14, Ms Taati was teaching about modes of communication during an English lesson, and had initially explained the lesson in English before resorting to Oshiwambo. The codes EI (English Instruction), LT (Lesson Translation), CE (Clarification and explanation), AA (Activity Assessment) and AU (Assessing understanding) were applied to Excerpt 14.

Excerpt 14: "This sign is a communication for us"

1. T: Stop. This sign is a communication for us. If you find it put here to the door, and then you come, before you pass there, now you what? You see this sign. And then you, you must stop. Now you know, oh! I don't go; I must stop. Are you understand?[sic] 2. Ls: Yes. 3. T: Huh? 4. Ls: Yes. 5. T:Yes, what? **Olye ta lombwele ndje mOshiwambo? Otamu ti ala ee. Elina...** 6. Elina: Ee.	1. T: Stop. This sign is a communication for us. If you find it put here to the door, and then you come, before you pass there, now you what? You see this sign. And then you, you must stop. Now you know, oh! I don't go; I must stop. Are you understand? 2. Ls: Yes. 3. T: Huh?

7. T: Eeno shike? 8. Elina: [*Silent*] 9. T: **Onda hala to lombwele ndje kutya, ngele owa adha edhidhiliko ndjono lya tulwa mpono oto ningi ngiini? Olye ku lombwela nale omwa ninga nale ekwatathano nalyo. Simon...** 10. Simon: **Eeno, thikama**. 11. T: **Otali ti thikama. Ino ninga ngiini**? 12. Simon: **Ino ya.** 13. T: **Ino ya**. **Ohashi vulika pamwe opu na,** there is a dangerous there. Don't go; you must stop. **Ano**, it is a communication. **Nayo ocommunication yetu ndji**. **Ano otayi ku lombwele naana kutya kapu na omuntu, kapu na shike, oye ala e li po ngu maara omwa popya nale naye. Shi wa tala kutya ohoo! Otaku tiwa ngiini? Otaku tiwa nandi thikame. OK. Huh? Ano ocomputer kamu yi shi**?	4. Ls: Yes. 5. T: Yes, what? Who will tell me in Oshiwambo? You are just saying yes. Elina… 6. Elina: Yes. 7. T: Yes what? 8. Elina: [*Silent*] 9. T: I want you to tell me what should you do if you find that sign somewhere? The sign has already informed of what you have to do. You have already come into contact with it. Simon… 10. Simon: Yes, stand still. 11. T: It is saying stand still. Don't do what? 12. Simon: Don't go. 13. T: Don't go. It is possible that there is, [*Switches to English*] there is a dangerous there. Don't go; you must stop. *So*, it is a communication. This is also our means of communication. So, it is telling you that…there is no one, there is nothing, only the sign is there, but it is already communicating with you. You already see that, ohoo! What is the message? I am being told to stop. Huh? Don't you know what a computer looks like?

Teaching in this lesson was characterised by translanguaging. Ms Taati began the explanation of what a stop sign was meant for in English (Line 1). However, she then switched from English to Oshiwambo to elicit responses after receiving "Yes" and unelaborated answers from learners (Lines 3 and 4). It is evident that Ms Taati resorted to Oshindonga out of frustration. In line 7, she asked, *who will tell me in Oshiwambo? You are just saying "yes".* Ms Taati had noticed that learners were merely responding "yes" to her questions, after her English explanation, but did not appear to have understood the lesson. To assess comprehension, she asked learners to respond in Oshiwambo (Line 7). Further explanations were further provided in Oshindonga in the subsequent lines. To assess understanding one more time, she then asked in Oshiwambo- *Ino ninga ngiini? (Don't do what?).* A learner then correctly responded to the questions (Line 12) in Oshiwambo. This was done after the lesson had been re-explained in Oshiwambo.

The learner's response to the question in Oshiwambo may suggest that the learner only understood the lesson once it was explained in their MT, and she was thus able to participate in the lesson. It appears that learners' participation in the teaching-learning process could be facilitated or hindered by the MoI. By choosing to switch to Oshiwambo Ms Taati assumed that her learners were most likely to be responsive in Oshiwambo than in English. In doing so, she also offered them an opportunity to engage with her in their MT. Clearly, Oshiwambo remained a MoI even in English lessons.

In Excerpt 14, English was an obstacle to learner participation owing to the fact that, although this was an English lesson, learners did not seem to have sufficient English proficiency to actively participate in the lesson. Ms Taati's use of translanguaging can thus be understood to have multiple aims: to encourage learner participation, to deepen understandings; to build background knowledge; to differentiate among learners, and to subsequently provide feedback. Ms Taati's use of translanguaging indicates that she interpreted the language policy to be bilingual and not monolingual. That is, the use of Oshiwambo as the MoI can be extended to the teaching of English. The English lesson was thus to be taught with the help of the school's MoI. Like Ms Nangula, Ms Taati transformed the school's LiEP to include learners' MTs.

The observation in Excerpt 15 demonstrated Ms Taati's struggle to continuously teach through the medium of English, and the need to use Oshiwambo as a scaffolding tool. Therefore, although the lesson was delivered in English, extensive explanations were provided in Oshiwambo. In the excerpt below, she was asking learners to identify the modes of communication from pictures on the chalkboard. Amid conversation, she moved from English to Oshiwambo to explain what a stop sign signalled. The codes EI (English Instruction), (LT) Lesson Translation, CE (Clarification and explanation), AA (Activity Assessment) and AU (Assessing understanding) were applied to excerpt 15.

Excerpt 15: "Don't say stop, but you say, it is a sign for what?"

1. T: Radio. And the next picture? Is a what? 2. Ls: [Raise hands] 3. T: Soini… 4. Soini: Stop. 5. T: Stop. What is stop? Don't say stop, but you say, it is a sign for what? Stop. **Ano edhidhiliko ndjono tali ku lombwele kutya ngiini? Edhidhiliko tali ku lombwele kutya**, stop there, **thikama**. **Eewa**. It's OK. I want to know the picture or to know how to write the names for these different communication. Do you understand? 6. Ls: Yes. 7. T: Huh? 8. Ls: Yes. 9. T: Huh? 10. Ls: Yes. 11. T : **Opu na ngo kee uvite ko?** **12.** Ls: **Aaye**.	T: Radio. And the next picture? Is a what? Ls: [Raise hands] T : Soini… Soini : Stop. T : Stop. What is stop? Don't say stop but you say, it is a sign for what? Stop. So, it is a sign that tells you what? It is a sign that tells you that: stop there, stop. OK. It's OK. I want to know the picture or to know how to write the names for these different communication. Do you understand? Ls: Yes. T: Huh? Ls: Yes. T: Huh? Ls: Yes. T: Is there anyone who does not understand? Ls: No.

Although she posed the question regarding what a stop sign was in English (line 1), Ms Taati did not provide the answer in English, but provided it in Oshiwambo and English (line 5). Concurrently, she provided translation of the concept by stating "stop there, thikama". Translanguaging here was used as a scaffolding technique as the teacher translated subject-related terminology (Lewis, Jones & Baker, 2012). By doing this, Ms Taati helped the learners to make sense of the content quicker, and process the concept in both languages. She reverted to English in line 5 signalling that, this was an English lesson, hence English was the main language of communication. The learners seemed to have the same understanding as thus responded to the question, "do you understand?" in English line 6. Evidently, the teacher was in charge of language choice in the classroom because when she reverted to Oshiwambo in line 11, the learners responded in Oshiwambo too (line 12). By using Oshiwambo, and not English to ask: *Opuna ngo ke uviteko?* (*Is there anyone who does not understand?)* (line 11),

the teacher was making sure that the learners understood the question, and at the same time indexing that they could answer in the language that they are most expressive in- Oshiwambo. Findings in this section are similar to Garcia & Leiva's (2014) position that, translanguaging is discursively used for reinforcement, participation, elaboration of ideas, clarification and generally for as a scaffolding technique. To manifest the LiEP stipulation concerning the teaching of English, Ms Taati, like Ms Nangula, made use of her and her learners' linguistic repertoire by extending the use of Oshiwambo as the MoI to the English classroom. This language practice promoted the use of MTs in learning and reduced the home-school language gap. The teaching of English as a subject in the rural context appears to benefit from bilingual language practices as far as scaffolding is concerned.

To exemplify this further, Excerpt 16 is from the same lesson, and the interaction took place following the interaction in Excerpt 15. The teacher had instructed learners go to Page 18, and began to walk through the class to see if learners were on the correct page. As there weren't enough books, learners shared textbooks in groups. The codes EI (English Instruction), CE (Clarification and explanation), LT (Lesson Translation), AA (Activity Assessment) and AU (Assessing understanding) were applied to excerpt 16.

Excerpt 16: "Eighteen ongapi ano?"

1. T: Now, we are going look on Page 18. To look on the pictures and then you tell me: what can you see on the picture? Huh? Each group you have book. Look on Page 18. 2. Ls: [*Paging through their textbooks*] *3.* [*Teacher begins to walk through the class.]* 4. T: [*To one group*] Look on page…page. **Kamu shi oonumber?** Page 18. *5.* [*Teacher continues walking through the class.]* 6. T: [*To the class*] Eighteen **oongapi ano**? **Onumber ngapi mOshiwambo**- eighteen? Huh? **Ngele otaku tiwa** eighteen **onomola yini ano Helena…**? 7. Helena: **Omulongo nahetatu**. **8.** T : **Mokule nawa, katu uvite ko.** 9. Helena : Omulongo nahetatu. 10. T: **Omulongo nahetatu**. OK. Look on Page 18,	T: Now, we are going look on Page 18. To look on the pictures and then you tell me: what can you see on the picture? Huh? Each group you have book. Look on Page 18. Ls: [*Paging through their textbooks*] [*Teacher begins to walk through the class.]* T: [*To one group*] Look on page…page. Don't you know numbers? Page 18. [*Teacher continues walking through the class.]* T: [*To the class*] Which number is "eighteen"? What is "eighteen" in Oshiwambo- eighteen? Huh? When we talk about "eighteen", what number is it Helena …? Helena: Eighteen T: Loudly, so we can hear you! Helena: Eighteen T: Eighteen. OK. Look on Page 18, and try to look that pictures.

and try to look that pictures. 11. [*Teacher continues walking through the class.]*	[*Teacher continues walking through the class.]*

In this excerpt, the teacher once again reverted to Oshiwambo to help learners understand a concept. In this case, because most groups were still paging through their books aimlessly, it had become clear to the teacher that the learners had not (yet) mastered the number 18 in English. Clearly, the number, 18, was not new to the learners in their MT, but in English, it appeared to be unfamiliar especially when the half of the group had failed to correctly turn to Page 18. The teacher instantly asked the remainder of the class to mention the number in Oshiwambo (line 6).

Whereas the instructions to "look on page 18" (lines 1) were given in English, we notice that, to help the group of learners get to the right page quickly, the number was translated into Oshiwambo multiple times by another learner and the teacher (lines 7, 9, and 10). After this, the teacher reverted to English stating "OK. Look on Page 18, and try to look that pictures" and continued with the lesson mainly in English. Teaching English in Ms Taati's class was supported by acts of translanguaging which both the teacher and the learners used. Oshiwambo was part of the English class on a daily basis, and its use, which was always initiated by the teacher, reflected the Ms Taati's views regarding the resourcefulness of the language in the classroom. Translanguaging was necessary to sustain teaching English in Ms Taati's class.

7.2.2.3 Linguistic reality vs. language policy

The core of the dilemma we saw in excerpts 14-16 lied in the nature of the policy which stipulated English as a compulsory school subject nationwide. This stipulation is incongruent with the lived socioeconomic experiences of rural teachers and learners. At Omukunda PS, it is not reflective of the linguistic reality of the village and the children's daily language practices and needs. Hornberger and Ricento (1996) assert that it is customary practice for

LiEPs not to reflect the interests and realities of its intended consumers but of the powers at national level. As noted earlier, English does not play a meaningful role in the village nor learners' daily lives, yet the policy assumes that children would have had sufficient exposure to English prior to and outside schooling for them to learn English in the three years of lower primary education before transitioning to the upper primary level.

This study, however, shows that due to lack of exposure to the language outside and prior to schooling, teaching English solely via the medium of English limits learners' classroom participation and slows down the teaching-learning process. Namibia's language bilingual LiEP presupposes that lower primary school teachers are proficient in English as a compulsory taught subject and MTs. However, research carried out on language policy in Namibia including Diallo, 2008; Harris, 2011; Tötemeyer, 2010, as well as the current study has identified the shortage of qualified for English and MT instruction as a contributing factor to inconsistent policy enactment and poor educational outcomes. Teacher training should precede policy adoption to successfully ensure and sustain biliteracy development. Being qualified in the MT alone, i.e. Ms Taati or in English alone is not sufficient for coherent bilingual LiEP enactment. Spolsky (2007) reminds us that "proficiency in a language sets a necessary limit for language choice, and provides a strong instrument for implicit language management" (p.4). Limited language proficiency, in this case, English, restrains Ms. Taati's language choice hence the use of translanguaging even during what should be an English lesson.

7.3 Summary

In this chapter, I have demonstrated that, in the urban classroom (Uushimba PS), language practices at classroom level are characterised by extensive use of translanguaging. Translanguaging was used to bridge the communication gap between the teachers attempting to enact a monolingual policy in a multilingual class. The gap existed as a result of the institutional-level adoption a monolingual policy which was at odds with the multilingualism present at interpersonal level- the classroom.

Lastly, I have demonstrated that in the rural class (Omukunda PS), the adoption of a MT medium LiEP generally benefited the teacher and her learners. However, enacting the policy stipulation mandating the teaching of English as a subject in a polity where it is rarely encountered daily by learners and teachers proved to be difficult. In both classrooms, three key observations were made:

1. Both Ms Nangula and Ms Taati acknowledge and use their own and their learners' multilingual repertoires to negotiate policy enactment and mitigate challenges resulting from the home-school language gap.
2. A form of teacher policy-creation is thus observable at classroom level. At Uushimba PS, the official school policy was transformed from a monolingual English MoI to a multilingual MoI. At Omukunda PS, the teaching of English as a subject took place with the aid of the school's MoI-Oshiwambo.
3. Overall, discordance between the national LiEP and school language practices has been noted in this study. Furthermore, a gap between school LiEPs and classroom language practices was also observed at both schools.

In Chapter 8, I present a discussion of the findings in this study and compare the themes in this study with existing ones.

8 Chapter 8: Discussion Chapter

8.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the main findings of this study in relation to existing literature. This study specifically explored classroom appropriation and enactment of Namibia's LiEP in the urban and rural contexts. Schools in rural and urban Namibia face varying levels of linguistic diversity with urban schools being typically more linguistically diverse than rural classrooms. In addition, urban and rural schools face different challenges. This study further explored teachers' language beliefs towards the use of indigenous languages and English in education.

As discussed in Chapter 1, Namibia's constitution and official language policy set English as the official language and indigenous languages as national languages (Fourie, 1997). In education, the country's official language-in-education policy (LiEP) set indigenous languages as the media of instruction (MoI) at junior primary level (Grades 1-3), and English is the MoI from Grade 4 onwards and a taught subject throughout schooling. From these stipulations, it is apparent that Namibia's official LiEP is a transitional bilingual model advocating for the use of mother tongue education and English as a taught subject throughout schooling.

To evaluate LiEP appropriation and enactment at classroom level, the study gathered data through teacher interviews and classroom observations. Findings indicate that the national LiEP was appropriated and enacted differently in different settings-urban and rural. In Namibia, multilingualism differs between urban and rural classrooms with urban classrooms marked by high levels of linguistic heterogeneity while rural classrooms are marked by virtual monolingualism. Perhaps the most significant finding is that, despite EMI school

LiEPs, at classroom level, translanguaging was a widespread practice especially in the urban classroom. Factors including policies detached from learners' and teachers' linguistic realities and high levels of linguistic diversity influence translanguaging pedagogy. The second major finding is that teachers generally support the use of mother tongues in the classroom. This support is evidenced in their language practices and language choices which indicated a use of mother tongues at classroom level. The third and final major finding is that the provision of the MTE, commonly found in rural schools is hampered by a shortage of resources.

8.2 Translanguaging pedagogy as classroom practice

During the course of the classroom observations, it was apparent that monolingual pedagogy was not in use at neither Uushimba PS nor Omukunda PS. Similarly, in the questionnaire and in the interviews, many teachers noted that they did not employ a monolingual MoI, but adopted a translingual pedagogy during interactions with learners. Therefore, as demonstrated in chapters 5 and 6, teachers did not enact school LiEPs as is, rather they reimagined them by use of translingual classroom practices to meet their learners' linguistic needs. As a result, policy enactment at classroom level changed the school's policy orientations from a monolingual one to a bilingual/multilingual one. Using a mixed method ethnographically informed approach allowed extensive observation of trends such as translanguaging and resource availability. For example, translanguaging was recorded in all three main data collection tools, and this highlighted the pervasiveness of the phenomenon. Through the ethnographically informed approach adopted in this study, phenomena were validated through their emergence in the interviews and observations.

At Uushimba PS, English was the MoI and a taught subject, and at Omukunda PS, Oshindonga was the MoI and English was a taught subject. However, at Uushimba Primary School, deviations from the school LiEP were observed as English and mother tongues were

the MoIs, and at Omukunda PS, English as a subject was taught with the support of Oshiwambo. There were thus disparities between school LiEPs and practiced classroom policies. A key factor associated with the policy-practice gap relates to the home-school language gap (Spolsky, 1974). Findings indicate that translanguaging was primarily used as a tool to mitigate the communication barrier that arose from limited English proficiency. In interviews, teachers noted that translanguaging made communication easier because learners understood them better or quicker when spoken to in the languages they were familiar with.

8.2.1 Translanguaging and teacher policy-creation

On the question of LiEP appropriation and enactment, this study found that monolingual school LiEPs were modified at classroom level via the extensive use of translanguaging practices. According to Makalela (2016), many African countries largely educate children in languages that both teachers and learners do not completely understand. Similarly, Probyn (2005) noted that despite limited opportunities for learners to acquire English outside school, sub-Saharan African schools adopt EMI policies as a means of accommodating high linguistic diversity at classroom level. A direct result of this is a communication gap between teachers and learners during the teaching-learning process. This too is the case in Namibia where, as discussed in chapters 5 6 and 7, the enactment of monolingual LiEPs was problematic; thus teachers transformed school LiEPs during classroom interactions. This transformation is what is referred to in this chapter as *teacher-policy creation*. An example of this phenomenon in this study is found at Uushimba PS, and it is presented in Figure 21.

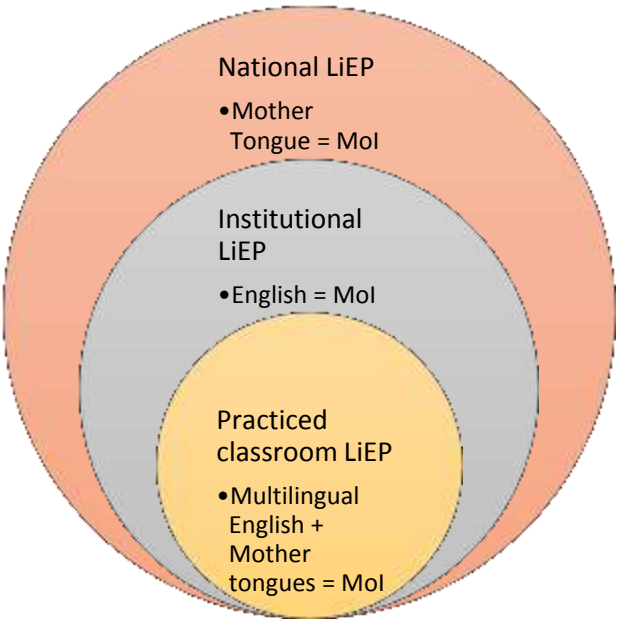

Figure 21: Policy modification at Uushimba PS

Figure 11 captures the transformation of language policy across the three layers of language policy at Uushimba PS (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996). The LiEP set at national level is first defied via the adoption of an English MoI; this policy however does not seep down to the interpersonal/classroom level where a multilingual LiEP is practiced indicating further transformation of the policy. The school policy at U3 stipulating English as the MoI at the school appears to have been detached from Ms. Nangula's classroom reality in relation to learners' linguistic needs (English proficiency) and the class' linguistic reality (linguistic diversity). The monolingual English-medium policy LiEP was incongruent with Ms. Nangula's linguistically diverse classroom reality. The reality thus is that the school's policy was unable to meet learners' linguistic needs.

The adoption of an English-medium MoI at interpersonal level suggests a re-contextualisation of the national LiEP and, ideologically, a preference for monolingual practices. These transformations across the LiEP layers highlight, 1) differences in language ideologies between policy makers and policy implementers across the layers; 2) school and teacher agency in policy appropriation and enactment, and 3) inconsistent enactment of the national LiEP. Findings indicate that policy appropriation and enactment at classroom-level

intersected with and was influenced by learners' limited exposure to the English prior to and outside school. This limited exposure resulted in limited English proficiency. In teacher interviews, limited English proficiency was cited as the primary basis for the adoption of a translanguaging pedagogy.

Previous studies have also shown that the use translanguaging to fill the home-school language gap is common in post-colonial EMI contexts. For example, the adoption of a translanguaging pedagogy has been noted in Mozambique (Chimbutane, 2014), in South Africa (Heugh, 2009; Mkhize, 2016; Makalela, 2016; Ngcobo, Ndamba, Nyangiwe, Mpungose & Jamal, 2016), in Kenya (Kiramba, 2018) and in Uganda (Altinyelken et al., 2014). In South Africa, studies (Makalela, 2015; Mkhize, 2016; Ngcobo et al., 2016) found that translanguaging facilitated knowledge transfer, ensured classroom participation and facilitated learning; therefore the integration of learners' multilingual repertoires into teaching-learning processes is advocated for. These findings are echoed by De los Reyes (2018) in his study on translanguaging in the Philippines which found that translanguaging bridged the communication between teachers and learners, and without translanguaging, communication would have been impossible. Overall, comparison with findings from other post-colonial EMI context confirms wide-use of translanguaging as a scaffolding strategy used mainly to bridge communication gaps between teachers and learners. This suggests that inclusion of indigenous languages in the teaching-learning process in post-colonial EMI contexts may no longer be negotiable at it has direct implications for classroom participation, classroom performance and overall quality of education.

Findings in this study are contrary to findings elsewhere in sub-Saharan Africa where studies suggest that teachers may choose not to consider learners' mother tongues for teaching and learning in multilingual contexts, and they thus choose to teach in an unfamiliar language. Opoku-Amankwa's (2009) study showed that teachers at a primary school in Ghana opted to

not use of learners' mother tongues, and this is said to have hindered learner participation and induced anxiety and low-confidence in learners. This differs from the findings presented in this study since although this study did not focus on exploring matters related to learners' emotional well-being and self-confidence, the use of learners' mother tongues for teaching and learning was pronounced. This was both evident during classroom observations and reported by teachers the questionnaire and in interviews. In Kenya, Mose (2017) found that, owing to a preference for English instruction, teachers did not implement the prescribed MTE policy, but taught in English instead. Together, these studies confirm that LiEPs can be implemented as they are, or they can be contested at different implementational levels (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996). They further confirm that there exist different ideologies in relation to MTE in sub-Saharan Africa, and these ideologies are closely linked to implementational practices.

Similarly, finding in this study regarding the presence of mother tongues as MoI and taught languages in Namibian schools contradicts Kamwangamalu's (2013b) assertion that "multilingual education, defined as "the use of more than two languages in education either as subject of the medium of instruction", is not practiced *at all* [emphasis added] in the (sub-Saharan Africa) region" (p.796). Firstly, theoretically, in Namibia, the official national LiEP has set mother tongues as MoIs at junior primary level. Secondly, in practice, findings in this study indicate that enactment of the national policy is inconsistent as some schools comply with the set policy (Omukunda PS) and others opt for EMI (Uushimba Primary School). However, even at EMI schools, whereas multilingual education may not be overtly stipulated through official school policy, as seen at Uushimba Primary School, multilingual education as defined Kamwangamalu (2013b) is actually practiced. Contrary to Kamwangamalu (2013b) assertion, Bunyi and Schroeder (2017) found that there is a decline in the exclusive use of colonial languages in education on the continent, so the use of indigenous languages as

MoIs and their teaching has been noted. It is likely that the use of indigenous languages on the continent may be underreported thereby undetected at surface level as it can occur rather covertly and in defiance of school and national LiEPs.

8.3 The role of agency in LiEP enactment

As key policy agents, teachers can contest, re-create or wholly comply with policies (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996; Throop, 2007). In Ms. Nangula and Ms. Taati's classes, monolingualism was contested at their initiation and under their support so as to "make sense of the learning moment" (Garcia & Leiva, 2014, p. 205). In urban multilingual contexts, monolingual LiEPs had proven to be unworkable, and the task to make them workable appeared to be left to the teachers. At Uushimba PS, and specifically in Ms. Nangula's classroom, the school LiEP was unworkable because it was especially detached from the learners' sociolinguistic realities. Both Ms. Nangula and Ms. Taati often stepped outside their schools' monoglossic ideological spaces and exemplified teacher agency in enacting LiEPs. The use and encouragement of the use of learners' MTs is a way of contesting and re-imagining monolingual policies. Policy transformation at classroom level is indicative of the agentive power that teachers, as key player in policy enactment, have and can use with regard to policy appropriation and enactment.

In both classrooms, learners were often encouraged to respond to and pose questions in their mother tongues, learners translated lessons for their peers into mother tongues, learners were asked to make connections between concepts in English and their mother tongues and the teacher translated (parts of) lessons into some mother tongues. Languages involved in this practice include Oshiwambo, Afrikaans, Otjiherero and to a lesser extent Portuguese. In so doing, Ms. Nangula and Ms. Taati and their learners appear to have carved out a translanguaging space (Garcia and Li, 2014) in what is theoretically a monoglossic linguistic

space. The notion of *space creation* is extended by Hornberger (2005) who coined the terms *ideological spaces* and *implementational spaces*. Disbray (2016) explains that *ideological spaces* are "beliefs, understandings, and discourse which can be triggered and promoted or restricted by multilingual LiEPs" (p.320). *Implementational spaces* are contexts, beyond the classroom, in which language practices take place and these spaces are influenced by and do influence ideology. Previous studies including Disbray, 2016; Duarte, 2016; Gorter & Cenoz 2017; Makalela, 2016; Vaish 2018 have highlighted the importance of creating a translanguaging space to ensure metalinguistic awareness and school performance. In this study, these "openings/spaces" were created by teachers in collaboration with their learners in order to, primarily, facilitate communication and teaching. This finding echoes of Makalela's (2015) findings that in South Africa, translanguaging was advantageous for teachers and learners alike as it aided learners' learning and enabled deeper content comprehension. This confirms that, in multilingual sub-Saharan African contexts, indigenous languages are important in ensuring and sustaining communication between teachers and learners.

Pro-indigenous language practices observed in Ms. Nangula and Ms. Taati's classrooms fill up implementational spaces with multilingual language practices. Both teaching *in* English and teaching English as a subject appeared to be challenged by learners' (and teachers') limited proficiency in the language. However, even when policy transformation of this nature is well-intentioned, they do not always mirror the intentions of policymakers (Flynn & Curdt-Christiansen, 2018). Nonetheless, I argue that in multilingual post-colonial contexts, policy transformations may mirror learners' and teachers' linguistic needs and linguistic realities. Teacher agency should therefore not be disregarded in multilingual contexts where different interactional contexts may require different language practices. For example, in response to varying language needs at classroom level, Ms. Nangula's policy enactment proved to be varied and defiant of the meso language policy and the ideology in place.

Ms. Nangula's classroom language practices, in defiance of the school LiEP, created space for MTs at classroom level irrespective of the school LiEP. This inevitably resulted in a school policy-classroom practice gap. This finding is consistent with Skilton-Sylvester's (2003) study of classroom practices in English-medium US schools which found that the deviant act of using learners' MTs in multilingual classrooms by teachers was a form of powerful teacher policy-making. In a more recent study, much closer to Namibia and in a country of similar socioeconomic and political realities, Chimbutane's (2011) study of the appropriation and enactment Mozambique's bilingual policy found that individual agency played a significant role in reshaping the country's LiEP at classroom level to the benefit of learners and the community.

In this study, learners' linguistic needs and linguistic realities and teachers' language choices and practices have to be considered with consideration of their unique context. Their linguistic needs and linguistic realities are situated in 1) the context of Namibia's apartheid history of Bantu Education as outlined in chapters 1 and 2) Namibia's linguistic make-up as a linguistically heterogeneous country, and 3) the power and prestige of English nationally, regionally (sub-Saharan Africa) and globally. In Namibia, English has great power and privilege in education, and it is the main language of education as established in the national LiEP. The policy states that a criterion considered in the policy's development is: "the need for learners to be proficient enough in English, *the official language* [emphasis added], at the end of the seven-year primary school cycle in order to *gain access to further education* [emphasis added], as well as to *a language of wider communication* [emphasis added]*,"* (MBESC, 2003, p.1). We see here that, access to higher education is linguistically only possible through English. This power and prestige mean that English enjoys greater

instrumental and economic power in education and the country as a whole and this is something that indigenous languages lack.

Teachers' roles in LiEP enactment may thus not be to simply to put policies into practice as set at national or even school level, but to interpret and appropriate them to accommodate what they consider to be their learners' linguistic needs (Johnson, 2013). Evidence presented in chapters 5, 6 and 7 highlight human agency and its role in spontaneous policy creation at classroom level. Ms. Nangula and Ms. Taati created a language policy unique to their classes in which translanguaging featured prominently. Classroom interactions drew on the teachers' as well as their learners' bilingual repertoires. Baldauf (2008) stated that until recently, LPP activities have been assumed to be macro top-down operations involving government officials as the key actors and teachers were mere implementers of top-down LiEPs. There has however been a shift in this mind-set, and Baldauf (2008: 18) states that:

> Over the past decade language planning has taken on a more critical edge and its ecological context has been given greater emphasis, leading to an increasing acceptance that language planning can (and does) occur at different level, i.e. the macro, meso and micro. This shift in focus has also led to a rethinking of agency-who has the power to influence change in these micro language planning situations.

Hence, discussions of LiEP enactment in multilingual contexts require consideration of teacher agency at micro level including extents to which teachers resist or do not resist LiEPs and ways in which they possibly transform LiEPs. Findings in this study show that classroom-level (micro) policy enactment by Ms. Nangula and Ms. Taati resulted in the creation of a classroom LiEP that they consider to be most effective in view of the social and historical realities of their classrooms. That is, based their learners' linguistic reality and needs, Ms. Nangula and Ms. Taati spoke to them in English or their mother tongues. Language practices and language choices in these classes were largely influenced the

teachers' language ideology and their learners' linguistic needs and realities. Therefore, the schools' monoglossic policies are not enacted uncontested, rather it is resisted and reimagined at micro level. In her analysis of Zambian and Nigerian language policies, Heugh (1993) concluded that, indeed English has a role to play in education, but, on its own, English cannot satisfy the manifold linguistic needs of multilingual societies (p.9). This sums up findings in this study in relation to both the urban and rural settings.

8.4 Considering the possible costs of translanguaging

As seen throughout this study, translingual classroom practices are the norm in multilingual classrooms in Namibia. From the interviews and observations, teachers commend and encourage the adoption of a translanguaging pedagogy in multilingual classrooms. Similarly, Brock-Utne (2005) noted that there is no denying that the use of multiple languages is a widespread practice in African classrooms. However, I argue that the effectiveness of this practice, as is, in the Namibian context should be re-evaluated. Translanguaging as reported in this study, although largely advantageous, is rather haphazard, unimodal, covert, and teacher-initiated. I argue that the unimodality and lack of planning that preceded translanguaging as reported in this study exposes it to some challenges as discussed below.

Thus, while recent studies into translanguaging in sub-Saharan Africa (Bagwasi, 2017; Bunyi & Schroeder, 2017; Carstens, 2016; Makalela, 2015; Mkhize, 2016; Ngomo, 2011) position translanguaging as the solution to effective teaching in multilingual contexts; I argue there are several challenges to translanguaging as a solution in the Namibian junior primary context. These challenges relate to inclusiveness, unimodality, loss of teaching time, and the reliability of learners' translations.

8.4.1 Translanguaging and partial inclusiveness

The first challenge considers the impossible attainment of complete linguistic inclusiveness via translanguaging in highly linguistically diverse contexts such as urban Namibia. That is,

dense multilingualism in urban classes means that not all learners are fluent in the additional language(s) that the teacher may be fluent in and may teach in alongside English and vice versa. Thus, while it appears that teachers do as much as they can to ensure inclusiveness, it is impossible to achieve total inclusiveness. The reality therefore is that translanguaging may ease the communication challenge for some learners, but may still exclude others. This is true in the case of Ms. Nangula's classroom where a total of eight mother tongues were spoken by her 39 learners; however, Ms. Nangula was only fluent in three of these languages. If inclusiveness is a feature or aim of translanguaging pedagogy (Garcia and Li, 2014), we have to consider how then the speakers of remaining five languages in Ms. Nangula's classroom would be included in the teaching learning process. We further have to consider the financial cost and practicality of translanguaging in highly multilingual classrooms like Ms. Nangula's.

8.4.2 Unimodal translanguaging as a challenge

The second challenge is related to the first one, and it considers the lack of multimodality in translingual practices as observed in this study. Owing to its unplanned nature, translanguaging as observed in Ms. Nangula and Ms. Taati's classes was limited to the oral discourse. Thus, learners were not exposed to translanguaging in writing or reading nor were they encouraged to respond to written activities through languages other than English. The unimodality of this practice disadvantages leaners as they are unlikely to fully benefit from the type of translanguaging which excludes the written and reading modes.

There is thus lack of continuity and skills transfer between translanguaging in oral discourse and written discourse. Garcia and Li (2014) assert that translanguaging can help learners improve their writing skills, and it is a "the web that supports students' literacy development" (p.86). In cases where translanguaging is limited to oral discourse alone, literacy development among learners is likely to be partial. Thus, whereas learners undoubtedly

benefited from translanguaging as practiced in the two classes, these benefits are unlikely to be extended to other language skills.

8.4.3 The challenge of covert, unplanned and unsupported translanguaging

As noted earlier, translanguaging is a common reality in multilingual contexts. However, it is not openly embraced be it at national level or school level. Heugh (2009) suggested that translingual practices have been stigmatised at national and institutional levels. In Namibia, translanguaging at classroom level is practiced covertly, and it is largely understudied. As a result, teachers may not fully understand how best to use it, and those who use it are likely to do so with limited freedom and support. The covert and unofficial manner in which translanguaging took place in Ms. Nangula and Ms. Taati's class meant that it took place without much support from the schools and the line ministry. Jones (2017) posits that for translanguaging to be most beneficial, teachers have to strategically plan its use in the classroom. However, it was clear during observations that translanguaging by Ms. Taati and Ms. Nangula was *ad hoc* and practiced rather covertly.

I argue that this renders this type translanguaging pedagogy prone to mishaps, underutilisation, and even misuse. The likely result is that learners and teachers alike do not reap the full benefits of translanguaging as reported in studies such as Chimbutane, 2014; Heugh, 2009; Jones, 2017; Kiramba, 2018; Makalela, 2016; Mkhize, 2016; Ngcobo et al., 2016. The ideal would be for translanguaging to be an acknowledged practice and a planned effort supported by colleagues, schools and national education stakeholders.

8.4.4 Loss of teaching time and translanguaging

The fourth challenge related to translanguaging in the Namibian context is the lost teaching time resulting from multiple translations and even re-teaching. From the interviews and observations, it was evident that a lot of time was spent on translating (parts of) lessons into

different languages and engaging learners in different languages- first from English to the teacher's mother tongue and then, where possible, to other languages spoken by the teacher. Inevitably, this is likely to result in lost teaching time as double, if not more, time is spent on the same task.

Writing on language policy in Tanzania and South Africa, Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir (2004) explained that, teachers used translations as a coping mechanism because learners did not understand the MoI (English). As a result, they noted that, "the fact that everything is repeated naturally slows down the lesson" (p.14). In addition, learners do not pay attention to the first language spoken because they know that the lesson will be translated into their mother tongues (Brock-Utne & Holmarsdottir, 2004). It was evident that lessons were slowed down especially in Ms. Nangula's class. However, if translanguaging can be acknowledged, supported and planned as advocated for in the previous section, this challenge may be countered.

8.4.5 Reliability of learners as translators

The fifth challenge pertains to the use of learners as translators. As seen in this study, learners serve as important aides in multilingual classrooms, as teachers rely on them to bridge the communication gap between the teacher and other learners whose languages they, teachers, were not proficient in. In Ms. Nangula's classroom for example, she called upon a Portuguese-speaking learner to translate for another because she (Ms. Nangula) had no proficiency in the language. The question that may arise is: how reliable is a learner's translation of academic content when the translating learner is, 1) young and inexperienced and 2) is simultaneously in the process of acquiring the same content they are required to translate? For teachers, the act of learners translating for their peers was a short-term solution to a long-standing problem; however, I argue that the solution may not be an effective one.

According to Mokibelo (2016), the effectiveness of translanguaging by anyone other than the teacher is questionable owing to lack of subject-specific expertise. In addition, she notes that translanguaging by learners serves a communicative solution and not an educative one. It is thus likely that learners as translators may not be effective for the sake of learning.

An important aspect of embracing translanguaging is ensuring its sustainability (Cenoz & Gorter, 2017). For translanguaging to be effective and sustainable in the Namibian context, it should primarily be planned at all levels of LiEP engagement- national, institutional and interpersonal. Such planning would involve acknowledgement and support of translanguaging, and this support should then cascade into a balanced use of as many learners' linguistic repertoires as possible and capacity building through the provision of translanguaging-specific teacher training. Admittedly, this would be a challenging and longitudinal task for all stakeholders.

8.5 Lack of resources for policy enactment

Resource availability is a prerequisite to effective policy implementation (Spolsky, 2004). Findings in this study found that there was a paucity of qualified indigenous and English language teachers. Although resource availability was a challenge that generally affected both English and indigenous languages, indigenous languages were worst off as basic teaching material such as worksheets, forms and curricula were in short supply. Generally, the study found that the enactment of MTE policy was hampered by a paucity of human and material resources. Although most teachers and principals in this study support MTE, they suggested that the enactment of the national MTE LiEP was deterred by a chronic shortage of qualified indigenous languages teachers, textbooks and unavailability translated resources such as worksheets and curricula.

Regarding availability of human resources, it appears that the national and school policies are detached from school and classroom realities. The national policy stating that English is a compulsory school subject throughout schooling does not appear to be coordinated with teacher-training efforts which would ensure that teachers are equipped to teach the language as a subject. For example, the national LiEP did not appear to have been made in consideration of Ms. Taati's limited English proficiency. Better coordination of the national LiEP with school and classroom realities would mean ensuring that teachers are qualified or receive in-service training to teach via the medium of indigenous languages and to teach English as a subject.

The shortage of material resources negatively affected teachers teaching *in* and teaching mother tongues as it meant that they experienced challenges not experienced by their colleagues teaching English and via the medium of English. Teachers and principals stated that indigenous languages were not held in high regard by the Ministry of Education Arts and Culture, and they therefore were under-resourced in comparison to English. The question then arises as to how indigenous languages are expected to take up their roles as MoIs when that role can be played by a better resourced and better supported language, i.e. English. The shortage of resources manifested in the form of lack of published mother tongue books and lack of translation of existing books from English. Indigenous language books are either authored or existing English books are translated into indigenous languages at the request of the Ministry of Education Arts and Culture. In the absence of authored or translated books, teachers have to translate the books themselves.

It appears that even though the government adopted an MTE policy, plans and efforts to make resources available for the realisation of the same policy remain lacking. It is then left

to teachers to translate resources irrespective of their levels of training in the said languages. Lack of indigenous language training was identified as another challenge affecting policy enactment. Lack of training can be a barrier to effective policy enactment because teachers who unable or unwilling to translate material may simply opt to teach in English thereby not enacting the MTE policy. Teachers in this study noted that teaching indigenous languages or *in* indigenous languages was comparatively more tedious owing to lack of resources and training. Lack of resources can influence language ideologies, and it was cited as a reason for lack of MTE policy enactment.

There is a need to increase the status and competitiveness of indigenous languages in order to make MTE appealing to policy implementers. The need for to increase the status and competitiveness of indigenous languages in Africa by better resourcing them has been noted in previous studies (Alidou, 2004; Kamwangamalu, 2013a, b; Mchombo, 2014). Kamwangamalu (2013a, b) argues that MTE education on the continent cannot succeed unless indigenous languages have "comparable advantages and human and material resources to those that are currently vested with English-medium education only" (p.333).

Findings in this study show that, in comparison to English, indigenous languages are under-resourced as there is a shortage of qualified teachers and material resources. At national level, English, alongside Science and Mathematics, is categorised as a key subject, and as a result of this categorisation, more resources are allocated to English than to indigenous languages. The juxtaposition of the official allocation of the role of MoI at junior primary level to indigenous languages with the prioritisation of English above indigenous languages is ironic. How will the MTE policy be enacted if mother tongues are not prioritised with regard to resource allocation? According to findings in this study, for the MTE policy to be enacted effectively and consistently, resources for teaching *in* and teaching indigenous language

should be made available and timely so. Furthermore, findings indicate that unequal availability and poor distribution of indigenous languages' resources was limiting the enactment of the MTE LiEP and influencing beliefs towards MTE. These findings are similar findings in other sub-Saharan African contexts such as in Uganda, Altinyelken et al., 2014 and in Kenya, Mwaniki, 2014.

8.6 Summary

In this chapter, I have drawn together the key findings of this study with regard to policy appropriation and enactment in Namibia and the underlying language ideologies. Briefly, findings show that LiEP appropriation and enactment results in policy modification at classroom level, and this in turn results in a policy-practice gap. As a result, intentions of policy creators at national and institutional level do not necessarily trickle down to the interpersonal level. Rather, at interpersonal level, teachers employ their agentive power to create classroom-specific LiEPs.

Translanguaging was at the centre of classroom-level policy re-creation. Teachers argued that translanguaging enabled meaning-making, ensured learner participation and inclusion and generally facilitated the teaching learning process by narrowing the home-school language gap. However, I have highlighted the importance of re-evaluating translanguaging as practiced by participants in this study so as to make it most beneficial for teachers and learners. A re-evaluation would include better planning and, capacity building and support of translanguaging pedagogy at national, institutional and personal levels of LiEP enactment.

It was shown in this study that there is a close connection between teachers' and learners' language needs and language realities and classroom practices. Tension between school LiEPs and teachers' and learners' language needs and language realities resulted in policy transformation at classroom level. This is understood to highlight the intersection of teacher

agency and language beliefs with policy engagement at classroom level. Thus, for example, teachers opposed to monolingual English-medium policies defied such policies by adopting multilingual LiEPs at classroom level. The study further shows that enactment of the MTE LiEP is undermined by insufficient availability of human and material resources. The inequitable distribution of resources between English and indigenous languages exposes the national MTE LiEP to inconsistent and ineffective enactment.

The chapter that follows concludes the study by presenting the implications and recommendations of the study. The chapter will conclude with an acknowledgement of the study's limitations and a discussion of future research directions.

9 Chapter 9: Conclusions and Recommendations

9.1 Introduction

This chapter concludes the thesis by presenting a summary of the study's findings and conclusions in view of the main findings of the study. It further presents recommendations aimed at enhancing LiEP engagement in urban and rural Namibian contexts. The chapter further suggests areas for further studies to address questions not addressed in this study.

The main aim of the study was to explore factors involved in LiEP enactment in urban and rural Namibian contexts. This exploration specifically sought to explore classroom language practices and teachers' language beliefs in relation to LiEP enactment. This study was motivated by the desire to understand the enactment of Namibian LiEP which appears to support mother tongue education at the junior primary level, but appeared to be realised differently in different contexts. I was especially keen to understand how teachers and principals in urban and rural contexts, where socioeconomic and linguistic realities varied, engaged with and responded to the same national LiEP. The study is significant as it presents: 1) primary data gathered from policy implementers- teachers and school principals; 2) data gathered via mixed-method approach involving a questionnaire, interviews and classroom observations which was triangulated, and 3) data gathered from two distinct contexts- the urban and rural.

Overall, findings indicate the processes of interpreting, appropriating and enacting Namibia's LiEP are complex and differ from teacher to teacher, school to school and between the urban and rural settings. Findings concerning teachers' and principals' beliefs towards the role of indigenous languages and English in education vary. Regarding beliefs and classroom language practices, it was found that there was tension between participants' language ideologies and their sociolinguistic realities. That is, in some cases, school LiEPs were not

reflective of learner' linguistic realities and need. This was the case at many EMI schools which sought to teach learners in a language that they had minimal exposure to before and outside school (English) instead of their mother tongues as prescribed in the policy. Further tension was noted between school LiEPs and teachers' linguistic realities. In these cases, school LiEPs had prescribed a MoI, or a taught language typically English which teachers were not proficient in enough to use as MoI. These tensions resulted in a policy-practice gap.

9.2 Summary

Chapter 3 presents the reviewed literature, and it shows that, at classroom level, policies are not always enacted at classroom level as intended by policy creators (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; Hornberger & Ricento, 1996). Instead, policy enactment is influenced by various factors across levels of policy realisation (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; Hornberger & Ricento, 1996). The literature further examined the nature of language policy and it revealed that language policy is not exclusively a linguistic phenomenon; rather it involves both linguistic and "extra-linguistic" factors both of which are important in its assessment (Spolsky, 2004, 2007, 2012). The literature further indicated that language use in multilingual settings like Africa is fluid and complex, and should therefore be assessed with consideration of situatedness (Baker, 2006; Batibo, 2005; Canagarajah, 2006). Below, I present a summary of the key findings of this study.

Challenges related to the adoption mother tongue education policies in sub-Saharan African countries such as Botswana, Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique, South Africa, Zambia, and Ghana are well-documented (Adegbija,2004; Baldauf Jr & Kaplan, 2004; Heugh, 2009; Kamwangamalu, 2013a, b; Kiramba, 2018; Mokibelo, 2016; Opoku-Amankwa, 2009). A review of the literature indicates that a common challenge in all these countries concerns the issues of consistent and effective policy enactment. In Namibia, studies including Ausiku,

2010; Dlamini, 2000; Harris, 2011; Kgabi, 2012; Nicodemus, 1997; Wolfaardt, 2005 place an emphasis on assessing policy enactment as done in one locality and employed either questionnaires or interviews as data collection instruments. Studies comparing the urban and rural experiences and involving questionnaires, interviews and classroom observations in Namibia have not been noted. Therefore, this study adopted a mixed-method ethnographically informed approach in order to gain a deeper understanding of teachers' and principals' policy engagement experiences at school and classroom level. The approach allowed for an illumination of the extent to which the language beliefs of teachers and principals, as key policy enactors, influence their engagement with and response to the national policy.

To examine teachers' and principals' language beliefs and assess policy interpretation, face-to-face interview were undertaken. In addition, in order to capture policy interpretation, appropriation and enactment, classroom practices were studied through a survey and classroom observation. The data gathered through the questionnaire, interviews and classroom observations was triangulated; simultaneously, data gathered from urban and rural schools was compared so as to identify similarities and differences. The literature review was used analyse findings in this study and locate the findings within existing literature.

9.3 Conclusions and Recommendations

9.3.1 Supporting and enhancing the role of indigenous languages in education

9.3.1.1 Conclusions

Conclusions in this study generally confirm findings of previous studies. Regarding resource availability, the literature asserts that the availability of human and material resources is a pre-requisite for LiEP enactment (Probyn, 2005; Spolsky, 2004, 2017). In this study, it was noted that the paucity of qualified teachers and teaching resources such as textbooks remains a hindrance to mother tongue instruction and LiEP enactment in Namibia. Furthermore, it

was found that, this challenge should be particularly understood with consideration of the advantageous categorisation of English as a "key subject" alongside Mathematics and Science. Since indigenous languages, which are the MoI at junior primary level, do not receive the same prioritisation, the distribution of resources between them and English was inequitable. Resultantly, while resources were generally made available for the teaching of English, indigenous languages faced grave challenges in this regard. The categorization of English as a "key subject" suggests an ideological prioritisation of English at the expense of all other languages in the country. It further contributes to positive beliefs towards English and its role in education and a continued stigmatisation of indigenous languages and their role in education (Bunyi, 2008; Kembo, 2014). In this study, it was noted that schools and teachers may not implement Namibia's LIEP due to the shortage of resources. Furthermore, while many schools and teachers were found to be enacting the MTE policy, they were disheartened by the challenges they faced emanating from, amongst others, the shortage of resources.

9.3.1.1.1 Recommendations

In Namibia, for the enactment of the national LIEP to be enhanced in both urban and rural schools, greater efforts have to made towards supporting and empowering the role of indigenous languages in education. In Africa, indigenous languages typically lag behind their more prestigious counterparts such as English, Portuguese and French in so far as codification, status, functions of use and they face negative language beliefs (Batibo, 2005; Barongo-Muweke, 2016). Thus, in the long run, resource allocation and capacity building may thus have important implications for the MTE policy in the country. Therefore, greater efforts are needed ensure that role and status of indigenous languages in education in Namibia are clearly outlined, supported and enhanced across all layers of LPP - national, institutional and interpersonal. These efforts would include: procuring and distributing

indigenous languages resources and providing training to teachers in MTE. A key policy priority should therefore be to align the national LiEP with indigenous languages resource allocation plans backed up by coherent and practical strategic implementation plans. A reasonable approach to tackle resource allocation would be to capacitate indigenous languages, as the set MoIs at junior primary level, through resource allocation in a manner similar to what is seen with English. This would require political will, financial resources, careful planning and ongoing evaluation. Improved resource allocation to indigenous languages would help to ensure that that at institutional and interpersonal levels, teachers have the teaching resources necessary to implement the MTE policy.

The literature posits that the role of indigenous languages in education and the enactment of MTE policies in Africa's development are closely related to the continent's use of its indigenous languages in education (Batibo, 2005; Barongo-Muweke, 2016; Kamwangamalu, 2009; Mchombo, 2014). Therefore, indigenous languages should be supported and empowered to effectively take up their role, when assigned as such, of medium of instruction.

9.3.2 Towards a supported and planned translanguaging pedagogy

9.3.2.1 Conclusions

Regarding policy appropriation, enactment and the role of teachers in policy enactment, the literature review revealed that teacher agency influences the extent to which LiEPs are enacted at classroom level (Baldauf, 2008; Chimbutane, 2011; Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; Throop, 2007; Saxena & Martin-Jones, 2013). It emerged from the study that high levels of linguistic diversity and insufficient proficiency in the taught language or MoI were barriers to the enactment of school policies. Thus, teachers adopted a translanguaging pedagogy to bridge the communication gap between them and their learners. As noted in Chapter 8, it became apparent that at EMI schools, translanguaging as practiced by teachers was amongst others: unplanned, covert, unsupported, tedious, unimodal and unreliable in nature. Equally,

the use of translanguaging was not preceded by training related to the use of a translanguaging pedagogy.

9.3.2.2 Recommendations

The second recommendation, related to the first, is that capacity building amongst junior primary teachers should be prioritised. Specifically, training should be offered to teachers regarding the use of translanguaging pedagogy in their classrooms. As demonstrated in chapters 7 and 8, translanguaging was common practice in many teachers' classrooms.

It is unlikely that translanguaging practices in schools can be disregarded or regulated away; therefore, this study points to a need to complement teachers' current practices by providing training regarding the use integration of translingual practices into the teaching-learning process. Overall, teachers and learners could benefit from the use of a coordinated translanguaging pedagogy as such pedagogy would serve learners linguistic needs better especially in highly linguistically diverse urban schools.

Provision of in-service training regarding the incorporation of learners' mother tongues into teaching practice at junior primary level is likely to improve the efficiency of current translanguaging practices by ensuring better planning and support for teachers and learners alike thereby reducing the time spent on the practice. Unless translanguaging is acknowledged as a reality of the Namibian multilingual classroom and thus supported at all three levels of LPP, its use is likely to remain covert and error-ridden.

Recognition and support from all three levels of LPP is important to ensure that efforts are holistic, aligned and streamlined. To ensure context- specific and context-appropriate planning and support, the approach should consider the three levels of LPP engagement (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996), and adopt a bottom-up approach. This would mean that planning should be conducted first at interpersonal level in collaboration with stakeholders at

institutional and national levels before it is conducted at institutional and national levels. In practice, teachers, school principals and parents/guardians would outline school language policies and agree on a school-specific practice. The involvement of parents/guardians would ensure that school LiEPs reflect the desires of school communities, mirror school communities' linguistic makeups and that parents are actively involved in their children's education. Parental involvement is important because language policies can close this door for parents. For examples, parents cannot help their children with homework if it is only in a language that they and or their children are not proficient in.

The proposed exercise would undoubtedly be challenging, but it would offer an opportunity for school language policies to be more coordinated with learners and teachers linguistic needs and realities. This recommendation is primarily based on the evidence from this study that: 1) policy engagement is highly context-specific, 2) stakeholders at local level have a greater awareness of their learners' and teachers' linguistic needs, and 3) irrespective of what is planned at national level, interpersonal level stakeholders, specifically teachers, have the greatest influence on policy enactment. It is for these reasons that interpersonal level stakeholders' input should be prioritised. Equally, because no two classrooms or schools are the same, interpersonal level stakeholders should be empowered to influence the teaching-learning process at their specific levels. To ensure coherence at national level, interpersonal input and processes should be coordinated and aligned with national education guidelines and frameworks. For example, the number of subjects and teaching hours per subject set at national level should be adhered to nationally.

9.3.3 Language teacher-training for better policy realisation

9.3.3.1 Conclusions

It was established in this study that the paucity of qualified language teachers is one of the main reasons why some schools were not enacting the national MTE policy. As a result, participants were of the view that the use of indigenous languages as MoIs was improbable as they could not find teachers trained to teach via the medium of these languages. Since there were more teachers trained to teach in and to teach English, the adoption of monolingual an EMI policy was observed. Similarly, at schools where the MTE policy was being enacted, principals and teachers pointed to a need for further teacher-training for teaching *in* and teaching indigenous languages. Availability of qualified indigenous language teachers and capacity building intersected with language beliefs. This was evident in the fact that participants' beliefs towards the role of indigenous languages in education were significantly positive; however, the lack of support in the form of poor resource allocation and capacity building negatively influenced these beliefs. For example, teachers noted that teaching indigenous languages and or using them as MoIs was a challenge compared to English. An implication of this is the possibility that schools currently implementing the MTE policy may be prompted to cease doing so, and those not currently enacting the policy may not see the need to do so.

9.3.3.2 Recommendations

Greater efforts are needed to ensure that LiEP stipulations are meaningful and backed-up by resource allocation including human resources. A teacher should have sufficient knowledge of a language which would in turn give him/her confidence to teach the language and if necessary via the same language. It is for this reason that it is recommended that teachers receive language-specific in-service training which would enhance their language and communication skills. This training is a necessity both in relation to indigenous and English, and it would equip teachers with the knowledge requisite for teaching in and via English and

MoIs. By extension, such training would mean that the current LiEP is "enactable" since the teaching of mother tongues and their use as MoI is directly tied to the availability of trained teachers. The government through the Ministry of Education Arts and Culture (MoEAC), the National Institute for Education Development (NIED) should spearhead efforts in this regard. All recommendations made above should be made with consideration of the three layers of LPP and their intersectionality so as to identify practical and comprehensive means of ensuring policy realisation.

9.4 Limitations of the study

It should be borne in mind that the two classes observed, and the limited number of teachers and principals surveyed and interviewed as part of this study constitute a limitation of this study. One of the limitations of this study concerns the sample size; the study focused on a limited sample of schools, teachers and principals in Namibia. This was an ethnographically-informed study, and as such, it was limited in scope and sample size. Thus, a limitation of this study is that, unlike ethnographic studies, observations and interactions with participants were limited to schools- specifically two classrooms. However, a thicker description could have emerged had observations and interactions been extended to more classrooms and even beyond the classroom so as to present a more in-depth view of language practices by different target groups. Through such an ethnographic study, it would have been possible to account for divergent beliefs and experiences and to understand and account, for example, patterns and roles of different languages amongst parents and learners. Hence, for example, establishing learners' and parents' policy engagement was beyond the scope of this study. Equally, an evaluation of learners' and parents' policy engagement in the home and community at large would provide a more holistic picture of policy engagement in varied domains.

A similar limitation of the study relates to the duration of the observations. Classroom observation at each of the two schools lasted for approximately three weeks. A longer observation period may have provided richer data, and may have pointed to extent of the prevalence of observed practices. The section that follows outlines possible research areas in view of the above limitations. Future research direction

In view of the findings and limitations of this study, further research is recommended to fill existing gaps that this study did not fill. A study is needed to explore junior primary learners' views and experiences of translanguaging pedagogies at schools where such a pedagogy is in place. Such a study would seek to concurrently examine Namibian learners' and teachers' views of the practice so as to compare teachers' intentions and perceptions of the effectiveness of translanguaging with learners' actual experiences of the practice. Learners' experiences of translanguaging would be indicative of the effectiveness of the practice for the receivers of the practice.

Globally, there are questions about the effectiveness and long-term benefits of translanguaging in education. To address such questions, further research in the form of a longitudinal and larger scale study is required to determine the impact of the use of a translanguaging pedagogy on learners as they move to subsequent phases of education at which national LiEP has set English as the sole MoI. Such a study would examine the long-term efficacy and benefits of the translanguaging on the teaching-learning process post junior primary level in Namibia.

It was beyond the scope of this study to explore parents and learners' experiences and views pertaining to the current LiEP. Therefore, a study similar to this one is also needed to fully understand language beliefs and views of the current LiEP among learners, parents/guardians

and teachers and school principals. The study would assess parents' and learners' views the role of indigenous languages and English in education in Namibia.

Overall, this study focused on a case study of two schools in view of policy engagement as a multi-layered yet context-specific undertaking. However, more studies are needed to explore language policy engagement processes involving different locations, levels of education and policy stakeholders in private and public schools.

9.5 Concluding remarks and implications of the study

The findings of this study have drawn attention to the importance of stakeholder engagement and monitoring and evaluation in LiEP. This study has shown that policy engagement and language beliefs in the urban and rural contexts differ, and they are influenced by different factors. It has further shown that the distribution of resources between English and indigenous languages is inequitable, and this raises intriguing questions regarding government's commitment towards enactment of the policy which it created. Therefore, stakeholders in LiEP in Namibia should carefully and systematically monitor and evaluate the current policy and its realisation potential at institutional and interpersonal levels of LiEP with consideration of the urban and rural implementation contexts. This evaluation should be coupled with nation-wide review of the current policy interpretation, appropriation, and enactment practices at institutional and interpersonal levels.

Monitoring, evaluation and review exercises are especially needed to ensure that the policy goal which states: "education should promote the language and cultural identity of learners through the use of mother tongue as medium of instruction in Grades 1-3 and the teaching of mother tongue throughout formal education" (MBESC, 2003, p.3) is either amended or supported for realisation. In addition, the current policy document was drafted 16 years ago,

under different social and economic conditions; hence, a review may help us to find new ways of educating the Namibian child. Findings indicating some resistance to MTE may be taken indicate that greater efforts are needed to sensitise teachers, principals and the Namibian public at large regarding the value of mother tongue education and the role of indigenous languages noted in numerous studies. Overall, in light of findings of this study, it can be argued that teachers contest and transform policies that are not in tune with their lived linguistic realities. From these findings, teachers' agentive power policy engagement is apparent. It appears that teachers perceive their role in LiEP engagement as not merely that of reproducing policies as set at national level, but to, where necessary, transform unrelatable policies to meet their learners' diverse linguistic and communicative needs. Therefore, there is a need to assess language policy enactment with consideration of the fact that teachers can modify, resist or enact LiEPs at classroom level. In multilingual contexts, factors such learners' and teachers' language proficiency, availability of teaching resources, language beliefs and linguistic heterogeneity at classroom level can influence policy enactment.

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11 Appendices

Appendix 1: Ethical Approval Form

University of Reading
Institute of Education
Ethical Approval Form A (version February 2014)

Tick one:

Staff project: ___ PhD __√_

Name of applicant (s): Selma Ashikuti

Title of project: The enactment of the language-in-education policy in Namibia: The Hegemony of the English Language over Indigenous Languages

Name of supervisor (for student projects): Dr Xiao Lan Curdt-Christiansen

Please complete the form below including relevant sections overleaf.

	YES	NO
Have you prepared an Information Sheet for participants and/or their parents/carers that:		
a) explains the purpose(s) of the project	X	
b) explains how they have been selected as potential participants	X	
c) gives a full, fair and clear account of what will be asked of them and how the information that they provide will be used	X	
d) makes clear that participation in the project is voluntary	X	
e) explains the arrangements to allow participants to withdraw at any stage if they wish	X	
f) explains the arrangements to ensure the confidentiality of any material collected during the project, including secure arrangements for its storage, retention and disposal	X	
g) explains the arrangements for publishing the research results and, if confidentiality might be affected, for obtaining written consent for this	X	
h) explains the arrangements for providing participants with the research results if they wish to have them	X	
i) gives the name and designation of the member of staff with responsibility for the project together with contact details, including email . If any of the project investigators are students at the IoE, then this information must be included and their name provided	X	
k) explains, where applicable, the arrangements for expenses and other payments to be made to the participants	X	
j) includes a standard statement indicating the process of ethical review at the University undergone by the project, as follows: 'This project has been reviewed following the procedures of the University Research Ethics Committee and has been given a favourable ethical opinion for conduct'.	X	
k)includes a standard statement regarding insurance: "The University has the appropriate insurances in place. Full details are available on request".	X	
Please answer the following questions		
1) Will you provide participants involved in your research with all the information necessary to ensure that they are fully informed and not in any way deceived or misled as to the purpose(s) and nature of the research? (Please use the subheadings used in the example information sheets on blackboard to ensure this).	X	
2) Will you seek written or other formal consent from all participants, if they are able to provide it, in addition to (1)?	X	
3) Is there any risk that participants may experience physical or psychological distress in taking part in your research?		X
4) Have you taken the online training modules in data protection and information security (which can be found here: http://www.reading.ac.uk/internal/imps/Staffpages/imps-training.aspx)?	X	
5) Have you read the Health and Safety booklet (available on Blackboard) and completed a Risk Assessment Form to be included with this ethics application?	X	
6) Does your research comply with the University's Code of Good Practice in Research?	X	

	YES	NO	N.A.
7) If your research is taking place in a school, have you prepared an information sheet and consent form to gain the permission in writing of the head teacher or other relevant supervisory professional?	X		
8) Has the data collector obtained satisfactory DBS clearance?			X
9) If your research involves working with children under the age of 16 (or those whose special educational needs mean they are unable to give informed consent), have you prepared an information sheet and consent form for parents/carers to seek permission in writing, or to give parents/carers the opportunity to decline consent?	X		
10) If your research involves processing sensitive personal data[10], or if it involves audio/video recordings, have you obtained the explicit consent of participants/parents?	X		
11) If you are using a data processor to subcontract any part of your research, have you got a written contract with that contractor which (a) specifies that the contractor is required to act only on your instructions, and (b) provides for appropriate technical and organisational security measures to protect the data?			X
12a) Does your research involve data collection outside the UK?	X		
12b) If the answer to question 12a is "yes", does your research comply with the legal and ethical requirements for doing research in that country?	X		
13a) Does your research involve collecting data in a language other than English?		X	
13b) If the answer to question 13a is "yes", please confirm that information sheets, consent forms, and research instruments, where appropriate, have been directly translated from the English versions submitted with this application.			X
14a. Does the proposed research involve children under the age of 5?		X	
14b. If the answer to question 13a is "yes": My Head of School (or authorised Head of Department) has given details of the proposed research to the University's insurance officer, and the research will not proceed until I have confirmation that insurance cover is in place.			X
If you have answered YES to Question 3, please complete Section B below			

PLEASE COMPLETE **EITHER SECTION A OR B** AND PROVIDE THE DETAILS REQUIRED IN SUPPORT OF YOUR APPLICATION, THEN SIGN THE FORM (SECTION C)

A: My research goes beyond the 'accepted custom and practice of teaching' but I consider that this project has **no** significant ethical implications.	X

Give a brief description of the aims and the methods (participants, instruments and procedures) of the project in up to 200 words. Attach any consent form, information sheet and research instruments to be used in the project (e.g. tests, questionnaires, interview schedules).

Please state how many participants will be involved in the project: 120-150 participants will be involved in the survey and 20 teachers will be involved in the interview and observational study.
This form and any attachments should now be submitted to the Institute's Ethics Committee for consideration. Any missing information will result in the form being returned to you.

The aim of this study is to assess the how the language-in-education policy in Namibia is enacted at the lower primary phase of education and the beliefs of teachers towards the role of Namibian indigenous languages and English in education. Data will be collected via the use of multiple methods as I will combine interviews, questionnaires, observations and document analysis. This is necessitated especially by the fact that the study poses various questions that cannot be sufficiently answered via the use of one method.

The study will take place in two phases- survey and the observational study. In the first phase of the study, only questionnaires will be employed and this will involve 120-150 participants. The questionnaires will be collected from a larger sample of both heads of languages departments and teachers across various regions of Namibia. The questionnaire allows me to cover a broad range of topics such as teacher training, teachers' beliefs, policy awareness and practical school and classroom challenges in the study. The second

[10] Sensitive personal data consists of information relating to the racial or ethnic origin of a data subject, their political opinions, religious beliefs, trade union membership, sexual life, physical or mental health or condition, or criminal offences or record.

phase involves classroom observation and in-depth interviews of selected teachers to understand their beliefs toward and ideological positions of the language-in-education policy. Interviews will be employed on an ongoing basis- before and after the classroom observations. Ongoing interviews will help me get a holistic understanding of not only classroom practice but also participants' views and beliefs. Both interviews and classroom observations will be audio-recorded. The schools involved in the study will be located in the regions that are part of the study and will be selected via convenience sampling. Chosen schools will include urban and rural schools, schools serving privileged, underprivileged areas and schools located in highly multilingual areas as well as those in relatively less multilingual areas will also be selected.

Please note that the intention is to use the same information/consent forms for both the pilot and main study, modified as appropriate.

B: I consider that this project **may** have ethical implications that should be brought before the Institute's Ethics Committee.	

Please provide all the further information listed below in a separate attachment.

1. title of project
2. purpose of project and its academic rationale
3. brief description of methods and measurements
4. participants: recruitment methods, number, age, gender, exclusion/inclusion criteria
5. consent and participant information arrangements, debriefing (attach forms where necessary)a clear and concise statement of the ethical considerations raised by the project and how you intend to deal with then.
6. estimated start date and duration of project

This form and any attachments should now be submitted to the Institute's Ethics Committee for consideration. Any missing information will result in the form being returned to you.

C: SIGNATURE OF APPLICANT:

I have declared all relevant information regarding my proposed project and confirm that ethical good practice will be followed within the project.

Signed: Print Name: Selma Ashikuti Date: 27 May 2015

STATEMENT OF ETHICAL APPROVAL FOR PROPOSALS SUBMITTED TO THE INSTITUTE ETHICS COMMITTEE

This project has been considered using agreed Institute procedures and is now approved.

Signed: Print Name: Andy Kempe Date 5.7.15
(IoE Research Ethics Committee representative)*

* A decision to allow a project to proceed is not an expert assessment of its content or of the possible risks involved in the investigation, nor does it detract in any way from the ultimate responsibility which students/investigators must themselves have for these matters. Approval is granted on the basis of the information declared by the applicant.

Appendix 2: Risk Assessment Form

University of Reading
Institute of Education
Risk Assessment Form for Research Activities February 2014

Select one:
PGR project: □

Name of applicant (s): Selma Ashikuti

Title of project: The enactment of the language-in-education policy in Namibia: The Hegemony of the English Language over Indigenous Languages

Name of supervisor (for student projects): Dr Xiao Lan Curdt-Christiansen

A: Please complete the form below

Brief outline of Work/activity:	The aim of the study is to examine how the language-in-education policy in Namibia is enacted at lower primary level of schooling. In addition, the study aims to examine teachers' beliefs toward and ideological positions of the language-in-education policy. The study is solely focused on the lower primary phase of school in Namibia (Grades 1-3). The study has the following major aims: • to examine how the language-in-education policy in Namibia is enacted in primary schools in selected regions of the country; • to investigate beliefs of teachers and heads of languages departments in schools in the selected regions towards the role of Namibian indigenous languages and English in education and; • to investigate the distribution of beliefs towards the role of indigenous languages and English in education . The study will take place in two phases- survey and the observational study. In the first phase of the study, only questionnaires will be employed and this will involve 120-150 participants. The questionnaires will be collected from a larger sample of both heads of languages departments and teachers across various regions of Namibia. The questionnaire allows me to cover a broad range of topics such as teacher training, teachers' beliefs, policy awareness and practical school and classroom challenges in the study. The second phase involves classroom observation and in-depth interviews of selected teachers to understand their beliefs toward and ideological positions of the language-in-education policy. Interviews will be employed on an ongoing basis- before and after the classroom observations. Ongoing interviews will help me get a holistic understanding of not only classroom practice but also participants' views and beliefs. Both interviews and classroom observations will be audio-recorded. The schools involved in the study will be located in the regions that are part of the study and will be selected via convenience sampling. Chosen schools will include urban and rural schools, schools serving privileged, underprivileged areas and schools located in highly multilingual areas as well as those in relatively less multilingual areas will also be selected. Finally, document analysis of the *Language Policy for Schools is Namibia* and the *Education for All (EFA): National Plan of Action* will be undertaken. Both documents are readily available to the public via the Ministry of Education's website and will be accessed therefrom. A thorough analysis of the two documents will provide a more in-depth understanding of documents most specifically their aims, challenges and limitations. Audio recorded classroom discourse will not reveal the identities of the participants. It will not place children and teachers at any risk. But before the collection of data, informed consent forms will be sent to teachers and parents. The participants will

	be requested to complete and sign the informed consent form as an indication their willingness to participate in the survey. The researcher will contact the school principals to find out if prospective participants at their respective schools have chosen to take part in the study. The researcher will then visit the schools at which participants have shown willingness to take part in the study and collect data at a time most convenient to the school and participants. Data will be collected on school premises. All data collected will be held in strict confidence and no real names will be used in this study or in any subsequent publications. Data collected in the study will be anonymised- no real names will be used in this study or in any subsequent publications. Although children will be present in classrooms during the structured observation; the focus of the observations is the teacher, and children will not be directly involved in the study. Data will be treated with the highest level of confidentiality. Research records will be stored securely in a locked filing cabinet and on a password-protected computer and only the researcher will have access to the records. The data will be destroyed securely once the findings of the study are written up. Namibia's Ministry of Education, Arts and Culture has an ethical clearance measure in place, and consent for carrying out the study will be sought from the said ministry as well (in addition to consent sought from UoR). There exists therefore double control measure in ethical control and risk assessment.

Where will data be collected?	In primary schools and combined schools located in Namibia.

Significant hazards:	There are no known risks to the participants, myself or my supervisor. The schools themselves are responsibility for ensuring that school grounds are safe working areas.

Who might be exposed to hazards?	There are no known risks to the participants, myself or my supervisor.

Existing control measures:	The study will be carried out in classrooms on school premises. The classrooms fall within the school's Health & Safety responsibilities.

Are risks adequately controlled:	Yes □ No ☐

If NO, list additional controls and actions required:	Additional controls	Action by:

B: SIGNATURE OF APPLICANT:

I have read the Health and Safety booklet posted on Blackboard, and the guidelines overleaf.
I have declared all relevant information regarding my proposed project and confirm risks have been adequately assessed and will be minimized as far as possible during the course of the project.

Signed: Print Name: Selma Ashikuti Date: 27 May 2015

STATEMENT OF APPROVAL TO BE COMPLETED BY SUPERVISOR (FOR UG AND MA STUDENTS) **OR** BY IOE ETHICS COMMITTEE REPRESENTATIVE (FOR PGR AND STAFF RESEARCH).

This project has been considered using agreed Institute procedures and is now approved.

Signed: Print Name: Andy Kempe Date 5.7.15

* A decision to allow a project to proceed is not an expert assessment of its content or of the possible risks involved in the investigation, nor does it detract in any way from the ultimate responsibility which students/investigators must themselves have for these matters. Approval is granted on the basis of the information declared by the applicant.

Appendix 3: Request to Conduct Research (Pilot Study)

University of Namibia, Private Bag 13301, Windhoek, Namibia
340 Mandume Ndemufayo Avenue, Pioneerspark
☎ +264 61 206 3111; URL - http//www.unam.edu.na

The Director: Ministry of Education Arts and Culture

Khomas Region

Windhoek, Namibia

RE: Request for Permission to Conduct Research

Dear Director,

I am a lecturer at the University of Namibia and a registered PhD student at the Institute of Education at the University of Reading, UK. I am supervised by Dr Xiao Lan Curdt-Christiansen. The topic of my research is: *The enactment of the language-in-education policy in Namibia: The Hegemony of the English Language over Indigenous Languages*

The aims of the study are:

i. to assess the how the language-in-education policy in Namibia is enacted at the lower primary phase of education, and
ii. to assess the beliefs of teachers towards the role of Namibian indigenous languages and English in education.

I am hereby seeking your consent to conduct pilot research in the Khomas, Oshikoto and Oshana Regions of Namibia during the period of 13 July 2015 and 30 September 2015. To help you reach your decision, I have attached the following documents to this letter:

1. (a) a permission letter from the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Education Arts and Culture in Namibia
2. (b) a copy of an Ethical Clearance Certificate issued by the University of Reading;
3. (c) a copy of the Risk Assessment Form issued by the University of Reading;
4. (d) a copy the research instruments, as approved by the University of Reading, which I intend using in my research,
5. (e) participants' Invitation and Consent Forms as approved by the University of Reading;
6. (f) a recommendation letter from my Head of Department at the University of Namibia.

Should you require further information, please contact me or my supervisor. Our contact details are as follows: **Researcher**: Selma Ashikuti, *Cellphone no*: 081 287 3266 / + 44 77 2959 4949 *E-mail*: s.ashikuti@pgr.reading.ac.uk / **Supervisor**: Dr Xiao Lan Curdt-Christiansen *E-mail*: x.l.curdt-christiansen@reading.ac.uk

Your permission to conduct this study will be highly appreciated. Yours sincerely,

Selma Ashikuti

Selma Ashikuti (Ms.)

Appendix 4: Ministerial Permission to Conduct Research (Pilot Study)

REPUBLIC OF NAMIBIA

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, ARTS AND CULTURE

Enquiries: Mr C. Muchila
E-mail:
Tel: +264 61 2933200
Fax: +264 61 2933922

Private Bag 13186,
WINDHOEK
Namibia
File no: 11/1/1

Date: 08 July 2015

To: Ms Selma Ashikuti
P. O Box 2616, Windhoek
Cell: 081287 3266

Dear: Ms Ashikuti

SUBJECT: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT A RESEARCH STUDY IN KHOMAS, OSHIKOTO AND OSHANA REGION

Your correspondence regarding the subject above, seeking permission to conduct a research study in the schools of Khomas, Oshikoto and Oshana Region has reference.

Kindly be informed that the Ministry does not have any objection to your request to conduct a research study at identified schools in the regions concerned.

You are, however, kindly advised to contact the Regional Council Offices, Directorates of Education, Arts and Culture, for authorisation to go into the schools and for proper information coordination.

Also take note that the research activities should not interfere with the normal school programmes. Participation by either teachers or learners should be on a voluntary basis. Should you involve minors in your research activities, consent for participation should first be obtained from the parents/guardians of the minor(s). You are also required to deposit the final paper with the Directorate of Programmes and Quality Assurance, Head Office.

By copy of this letter the Regional Education Director are made aware of your request.

Ministry of Education, Arts and Culture
Permanent Secretary
2015 -07- 09
Private Bag 13186
Windhoek, Namibia

Sincerely yours,

Ms Sanet Steenkamp
PERMANENT SECRETARY
cc: Directors of Education, Arts and Culture: Khomas, Oshikoto and Oshana

All official correspondence must be addressed to the Permanent Secretary

Appendix 5: Regional Permission to Conduct Research-Oshana Region (Pilot Study)

REPUBLIC OF NAMIBIA

OSHANA REGIONAL COUNCIL
DIRECTORATE OF EDUCATION, ARTS AND CULTURE
Aspiring to Excellence in Education for All

Private Bag 5518
Oshakati, NAMIBIA

Tel: 065-230057
Fax: 065 – 230035
E-mail:
Enquiries: Maria Udjombala
Ref 12/2/1

5 August 2015

To
Ms Selma Ashikuti
P. O Box 2616, Windhoek
Cell: 0812873266
sashikuti@unam.na

Dear Ms Ashikuti

RE: **REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AT SOME SCHOOLS IN OSHANA REGION**

Your request regarding the above mentioned subject has a reference.

The Office of the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Education, Arts and Culture has granted you permission to conduct educational research at some schools in Oshana Region.

However, please kindly take note that the research activities should not interfere with the normal school programmes and participation in the interview should be on a voluntary basis. Since you have not provided the list of the schools where you would like to conduct the research, you are advised to produce a copy of this letter whenever you approach the schools.

We wish you the best of luck with your studies and hoping that your findings will be shared with the schools as well as with other stakeholders in the region and beyond.

Yours Sincerely

.....

MRS DUTTE N. SHINYEMBA
DIRECTOR: EAC
OSHANA REGION

Appendix 6: Regional Permission to Conduct Research- Oshikoto Region (Pilot Study)

REPUBLIC OF NAMIBIA

OSHIKOTO REGIONAL COUNCIL
DIRECTORATE OF EDUCATION

Tel (065) 281900
Fax (065) 240315
Enq: Mr Vilho Shipuata

Private Bag 2028
ONDANGWA
27 July 2015

Ref: 12/3/10/1

Ms Selma Ashikuti
PO Box 2816
Windhoek

Dear Ms Ashikuti

RE: REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

With reference to your letter dated 07 July 2015, seeking for permission from the Regional Director to conduct a research in our region towards the completion of your PhD, with the University of Reading, UK. Kindly be informed that permission is hereby granted to you to carry out your research.

It is very important that your research should not interfere with the normal teaching and learning process at schools and that any participation should be on a voluntary basis. Consult the school principals well in advance to make further arrangements.

Thank you for showing interest to do research in Oshikoto Region. It is our sincere hope that the information you are going to get will yield satisfactory results towards the completion of your qualification.

Yours faithfully

OSHIKOTO REGIONAL COUNCIL
Director
27 JUL 2015
Private Bag 2028
Ondangwa
DIRECTORATE OF EDUCATION

MS LAMEK T. KAFIDI
DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION
OSHIKOTO REGION

CC: All Inspectors of Education

Appendix 7: Regional Permission to Conduct Research -Khomas Region (Pilot Study)

REPUBLIC OF NAMIBIA
KHOMAS REGIONAL COUNCIL
DIRECTORATE OF EDUCATION, ARTS AND CULTURE

Tel: [09 264 61] 293 4410
Fax: [09 264 61] 231 367/248 251
Enquiries: Ms. H.N. Imene
E-mail:

Private Bag 13236
WINDHOEK

11 September 2015

Ms Selma Ashikuti
P.O.BOX 2616
Windhoek

Dear Ms Ashikuti

RE: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT A RESEARCH IN SCHOOLS IN KHOMAS REGION

Your letter dated 11 September 2015 is hereby acknowledged.

Permission is hereby granted to you to conduct a research at A. I. Steenkamp PS, Auas PS, Delta PS, Emma Hoogenhout PS, Martti Ahrtisaari PS, Michelle McLean Ps, Moses Garoeb PS, Namutuni PS, Orban PS, Dr Frans Aupa Indongo PS, Pionierspark PS, Theo Katjimuine PS and Mandume PS with regard to "the enactment of the language-in-education policy in Namibia: The Hegemony of the English Language over Indigenous Languages" with the following conditions:

- The school Principal must be contacted before time and agreement will be reached between you and the principal.
- The school programme should not be interrupted.
- Teachers and learners who will take part in this exercise will do so voluntarily.
- School should not be forced to take part in the programme.
- Khomas Education Directorate should be provided with a copy of your findings and eventual thesis.

We wish you a successful [illegible]

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
ARTS AND CULTURE
PRIVATE BAG 13236 WINDHOEK
11 -09- 2015
DIRECTOR
KHOMAS REGION

Yours sincerely

GERARD N. VRIES
DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION, ARTS AND CULTURE

Appendix 8: School Principal Information Sheet (Pilot Study)

School Principal Information Sheet

Research Project: The enactment of the language-in-education policy in Namibia: The Hegemony of the English Language over Indigenous Languages

Researcher: Selma Ashikuti

Supervisor: Dr Xiao Lan Curdt-Christiansen

Dear School Principal,

I am a PhD candidate at the University of Reading. As part of the data collection stage of my dissertation, I am writing to invite your school to take part in a research study about the enactment of the language-in-education policy in Namibia.

What is the study?

The aim of this study is to assess the how the language-in-education policy in Namibia is enacted at the lower primary phase of education. It hopes to make recommendations regarding how the language policy can be best enacted and or amended in order to optimise learning and teaching at the lower primary level of school.

Why has this school been chosen to take part?

Your school has been selected because it is located in one of the regions that are part of the study. In addition, the study focuses on government schools, so as your school is a government school it was chosen for this study.

Does the school have to take part?

It is entirely up to you whether you give permission for the school to participate. You may also withdraw your consent to participation at any time during the project, without any repercussions to you, by contacting the researcher; Tel: 081 287 3266, e-mail: s.ashikuti@pgr.reading.ac.uk

What will happen if the school takes part?

During the pilot phase, with your permission, yours schools participation would be limited to the Head(s) of the Languages Department at the lower-primary phase (Grades 1-3). The head of the said department will complete a survey lasting between 15 and 20 minutes concerning

teaching and learning of languages at lower primary phase. The survey will be conducted by the researcher herself on school grounds during the school's break period or at the time most convenient to the head of department. The survey will involve the head of languages department filling in the survey and then submitting the questionnaire to the researcher upon completion.

During the main study, with your permission, lower primary phase teachers' classes will be observed during one full teaching session. During this session, the researcher will record via audio-recording and note taking the class practice. The researcher will not interrupt the teaching-learning process in any way as she will not take part in the process. The researcher will not administer any task other than observing the class practice.

A follow-up interview session would done on a different day outside of teaching at a time convenient to the teacher and the duration of the interview session is approximately 15 minutes. The interview will be audio-recorded and with your consent. The activities discussed above will take place during school time. All efforts would be made to seek an appropriate time for the teachers and learners to take part and to ensure that the teaching-learning process is not adversely affected and your time is respected.

What are the risks and benefits of taking part?

The information given by participants in the study will treated with the highest level of confidentiality and it will only be accessed the researcher and her supervisor. It will be ensured that neither the school nor the participants will be identifiable in any published report resulting from the study.

What will happen to the data?

All the data collected will be held in strict confidence and names will not be used in this study or in any subsequent publications. All records of this study will be kept private. No identifiers linking you or the school to the study will be included in any report that might be published following the study. Participants will be assigned a number and will be referred to by the assigned number in all records. Research records will be stored securely in a locked filing cabinet and on a password-protected computer and only the research team will have access to the records. Eventually, data will be destroyed securely once the findings of the study have been written up.

Who has reviewed the study?

This research study has been reviewed following the procedures of the University Research Ethics Committee and has been given a favourable ethical opinion for conduct. The University has the appropriate insurances in place. Full details are available on request.

What happens if I change my mind?

You can change your mind at any time without any repercussions. If you change your mind after data collection has ended, we will discard the school's data.

What happens if something goes wrong?

In the unlikely case of concern or complaint, you can contact the researcher's supervisor, Dr Xiao Lan Curdt-Christiansen; e-mail: x.l.curdt-christiansen@reading.ac.uk

We do hope that you will agree to your participation in the study. If you do agree, please complete the attached consent form.

Thank you for your time.

Yours sincerely,

……

Selma Ashikuti (Ms)

Research Project: The enactment of the language-in-education policy in Namibia: The Hegemony of the English Language over Indigenous Languages

School Principal Consent Form

I have read the Information Sheet about the project and received a copy of it.

I understand what the purpose of the project is and what is required of me. All my questions have been answered.

Name of School Principal: _____

Please tick as appropriate:

I consent to the involvement of my school in the project as outlined in the Information Sheet. ☐

I consent to the conducting of the survey with the head(s) of the Language Department at my school. ☐

Signed: _____

Date: _____

Appendix 9: Pilot Study Questionnaire

Pilot Survey Questionnaire

Introduction

I am a PhD candidate at the University of Reading, England. As part of the data collection stage of my dissertation, I am conducting a survey about the application of Namibia's Language Policy for Schools. This questionnaire is my pilot project. Its main purpose is to find out how schools interpret and implement Namibia's language policy in relation to the use of English and Namibian languages in the country's education system.

The questionnaire should only take 15-20 minutes to complete. Your participation in this survey is very much appreciated

Yours sincerely,

Selma Ashikuti

Section A- Personal Information

Answer each question by ticking the most appropriate option.

1. What is your gender?

   ☐ Female ☐ Male

2. How old are you?

   ☐ 18-24 ☐ 25-34 ☐ 35-44 ☐ 45-54 ☐ 55-64 ☐65 or older

3. How long have you been a teacher?

   ☐ 0-5 years ☐ 6-10 years ☐ 11-15 years ☐ 16-20 years ☐ more than 20 years

4. What is your mother tongue?

   ☐Afrikaans ☐English ☐German ☐Ju|'hoansi ☐Khoekhoegowab

   ☐Oshiwambo ☐Otjiherero ☐Otjizemba ☐Rukwangali ☐Rumanyo

   ☐Setswana ☐Silozi ☐Thimbukushu

   ☐Other (**PLEASE SPECIFY**)_____

Section B-School information and School Practice

Please answer the questions below about teaching and learning at the Junior Primary phase (Grades 1-3) at your school. Tick only ONE option per question.

5. In which region is your school located?

   ☐ ǁKaras ☐ Kavango East ☐ Kavango West ☐ Hardap ☐ Erongo

   ☐ Khomas ☐ Kunene ☐ Ohangwena ☐ Omaheke ☐ Omusati

   ☐ Oshana ☐ Oshikoto ☐ Otjozondjupa ☐ Zambezi

6. What type of community is served by your school?

   ☐ A village or rural community ☐ A small town community ☐A town/city

7. How many Grade 1 classes does your school have? ☐1-3 ☐4-6 ☐more than 6

8. How many Grade 2 classes does your school have? ☐1-3 ☐4-6 ☐more than 6

9. How many Grade 3 classes does your school have? ☐1-3 ☐4-6 ☐more than 6

10. What is the average number of learners in your school's Junior Primary phase classes?

    ☐10-20 learners per class ☐20-30 learners per class ☐30-40 learners per class

    ☐40-50 learners per class ☐More than 50 learners per class

11. How many periods are used for teaching English **per week** at your school?

    ☐1-3 periods ☐4-6 periods ☐7-9 periods ☐more than 9 periods

12. How many periods are used for teaching a Namibian language **per week** at your school?

    ☐1-3 periods ☐4-6 periods ☐7-9 periods ☐more than 9 periods

For the following questions, tick ALL the options that may apply

13. Which language is used as the **medium of instruction** at the Junior Primary phase at your school?

☐Afrikaans ☐English ☐German ☐ Jul'hoansi

☐Khoekhoegowab ☐Oshikwanyama ☐Oshindonga

☐Otjiherero ☐Rukwangali ☐Rumanyo

☐Setswana ☐Silozi ☐Thimbukushu ☐Namibian Sign Language

☐Other (**PLEASE SPECIFY**)_____

14. Which is/are the **most** commonly spoken languages in your school's community?

☐Afrikaans ☐English ☐German ☐ Jul'hoansi ☐Khoekhoegowab

☐Oshiwambo ☐Otjiherero ☐Otjizemba ☐Rukwangali ☐Rumanyo

☐Setswana ☐Silozi ☐Thimbukushu

☐Other (**PLEASE SPECIFY**)_____

15. Which language(s) is/are taught **as subjects** to your Junior Primary phase learners?

☐Afrikaans ☐English ☐German ☐ Jul'hoansi

☐Khoekhoegowab ☐Oshikwanyama ☐Oshindonga

☐Otjiherero ☐Rukwangali ☐Rumanyo

☐Setswana ☐Silozi ☐Thimbukushu ☐Namibian Sign Language

☐Other (**PLEASE SPECIFY**)_____

Section C- School Practice

Please answer the questions below about teaching and learning at the <u>Junior Primary phase (Grades 1-3)</u> at your school. Indicate your response by ticking ONE box that indicates your level of agreement with the following statements.

	1. Strongly agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly disagree
1. Our learners are taught in English					
2. Our learners are taught in a Namibian language					
3. Our learners are taught in a Namibian language and in English					
4. Our teachers are qualified to teach in English					
5. Our teachers are qualified to teach in a Namibian language					
6. Content subjects like Maths and Natural Science are taught through a Namibian language					
7. Content subjects like Maths and Natural Science are taught through English only					
8. Content subjects like Maths and Environmental Studies are taught through English and a Namibian language					
9. Our learners are allowed to use their mother tongues in classrooms					
10. Our learners are able read in their mother tongues					
11. Our learners are able read in English					
12. In Grade 4 our learners are taught in English only					
13. In Grade 4 our learners are taught in a Namibian language only					
14. In Grade 4 our learners are taught in English and in a Namibian language					
15. Our learners learn two languages from Grade 1					
16. There are enough textbooks for teaching English at our school					
17. There are enough textbooks for teaching a Namibian language at our school					
18. It is important for learners to be taught **<u>in</u>** their mother tongues at Junior Primary level					

19. It is important for learners to be taught **in** English mother tongues at Junior Primary level					
20. It is important for learners to learn English					
21. It is important for learners to learn their mother tongues					
22. It is important for learners to know how to read in English					
23. 20. It is important for learners to know how to read in their mother tongues					

24. Did you experience any difficulty in answering questions in this questionnaire? If so, please explain below.

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25. What other questions do you think need to be included in this questionnaire?

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Thank you for your time.

Appendix 10: Request for Permission to Conduct Research (Main Study)

Selma Ashikuti
Po Box 1761
Tsumeb, Namibia
30 August 2016

The Director: Ministry of Education Arts and Culture
…… Region
Po Box……
Namibia

RE: Request for Permission to Conduct Research

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am a lecturer at the University of Namibia, and currently a full-time PhD in Education student at the University of Reading, United Kingdom. I am writing this letter to request for permission to conduct an ethnographic case study at Junior Primary level from 5 September 2016 - 31 March 2016 in your region. The study focuses solely on the Junior Primary phase (Grades 1-3), and schools with a Junior Primary phase are eligible for participation in the study. Resultantly, as many public primary schools as possible in the region will be approached for participation in the study. This study will form part of my PhD dissertation. In this study, I am researching classroom practices and language beliefs in relation to Namibia's official language policy. The aims of the study are:

i. to explore and understand how Junior Primary teachers interpret and appropriate Namibia's LiEP;
ii. to examine teachers' language beliefs towards the use of indigenous languages and English in education and how such beliefs influence policy enactment in rural and urban areas;
iii. to investigate how existing classroom practices and teacher language beliefs support and or undermine linguistic diversity, and
iv. to understand how existing classroom practices and teacher language beliefs support and or undermine the teaching-learning process.

It is expected that this study will contribute to the dialogue on Namibia's language policy, its interpretation, appropriation and enactment at Junior Primary level. I may distribute a questionnaire to teachers, conduct interviews with sixteen (16) teachers and eight (8) school

principals and conduct classroom observations at two Primary Schools. To help you reach your decision, I have attached the following documents to this letter:

1. a copy of an Ethical Clearance Certificate issued by the University of Reading;
2. a copy of the Risk Assessment Form issued by the University of Reading;
3. a copy the research instruments, as approved by the University of Reading, and which I intend using in my research;
4. participants' Invitation and Consent Forms as approved by the University of Reading;
5. a recommendation letter from my Faculty Dean at the University of Namibia, and
6. a report of the pilot study I undertook for this study with your office' permission in 2015.

- Should you require further information, please contact me or my supervisor. Our contact details are as follows: **Researcher**: Selma Ashikuti, *Cellphone no*: **081 287 3266** / + 44 77 2959 4949, *E-mail*: s.ashikuti@pgr.reading.ac.uk /

Supervisor: Dr Xiao Lan Curdt-Christiansen, *E-mail*: x.l.curdt-christiansen@reading.ac.uk

Upon completion of the study, I undertake to provide you with a bound copy of the dissertation.

Your understanding and permission to conduct this study will be highly appreciated. I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Yours sincerely,

……

Selma Ashikuti (Ms.)

Appendix 11: Ministerial Permission to Conduct Research (Main Study

REPUBLIC OF NAMIBIA

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, ARTS AND CULTURE

Tel: +264 61 -2933200
Fax: +264 61- 2933922
Enquiries: C. Muchila
*Email: **

Luther Street, Govt. Office Park
Private Bag 13186
Windhoek
Namibia

File no: 11/1/1

Ms Selma Ashikuti
Private Bag 13301
Windhoek

Dear Ms Ashikuti

SUBJECT: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN THE SCHOOLS

Kindly be informed that permission to conduct research for your PHD in the schools of Erongo, Otjozondjupa, Omaheke, Ohangwena, Kunene, Hardap, //Karas, Oshana, Oshikoto and Khomas region is herewith granted. You are further requested to present the letter of approval to the Regional Directors to ensure that research ethics are adhered to and disruption of curriculum delivery is avoided.

Furthermore, we humbly request you to share your research findings with the ministry. You may contact Mr C. Muchila at the Directorate: Programmes and Quality Assurance (PQA) for provision of summary of your research findings.

I wish you the best in conducting your research and I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Sincerely yours

Ministry of Education, Arts and Culture
Office of the Permanent Secretary
2016 -12- 2 5
Private Bag 13186
Windhoek, Namibia

SANET L. STEENKAMP
PERMANENT SECRETARY

Date

All official correspondences must be addressed to the Permanent Secretary

Appendix 12: Regional Permission to Conduct Research -Oshana Region (Main Study)

REPUBLIC OF NAMIBIA

OSHANA REGIONAL COUNCIL
DIRECTORATE OF EDUCATION, ARTS AND CULTURE
Aspiring to Excellence in Education for All

Tel: 065-230057
Fax: 065 – 230035
E-mail:

P/Bag 5518
Oshakati, NAMIBIA

Enquiries: Maria Udjombala
Ref 12/2/1

Ms Selma Ashikuŋi
PO Box 1761
Tsumeb
081 287 3266

Dear Ms Ashikuŋi

SUBJECT: REQUEST TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN THE SCHOOLS IN OSHANA REGION

Your correspondence dated 30 August 2016 regarding the above mentioned subject has a reference.

The Office of the Director of Education, Arts and Culture, Oshana Region has granted you permission to conduct research at schools of your choice in the Region.

However, please kindly take note that the research activities should not interfere with the normal programmes of the schools and the participation should be on a voluntary basis. Please present this letter to the principals of the selected schools.

We wish you the best of luck with your research and hoping that your findings will be shared with other stakeholders within the Region and beyond.

Yours Sincerely

OSHANA REGIONAL COUNCIL
DIRECTORATE OF EDUCATION, ARTS & CULTURE
09 SEP 2016
REPUBLIC OF NAMIBIA

Hileni M. Amukana
REGIONAL DIRECTOR

Cc: Inspectors of Education.

Appendix 13: Regional Permission to Conduct Research -Oshikoto Region (Main Study)

REPUBLIC OF NAMIBIA

OSHIKOTO REGIONAL COUNCIL
DIRECTORATE OF EDUCATION, ARTS AND CULCURE

Tel (065) 281900
Fax (065) 240315
Enq: Mr Kafidi

Private Bag 2028
ONDANGWA
19 September 2016

Ref: 12/2/6/1

Ms Selma Ashikuti
PO Box 1761
Tsumeb
Namibia

Dear Ms Ashikuti

RE: REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

With reference to your letter dated 30 August 2016, seeking for an approval from the Regional Director to conduct research in our Region towards your PhD qualification, with the University of Reading, United Kingdom.

Please be informed that permission is hereby granted to carry out your research in our Region, embarking on a case study as yours is highly welcomed.

It is very important that your visit should not interfere with the normal teaching and learning process at schools. Consult the school principals well in advance to ensure a proper co-ordination of other school activities.

It is our sincere hope that the information you are going to get will be quite useful towards the completion of your PhD.

Sincerely yours

OSHIKOTO REGIONAL COUNCIL
Director
19 SEP 2016
PRIVATE BAG 2028
ONDANGWA
DIRECTORATE OF EDUCATION, ARTS AND CULTURE

DIRECTOR

CC: All Inspectors of Education

Appendix 14: Regional Permission to Conduct Research -Khomas Region (Main Study)

REPUBLIC OF NAMIBIA

KHOMAS REGIONAL COUNCIL

DIRECTORATE OF EDUCATION, ARTS AND CULTURE

Tel: [09 264 61] 293 4356
Fax: [09 264 61] 231 367/248 251
Enquiries: Ms TL Shivute

Private Bag 13236
WINDHOEK

File No: 12/3/10/1

Ms Selma Ashikuti
P.O. Box 1761
Tsumeb

REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

Your letter dated 30 August 2016 and received on 5 September 2016 refers.

Permission in hereby given to you to carry out your PhD dissertation research with a topic study "classroom practices and language attitudes in relation to Namibia's official language policy" in the Junior Primary Schools of your choice in Khomas Region with the following conditions:

- The Principal of the school to be visited must be contacted before the visit and agreement should be reached between you and the Principal.
- The school programme should not be interrupted.
- Teachers who will take part in this research will do so voluntarily.
- The Directorate of Education, Arts and Culture should be provided with a copy of your thesis/dissertation.

We wish you the best in your studies.

Yours sincerely

Director of Education, Arts and Culture

PRIVATE BAG 13236 WINDHOEK
23 JUN 2016
DIRECTOR
KHOMAS REGION

Appendix 15: School Principal Information Sheet (Main Study)

School Principal Information Sheet

Research Project: *Implementing Namibia's language policy: a linguistic ethnographic case study of classroom practices and language beliefs in schools*
Researcher: Selma Ashikuti **Supervisor:** Dr Xiao Lan Curdt-Christiansen

Dear Sir/Madam,
My name is Selma Ashikuti, and I am a PhD candidate at the University of Reading, UK. As part of my research, I am writing to invite your school to take part in a research study about the enactment of Namibia's language policy at Junior Primary level.

What is the study about?

The aim of this study is to explore Junior Primary level classroom practices and language beliefs in relation to Namibia's language policy. It hopes to make recommendations regarding how the language policy can be best enacted and or amended in order to optimise learning and teaching at the Junior Primary level of school.

Why has this school been chosen to take part?

Your school has been selected because it is located in one of the regions that are part of the study.

Does the school have to take part?

It is entirely up to you whether you give permission for the school to participate. You may also withdraw your consent to participation at any time during the project, without any repercussions to you, by contacting the researcher via, cell: **081 287 3266**, e-mail: **s.ashikuti@pgr.reading.ac.uk**

What will happen if the school takes part?

The study is divided in three phases. However, please note that your school is **NOT** expected take part in all phases of the study- participation at one phase will be highly appreciated. In the **first phase**, with your permission, a Junior Primary teacher will complete **a survey (questionnaire**), at a time convenient to him/her concerning language teaching and language use in the classroom. Teachers and principals will be required to indicate if they wish to take further part in the study after the first phase. In the **second phase**, should the principal and or teacher indicate willingness to take further part in the study, **interviews will be conducted** with one Junior Primary teacher and or the principal.

In the **third phase** of the study, once again with the permission of the teacher and school principal, **classroom observation** of one Junior Primary classroom will be conducted at a time arranged with the teacher and or principal. During these observations, the researcher will not interrupt the teaching-learning process in any way. The researcher will not administer any task other than observing class practice unless requested by the teacher/principal. The interview and classroom observations will be audio-recorded and with participants' consent.

The activities discussed above will take place during school time. All efforts would be made to seek an appropriate time for the teachers and learners to take part and to ensure that the teaching-learning process is not adversely affected, and your time is respected.

What are the risks and benefits of taking part?

The information given by participants in the study will treated with the highest level of confidentiality and it will only be accessed the researcher and her supervisor. Participants will be assigned pseudonyms, and school names will be changed to ensure that neither the school nor the participants will be identifiable in any published report resulting from the study. It is expected that this study will contribute to the dialogue on Namibia's language policy, its interpretation, appropriation and enactment at Junior Primary level.

What will happen to the data?

All the data collected will be held in strict confidence and names will not be used in this study or in any subsequent publications. All records of this study will be kept private. No identifiers linking you or the school to the study will be included in any report that might be published following the study. Research records will be stored securely in a locked filing cabinet and on a password- protected computer and only the research team will have access to the records. Eventually, data will be destroyed securely once the findings of the study have been written up.

Who has reviewed the study?

This research study has been reviewed following the procedures of the University of Reading Research Ethics Committee and has been given a favourable ethical opinion for conduct. The University has the appropriate insurances in place. Full details are available on request.

What happens if I change my mind?

You can change your mind at any time without any repercussions. If you change your mind after data collection has ended, we will discard the school's data.

What happens if something goes wrong?

In the unlikely case of concern or complaint, you can contact the researcher's supervisor, Dr Xiao Lan Curdt-Christiansen; e-mail: x.l.curdt-christiansen@reading.ac.uk We do hope that you will agree to your participation in the study. If you do agree, please complete the attached consent form.

Thank you for your time.

Yours sincerely, Selma Ashikuti (Ms.)

School Principal Consent Form

Research Project: *Implementing Namibia's language policy: a linguistic ethnographic case study of classroom practices and language beliefs in schools*

Please tick [√] the appropriate box:

- I have read the Information Sheet about the project and received a copy of it.
- I understand what the purpose of the project is and what is required of me. All my questions

  have been answered.

- I consent to the involvement of my Junior Primary school teachers in the project as outlined in the Information Sheet.
  i. Phase One (Questionnaire): [ ]
  ii. Phase Two (Interviews: [ ]
  iii. Phase Three (Classroom Observation): [ ]
- I would like to be interviewed during the second phase of this study.

  Name of School Principal:
  _____

  Signed: _____ Date: ____/_____/_____

Appendix 16: Teacher Information Sheet (Main Study)

Teacher Information Sheet

Research Project: *Implementing Namibia's language policy: a linguistic ethnographic case study of classroom practices and language beliefs in schools*
Researcher: Selma Ashikuti **Supervisor:** Dr Xiao Lan Curdt-Christiansen

Dear Sir/Madame,
My name is Selma Ashikuti, and I am a PhD candidate at the University of Reading, U.K. As part of my research, I am writing to invite your school to take part in a research study about the enactment of Namibia's language policy at Junior Primary level.

What is the study about?
The aim of this study is to explore Junior Primary level classroom practices and language beliefs in relation to Namibia's language policy. It hopes to make recommendations regarding how the language policy can be best enacted and or amended in order to optimise learning and teaching at the Junior Primary level of school.

Why have I been chosen to take part?

You have been invited to take part in the study because you teach at the Junior Primary level in a government school and these are two main criteria of the study.

Do I l have to take part?
It is entirely up to you whether you participate in the study. You may also withdraw your consent to participation at any time during the project, without any repercussions to you, by contacting the researcher via, cell: **081 287 3266**, e-mail: **s.ashikuti@pgr.reading.ac.uk**

What will happen if I take part?
The study is divided in three phases. However, please note that you are **NOT** expected to take part in all three phases of the study- participation at one phase will be highly appreciated. In the **first phase**, with your permission, you will complete **a survey (questionnaire**), at a time convenient to you about language teaching and language use in the classroom. You will be required to indicate if you wish to take further part in the study after the first phase. In the **second phase**, if the you want to take park in at this stage, you **will be interviewed** about language teaching and language use in your classroom.

In the **third phase** of the study, once again with your permission, **classroom observations will be undertaken** at a time arranged with the teacher and or principal. During these observations, the researcher will not interrupt the teaching-learning process in any way. The researcher will not administer any task other than observing class practice unless requested by the teacher/principal. The interview and classroom observations will be audio-recorded

and with participants' consent. The activities discussed above will take place during school time. All efforts would be made to seek an appropriate time for the teachers and learners to take part and to ensure that the teaching-learning process is not adversely affected, and your time is respected.

What are the risks and benefits of taking part?

The information given by participants in the study will treated with the highest level of confidentiality and it will only be accessed the researcher and her supervisor. Participants will be assigned pseudonyms, and school names will be changed to ensure that neither the school nor the participants will be identifiable in any published report resulting from the study. It is expected that this study will contribute to the dialogue on Namibia's language policy, its interpretation, appropriation and enactment at Junior Primary level.

What will happen to the data?

All the data collected will be held in strict confidence and names will not be used in this study or in any subsequent publications. All records of this study will be kept private. No identifiers linking you or the school to the study will be included in any report that might be published following the study. Research records will be stored securely in a locked filing cabinet and on a password-protected computer and only the research team will have access to the records. Eventually, data will be destroyed securely once the findings of the study have been written up.

Who has reviewed the study?

This research study has been reviewed following the procedures of the University of Reading Research Ethics Committee and has been given a favourable ethical opinion for conduct. The University has the appropriate insurances in place. Full details are available on request.

What happens if I/my learner(s) change my mind?

You can change your mind at any time without any repercussions. If you change your mind after data collection has ended, we will discard the school's data.

What happens if something goes wrong?

In the unlikely case of concern or complaint, you can contact the researcher's supervisor, Dr Xiao Lan Curdt-Christiansen; e-mail: x.l.curdt-christiansen@reading.ac.uk

We do hope that you will agree to your participation in the study. If you do agree, please complete the attached consent form.

Thank you for your time.
Yours sincerely,

……

Selma Ashikuti (Ms.)

Teacher Consent Form

Research Project: *Implementing Namibia's language policy: a linguistic ethnographic case study of classroom practices and language beliefs in schools*

Please tick [√] the appropriate box:

- I have read the Information Sheet about the project and received a copy of it. ☐
- I understand what the purpose of the project is and what is required of me. All my questions have been answered.
  ☐
- I consent to the involvement of my class in the project as outlined in the Information Sheet.
  i. Phase One (Questionnaire): ☐
  ii. Phase Two (Interviews: ☐
  iii. Phase Three (Classroom Observation): ☐
- I would like to be interviewed during the second phase of this study. ☐
- I consent to the audio-recording of my interview. ☐
- I consent to the audio-recording of my observation. ☐

Name: _____

Signed: _____ Date: ____/_____/_____

Appendix 17: Parent/Guardian Information Sheet

Parent/Guardian Information Sheet

Research Project: The enactment of the language-in-education policy in Namibia: The Hegemony of the English Language over Indigenous Languages

Researcher: Selma Ashikuti

Supervisor: Dr Xiao Lan Curdt-Christiansen

Dear Parent/Guardian,

I am a PhD candidate at the University of Reading, UK. As part of the data collection stage of my dissertation, I am writing to invite your school to take part in a research study about the enactment of the language-in-education policy in Namibia

What is the study?

The aim of this study is to assess how the language-in-education policy in Namibia is enacted at the lower primary phase of education. It hopes to make recommendations regarding how the language policy can be best enacted and/or amended in order to optimise learning and teaching at the lower primary level of school.

Why has my child been chosen to take part?

Your child has been invited to take part because his/her teacher has expressed an interest in being involved in this research study, and because your child is in the lower primary phase of schooling at a government school and these are two main criteria of the study. Also, all other learners who are in Mr/Ms/Mrs……'s class have been invited to take part in the study.

Does my child have to take part?

It is entirely up to you whether you give permission for your child to participate. You may also withdraw your consent to participation at any time during the project without giving any reason and without causing any repercussions to you or to your child, by contacting the researcher, either on telephone: 081 287 3266 or by e-mail: s.ashikuti@pgr.reading.ac.uk

What will happen if my child takes part?

With your agreement, the classroom of which your child is a part will be observed during one full teaching session. During this session, the researcher will record the class practice via audio-recording and note-taking. While audio-recordings will be made during the observation, learners (your child) will not be definable in the recordings. The researcher will not interrupt the teaching-learning process in any way as she will not take part in the process. The researcher will not administer any task other than observing the class proceedings.

The activities discussed above will take place during school time. All efforts will be made to seek an appropriate time for learners to take part and to ensure that the teaching-learning process is not adversely affected.

What are the risks and benefits of taking part?

The information from the classroom observations will be treated with a high level of confidentiality and will only be seen by the researcher and her supervisor. Neither your child nor the school will be identifiable in any published report resulting from the study. Information about individuals will not be shared with the school.

Participants in similar studies have found it interesting to take part. We hope that the findings of the study will be useful for schools and teachers in the enactment of the language-in-education policy in Namibia in the future.

What will happen to the data?

All data collected will be held in strict confidence and no real names will be used in this study or in any subsequent publications. All records of this study will be kept private. No identifiers linking your child or the school to the study will be included in any sort of report that might be published. Research records will be stored securely in a locked filing cabinet and on a password-protected computer and only the researcher will have access to the records. Data will be destroyed securely once the findings of the study have been written up within a period of one year.

Who has reviewed the study?

This research study has been reviewed following the procedures of the University Research Ethics Committee and has been given a favourable ethical opinion for conduct. The University has the appropriate insurances in place. Full details are available on request.

What happens if I/my child change my mind?

You/your child can change your mind at any time without stating any reason and without causing any repercussions to you or to your child. During the research, you can stop completing the activities at any time. If you change your mind after data collection has ended, the relevant data will be discarded.

What happens if something goes wrong?

In the unlikely case of concern or complaint, you can contact the researcher's supervisor, Dr Xiao Lan Curdt-Christiansen; e-mail: x.l.curdt-christiansen@reading.ac.uk

We do hope that you will agree to your participation in the study. If you do, please complete the attached consent form.

Thank you for your time.

Yours sincerely,

……..

Research Project: The enactment of the language-in-education policy in Namibia: The Hegemony of the English Language over Indigenous Languages

Parent/Guardian Consent Form

I have read the Information Sheet about the study and received a copy of it.

I understand what the purpose of the study is and what is required of my child and me. All my questions have been answered.

Name of child: _____

Please tick as appropriate:

I consent to my child being present in a class that is being observed. ☐

I consent to the audio-recording of my child's classes. ☐

Signed : _____

Date : _____

Appendix 18: Main Study Questionnaire

Main Study Questionnaire

Introduction

My name is Selma Ashikuti, and I am a PhD candidate at the University of Reading, UK. As part of my research, I am conducting a survey about the application of Namibia's Language Policy for Schools. The main purpose of this study is to explore and understand how Junior Primary teachers interpret and apply Namibia's language policy in relation to the use of Indigenous languages and English in education.

The questionnaire should only take 10-15 minutes to complete. Your participation in this survey is highly appreciated.

Section A: Answer each question by writing the answer down or by ticking [√] the most appropriate option.

16. What is your gender?

☐ Female ☐ Male

17. How old are you?

☐ 18-24 ☐ 25-34 ☐ 35-44 ☐ 45-54 ☐ 55-64 ☐65 or older

18. How long have you been a teacher?

☐ 0-5 years ☐ 6-10 years ☐ 11-15 years ☐ 16-20 years ☐ more than 20 years

19. What is your highest qualification level?

_____

20. What is your first language/mother tongue?

_____

Section B: Please answer the questions below by writing the answer down or by ticking [√] the most appropriate option.

21. In which region is your school located?

_____

22. What type of community is served by your school?

☐ A village or rural community ☐ A small town community ☐A town/city

23. Which Grade(s) do you currently teach?

☐ Grade 1 ☐ Grade 2 ☐Grade 3

24. How many learners do you have in your current class?

☐10-20 learners ☐20-30 learners ☐30-40 learners ☐40-50 learners
☐More than 50 learners

Please answer the questions below by ticking [√] ALL the options that may apply.

25. Which is/are the **most** commonly spoken language(s) in your school's community?

☐Afrikaans ☐English ☐German ☐ Juǀ'hoansi ☐Khoekhoegowab
☐Oshiwambo ☐Otjiherero ☐Otjizemba ☐Rukwangali ☐Rumanyo
☐Setswana ☐Silozi ☐Thimbukushu
☐Other (**PLEASE SPECIFY**) _____

26. Which language(s) do you use as a **medium of instruction** in your class?

☐Afrikaans ☐English ☐German ☐Juǀ'hoansi ☐Khoekhoegowab
☐Oshikwanyama ☐Oshindonga ☐Otjiherero ☐Rukwangali ☐Rumanyo
☐Setswana☐Silozi ☐Thimbukushu ☐Namibian Sign Language
☐Other (**PLEASE SPECIFY**) _____

27. Which language(s) do you teach **as subjects** to your learners?

☐Afrikaans ☐English ☐German ☐ Juǀ'hoansi
☐Khoekhoegowab ☐Oshikwanyama ☐Oshindonga ☐Otjiherero
☐Rukwangali ☐Rumanyo ☐Setswana ☐Silozi
☐Thimbukushu ☐Namibian Sign Language
☐Other (**PLEASE SPECIFY**) _____

<u>Section C</u>: Please answer the questions below about teaching and learning in your classroom. Indicate your response by ticking [√] <u>ONE</u> box.

	Strongly agree	**Agree**	**Neither agree nor disagree**	**Disagree**	**Strongly disagree**
28. I only teach in English					
29. I only teach in a Namibian language					
30. I teach in English and a Namibian language					
31. I allow my learners to use their mother tongues in the classroom					
32. I **prefer** to teach in a Namibian language					
33. I **prefer** to teach in English					
34. I **prefer** to teach in a Namibian language and English					
35. At Junior Primary level, learners should be taught **<u>in</u>** their mother tongues					
36. At Junior Primary level, learners should be taught **<u>in</u>** English					
37. Knowing English makes learners cleverer					
38. Namibian languages can be used to teach subjects like Mathematics and Environmental Studies					
39. Learners learn better when they are taught in their mother tongues					
40. Learners learn better when they are taught in English					
41. It is difficult **for learners** to learn school subjects in their mother tongues					
42. It is difficult **for learners** to learn school subjects in English					
43. It is difficult **for me** to teach a Namibian language as a subject					
44. It is difficult **for me** to teach English as a subject					
45. Our school has enough textbooks for teaching a Namibian language					
46. Our school has enough textbooks for teaching English					

Thank you for your time

Appendix 19: Teacher Interview Schedule

Teachers' Interview schedule

My name is Selma Ashikuti; I am a PhD student at the University of Reading, UK. The main purpose of my study is to explore and understand how Junior Primary teachers interpret and apply Namibia's language policy in relation to the use of Namibian languages and English in education. In this interview, I wish to explore your experiences and opinions regarding classroom practices. **There are no right or wrong answers**, so, your honesty is very important in helping me represent your real experiences and opinions.

This interview should only take 15-30 minutes. Your participation in this study is highly appreciated.

Background

1. What do you enjoy most about being a teacher?
2. Which languages do you speak?
3. Which language(s) would you consider to be your mother tongue(s)?
4. How long have you been working as a teacher?
5. How long have you been teaching at this school?

Classroom practice

6. What languages do your learners speak?
7. Which languages do you teach as subjects to your learners? Why?
8. Which languages do you use as media of instruction? Why?
9. If you use two languages, why do you do that?
10. **If you teach in English**, what **difficulties** do **you** experience when teaching in English?
11. **If you teach in English**, how do learners benefit from it?
12. **If you teach in a Namibian language,** what **difficulties** do **you** experience when teaching in a Namibian language in your classes?
13. **If you teach in a Namibian language**, how do learners benefit from it?
14. What difficulties do **learners** experience when learning in English?
15. What difficulties do **learners** experience when learning in a Namibian language?
16. What do you do when learners appear to not understand the language that you are teaching in?

Language beliefs

17. Which languages do you think should be used as MoI in your school? Why?
18. Which language(s) do you think should be taught as subjects in your school?
19. What do you think is the role of Namibian languages in education at junior primary level?
20. What do you think is the role of English in education at Junior Primary level?

Resources and the way forward

21. What materials do you have to teach a Namibian language as a subject?
22. What materials do you have to teach English as a subject?
23. How can you get enough material for teaching Namibian languages?
24. How can you get enough material for teaching English?
25. If the current language policy could be changed, what changes would you suggest? Why?
26. Is there anything else you want to say about Education in Namibia, or your school, or your classroom?

Thank you very much for your time; it is highly appreciated.

Appendix 20: Principal Interview Schedule

Principals' Interview schedule

My name is Selma Ashikuti; I am a PhD student at the University of Reading, UK. The main purpose of my study is to explore and understand how Junior Primary teachers interpret and apply Namibia's language policy in relation to the use of Namibian languages and English in education. In this interview, I wish to explore your experiences and opinions regarding classroom practices. There are no right or wrong answers, so, your honesty is very important in helping me represent your real experiences and opinions.

This interview should only take 15-30 minutes. Your participation in this study is highly appreciated.

Background

1. How long have you been a principal of this school?
2. Which languages do you speak?
3. Which language(s) would you consider to be your mother tongue?

Language use at school

4. In short, how would you describe this school?
5. Which language(s) do you use in staff meetings? Why?
6. Which language(s) are used as media of instruction in Grades 1-3 at your school? Why?
7. Which languages are taught **as subjects** at your school?
8. If English is used as a medium of instruction at your school, what challenges does your school experience in teaching in English?
9. If a Namibian language is used as a MoI at your school, what challenges do your teachers experience in teaching in a Namibian language?
10. Which language(s) does the school encourage learners to use on school premises?

Parents and community

11. Which are the most common languages in the school community?
12. Which language(s) do you use in parents' meetings? Why?
13. Which language(s) do you use when communicating with parents e.g. inviting parents to a meeting?
14. How would you describe parents' involvement in their children' education?

Resources and teacher qualifications

15. Does your school have enough material for teaching English as a subject?
16. Does your school have enough material for teaching Namibian languages as subjects?
17. How satisfied are you with teachers' qualifications to teach English as a subject? Why?
18. How satisfied are you with teachers' qualifications to teach (a) Namibian language(s) as subject? Why?
19. In the past, what **has been done** to improve teachers' English teaching skills?
20. In the past, what **has been done** to improve teachers' Namibian language(s) teaching skills?
21. What **can be done** to improve teachers' English teaching skills in the future?
22. What **can be done** to improve teachers' Namibian language(s) teaching skills in the future?

The way forward

23. What do you think is the relationship between language use in classrooms and learners' performances?
24. What role, if any, do you think Namibian languages should play in education?
25. Do you think there is a relationship between the medium of instruction at Junior Primary level and learners' performances? Can you tell me (more) about that?
26. If the current language policy could be changed, what changes would you suggest? Why?
27. Is there anything else that you would like to mention in this interview concerning education in Namibia/ teaching and learning at your school?

Thank you very much for your time; it is highly appreciated.

Appendix 21: Observation Schedule

Observation Schedule

School: _____ Teacher's name: _____ Grade: _____
Subject: _____ Lesson Topic: _____
Lesson begins: ____h____ Lesson ends: ____h____

Enter language code (s) in the row indicating <u>language use</u> as observed. Where more than one languages are used enter all applicable codes									
	Teacher Speaking					**Learners Speaking**			
Date	**Teaching**	**Giving Instructions to learners**	**Explaining difficult concept(s)/clarifying**	**Disciplining learners**	**Responding to learners' questions/giving feedback**	**Responding to questions**	**Asking questions**	**Group/ pair work**	**Requesting permission**
/ /2017									
/ /2017									
/ /2017									
/ /2017									

<u>Language Codes</u>

Afrikaans= **1** English=**2** German= **3** Ju|'hoansi= **4** Khoekhoegowab=**5** Oshikwanyama=**6**
Oshindonga= **7** Otjiherero= **8** Rukwangali=**9** Rumanyo=**10** Setswana=**11** Silozi=**12**
Thimbukushu=**13** Namibian Sign Language= **14** Other= **15**

Language use and subject		**Language use in informal contexts**	
Subject	**Language(s) used**	**Activity**	**Language(s) used**
Arts		Teacher speaking to learners as they queue to enter class	
English		Learners speaking to teacher outside class	
Environmental Studies		Teacher inquiring about learners' home activities (parents/guardians wellbeing, activities etc.)	
Mathematics		Learners passing on message to teacher from parent/guardian	
Mother tongue/ Second Language			
Physical Education			
Religious & Moral Education			
ICT Literacy[11]			

[11] Only available in schools equipped with computer laboratories

	COMMENTS
Teacher language use	
Learner language use	
Linguistic diversity	

and multilingualism	
Learner **Participation**	

	Class layout & condition	√	**Comments**
Classroom organisation and layout	Cupboard		
	Enough chairs and tables available		
	Teacher's desk and table available		
	ITC in classroom (Computer, smartboard etc.)		
Learning material	Learning material displayed on wall		
	Textbook availability		
	Writing material (Pens/pencils/notebooks)		

Definitions of terms

Descriptor	Definition
Teacher teaching	Teacher is delivering lesson/lecturing/giving information to learners.
Teacher giving instructions	Teacher is telling learners to do something e.g. Please write the equation down, open your books.
Teacher explaining difficult concept(s)/clarifying	Teacher is clarifying something or providing more information on something that is unclear.
Teacher Disciplining learners	Teacher is reprimanding or punishing learners e.g. Don't do that!!
Teachers responding to learners' questions/giving feedback	Teacher answering learners' questions / responding to/commenting on something learners have said or done, e.g. Well done!!, Yes, that is the right answer.
Learners responding to questions	Learners are giving answers to teacher's question.
Learners asking questions	Learners are posing questions to teacher.
Learners doing group/ pair work	Learners completing an activity in a group or in a pair.
Learners requesting for permission	Learners are asking to be allowed to do something/go somewhere/say something e.g. Teacher can I please go to the bathroom.