UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN QUEENSLAND

Raising literacy levels in Mozambique: The challenges of bilingual education in a multilingual post-colonial society

A dissertation submitted by

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Abstract

A phenomenon that has been debated, for many years, by many education and language experts in Africa, and worldwide, is the continued use of language models which cannot offer students meaningful access to quality education. The present study was conducted among students, parents and teachers in two selected rural bilingual primary schools in central Mozambique. Through ethnographic interviews, the study explores the views of students, parents and teachers concerning language education as a means of developing attitudes, values and social capabilities that a child must acquire in order to be functional in the community. Using a bottom-up approach, the study aimed to come up with a proposed model of bilingual education for post-colonial Mozambique, taking into consideration the views and perceptions of students, parents and teachers and best bilingual education practices worldwide. The qualitative data, collected from the interviews, were separated by themes, which in turn were refined into broader categories, leading to systematic generalizations. Debriefing was fundamental for this study and it was used, with key participants, to check and evaluate the quality of data collected and researcher's analyses and interpretations.

The findings of the present study are presented and discussed under two major themes: Views of students, parents and teachers, and the challenges of bilingual education: views from the field.

Certification of Dissertation

I certify that the ideas, research work, analyses and conclusions reported in this dissertation are entirely my own effort, except where otherwise acknowledged. I also certify that the work is original and has not been previously submitted for any other award.

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Signature of candidate   Date

ENDORSEMENT

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Signature of Supervisor/s   Date

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Acknowledgement

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List of abbreviations and Acronyms

AARE- Australian Association for Research in Education

BICS- Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills

CALP- Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency

EP1- Escola Primária do 1° Grau (Mozambican Junior Primary School- grades one to five)

EP2 - Escola Primária do 2° Grau (Mozambican Senior Primary School- grades six and seven)

FRELIMO- Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique)

GTZ- Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit GmbH (German Agency for Technical Cooperation)

GTZ-PEB- German Technical Cooperation for Promotion of Primary Education in Mozambique

INDE- Instituto Nacional para o Desenvolvimento da Educação (Mozambican National Institute for Educational Development)

L1- First Language/ mother tongue. In the context of this dissertation, L1 refers to Ciutee language.

L2- Second/ foreign language. In the context of this dissertation, L2 refers to Portuguese language.

MEC- Ministério da Educação e Cultura (Mozambican Ministry of Education and Culture)

MINED- Ministério da Educação (Mozambican Ministry of Education)

MOI- Medium of instruction

MT- Mother Tongue

MTE- Mother tongue medium education

NELIMO- Núcleo de Estudo das Línguas Moçambicanas (Centre for the Study of Mozambican Languages)

NL- National Language

ONG- Organização não-governamental (Non-government Organization)

NGO- Non-government Organization

PEB- Programa de Educação Básica (Mozambican Basic Education Programme)

PEBIMO- Projecto de Escolarização Bilingue em Moçambique (Bilingual Education Project in Mozambique)

RM- República de Moçambique (Republic of Mozambique)

RPM- República Popular de Moçambique (People's Republic of Mozambique)

SLA- Second Language Acquisition

SNE- Sistema Nacional de Educação (Mozambican National System of Education)

SYPP- Six Year Primary Project (Nigerian bilingual education experiment)

UN- United Nations

UNESCO- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

USQ- University of Southern Queensland

ZIP- Zona de Influência Pedagógica (Zone of Pedagogic Influence)

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Overview

Bilingual education has its roots in combined international efforts to provide quality education that takes into account local values and languages as well as sociocultural and linguistic backgrounds of minority language children.

The present chapter provides, first of all, the background to the study conducted among students, teachers and parents in two selected primary schools in central Mozambique. Then, it states the significance of the study. After that, the chapter provides the research questions which constitute the guidelines for the data analysis process. Finally, it presents the structure of the present dissertation.

1.1.   Background to the study

Since the UNESCO (1953) report on the use of vernacular languages in education, many African countries, including Mozambique, have been struggling to find an effective strategy that allows them to transform the educational systems that they inherited from the colonial powers into more culturally relevant education that takes into account not only African values and languages but also people's socio-cultural and linguistic background as well as their educational needs . Such a relevant and effective strategy, according to Alidou et al. (2006), would be characterised, among other issues, by the use of an effective medium of instruction. It has become indubitable in multilingual contexts, particularly in Africa, that; of the many factors involved in delivering quality education, language is clearly the key to communication in the classroom (Benson 2005).

According to Alidou et al. (2006), there are currently two competing views with regard to the central issue of language in education in African societies:

1. The first view, which reflects the current practice in most African countries, advocates for the continued use of the official/foreign language (language of the former colonial power) as the primary and ultimate medium of instruction during the whole educational system;
2. The second view advocates for the use of mother tongue (MT) or a familiar national language and the official/foreign language as medium of instruction (Ngunga, Nhongo et al.) throughout the education system.

For Alidou et al. (2006) there is convincing evidence to argue for the use of mother tongue (MT) or the use of an African language familiar to the children upon school entry as the natural medium of instruction in all African schools and institutions of higher education. This view reflects better the socio-economic and cultural realities of multilingual Africa and it does not advocate rejection of the official/foreign language. On the contrary, research evidence shows that

the use of mother tongue or national language familiar to the children as a medium of instruction improves the teaching and learning of the official/foreign language as a subject of learning and will ultimately make it a better medium of instruction of specialised learning whenever appropriate (Alidou, Boly et al. 2006).

Mozambique, with its more than 20 Bantu languages excluding Portuguese, English and French which are taught in the education system, embarked on bilingual education first as an experimental stage from 1993 to 1997 with a UN and World Bank sponsorship (Benson 2005) and then as actual implementation from 2003. However, the expansion has been too slow. After seven years of the implementation of the bilingual education programme, only 75 primary schools have officially joined the programme (Ngunga and Faquir 2011), in a universe of 11,850 primary schools in the country (INE 2009).

A recent ethnographic study of discursive practices in two bilingual primary schools in southern Mozambique, Chimbutane (2011), concluded that:

1. the use of a language that is familiar to the students in education has the potential to enhance students' participation and learning; and that
2. The interactive atmosphere in L1 and L1-medium subject classes is supportive to the students' learning because students are actively involved in the lessons, can challenge their teacher's expertise and show willingness to learn. (pp. 77-79)

On the contrary, according to Chimbutane (2011), in Portuguese language and Portuguese medium subject classes, the teacher-student interaction was very limited and, to cope with the situation, classroom participants resorted to strategies such as safe talk and code switching. (p. 84)

Taking into consideration that bilingual education is the way forward for the education of language minority children in multilingual context of Mozambique (See, for example, Benson 1998; Benson 2004; Benson 2005; Chimbutane 2009; Benson 2010; Ngunga, Nhongo et al. 2010; Chimbutane 2011; Ngunga 2011; Ngunga and Faquir 2011) , and beyond (See, for example, Ramirez, Yuen et al. 1991; Brock-Utne 2001; Kamanda 2002; Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir 2004; Alidou, Boly et al. 2006; Baker 2006; Heugh 2006; Brock-Utne 2007; Brock-Utne 2007; Heugh 2009; Mooko 2009; Brock-Utne 2010), the main line of argument in this study is: What challenges is the bilingual programme facing in Mozambique and what can be done to expand it so that more minority language children can fully enjoy the benefits of their bi/multilingual reality?. This question results from a contemplation of the discrepancy between the abundant benefits of bilingual education identified in literature and the very slow expansion of the bilingual education programme implemented in Mozambique since 2003.

1.2.   Significance of the study

This study is an empirical contribution to the theoretical discussion on the relationship between language of instruction and success at school in multilingual postcolonial contexts. It is a contribution to bridging the gap between views and perceptions of top educational planners and administrators about the purpose of education in Mozambique and the views and perceptions of communities about the purpose of education in the community.

Bilingual education is a relatively recent phenomenon in Mozambique and there are still very few studies on mother tongue education. Such studies, (See, for example, Benson 1998; Benson 2004; Henriksen 2010; Ngunga, Nhongo et al. 2010; Chimbutane 2011), have been on potential and real benefits of bilingual education. However, very little has been done to find out which model(s) of bilingual education can best deliver such benefits. The present study suggests a proposed model of bilingual education that can best deliver such benefits taking into account the views and perceptions of pupils, parents and teachers, and best practices in similar contexts around the world.

This study has a profound impact through the provision of strategic advice on language education policy that will make a much needed contribution to transforming Mozambique education in several ways, including: adoption of a model of bilingual education that meets the expectations of pupils, parents, and teachers; instantiate bilingual education teacher training programmes in the national system of education; development of bilingual education teaching materials; sensitization of the local community about the importance of bilingual education and the need for community participation for the success of bilingual education programmes; and Integration of bilingual education programmes in the structure of the Ministry of Education which implies staff training for curriculum design and materials development and the training and coaching of bilingual teachers.

1.3.   Research questions

This study proposed to investigate the following research questions:

1. What are the views of parents, pupils, and teachers concerning language education as a means of developing attitudes, values and social capabilities that a child must acquire in order to be functional in the community?
2. What challenges do such views foresee for the implementation of bilingual education in Mozambique?
3. What do such views, coupled with current bilingual education theory and practice, suggest should be the most appropriate model of bilingual education for post-colonial Mozambique?

The purpose of the first question was to contribute to our understanding of the views about and expectations of pupils, parents and teachers of the transitional bilingual education being implemented in their local school. This question was fundamental in this study as it provided grassroots views of the beneficiary communities about the transformational programme. In 2003, The Ministry of Education gave the green light to the implementation of bilingual education programme in rural primary schools in Mozambique *(INDE/MINED 2003)*. This was mostly a top-down decision and it was worth analyzing local views and expectations towards the programme and the extent to which the current early-exit model of bilingual education matched with the views and expectations of the pupils, parents and teachers involved.

The second question is related to the theoretical underpinnings of cultural identity, second language acquisition (SLA) and bilingual education. This question searched for ways to demonstrate pedagogical, cultural and societal values to individual students as well as to society

of implementing bilingual education programmes. It involved an analysis of the views and expectations (in research question 1) in light of current research on mother-tongue/L1 literacy and mother-tongue medium education (MTE). It also involved analysing the transitional model of bilingual education being implemented in Mozambique in light of its design features; potential outcomes and its synchrony with the views and expectations of the pupils, parents and teachers involved in the programme.

The purpose of the third question was to apply theoretically established principles of bilingual education to local practices. It was a search for ways ahead towards improving the present language model so that it can better serve the pupils concerned and by so doing, serve the interest of the community, the government, the economy and the society at large.

1.4. The personal significance of the study

I am a lecturer in linguistics (sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics and descriptive linguistics) at Universidade pedagógica (a teacher training university) in Maputo. I have been fascinated by bilingual education since I started teaching at university in 1997. In 2002, when I was doing my master's degree in Applied Linguistics with USQ, I had the opportunity to work with Aniko Hatoss and Michael Berthold who were supporters of bilingual education programmes. I visited the immersion programme in Toowoomba run by Michael Berthold at the time. I also presented a paper at a Sociolinguistics Symposium organized by Aniko Hatoss at USQ. The title of my paper was "Keeping Mozambique multilingual: The need for a language policy".

My experience with bilingualism started when I was still a small child. My parents spoke two Bantu languages: Cimanyika and Cishona. They also spoke Portuguese but at home we often spoke Cimanyika. So, my first language is Cimanyika. When I was a small child, we often had workers at home taking care of the family cattle and working on the plantations. These workers came from different ethnolinguistic communities and spoke different Bantu languages. I started learning Bantu languages other than Cimanyika in order to communicate with the workers. As the result, I can speak most of the Bantu languages of the central region of Mozambique (Cimanyika, Cishona, Cisena, Ciutee, Cinyungwe and Cindau) with different performance levels and I can speak Xichangana, a Bantu language spoken in Maputo, in the South of Mozambique, where I have been living for over twenty years.

I studied in a submersion Portuguese-only system of education. When I started primary school in 1977, I could speak very little Portuguese. Consequently, I had to struggle not only with content but also with the language. The first years of primary school were really hard for me and I felt they were even harder for those children who did not speak any Portuguese at all.

I have had some experience with qualitative research and therefore have developed interview, transcription and observation skills. I am committed to seeing with an open mind rather than being confined to only seeing what I think should be there. My intent was to gain insights into the experiences of parents, pupils, and teachers in communities where the current transitional bilingual education is being implemented rather than to allow my biases interfere with what I see.

1.5.   The Structure of the dissertation

The present dissertation is composed of ten chapters. Chapter one presents the background to the study followed by the significance of the study and the research questions. Next, it provides the personal significance of the study and the structure of the dissertation. Chapter two presents the historical and linguistic background of Mozambique. First, it provides the location and population of Mozambique. Then, it gives the historical context of the country followed by its linguistic context. Finally, it discusses language in education practices in colonial Mozambique, in independent Mozambique (1975-1992), and from 1993 onwards. It also discusses the role of English and French in Mozambique.

Chapter three provides a summary of the transitional bilingual education programme that has been implemented in Mozambican rural primary schools since 2003. First, the chapter offers background information prior to the implementation of bilingual education in Mozambique. Then, it outlines the model being implemented. Next, it provides the reasons evoked by the proponents of bilingual education in Mozambique. Then, it summarizes the two parallel programmes that are being implemented in Mozambican rural primary schools. After that, it analyzes the extent of national language use in the model. Finally, the chapter discusses the expected outcomes from the model in light of available literature on bilingual education and second language acquisition.

Chapter four presents an overview of bilingual education, second language acquisition (SLA) and cultural identity issues related to design and implementation of bilingual education programmes. First it provides the framework guiding the present study. Then it discusses issues related to bilingual education and models of bilingual education. After that, it focuses on the relationship between bilingual education, cognitive development and second language acquisition. Next, it addresses issues on bilingual education and human rights and finally, it addresses bilingual education and cultural identity issues.

Chapter five discusses language in education practices in Africa. First, it provides an overview of language use in education in colonial Africa. Then, it focuses on language use in education in postcolonial Africa. After that, the chapter accounts for convergence of bilingual education models in Africa towards early-exit transitional bilingual education models. Finally, it outlines some successful examples of bilingual education models in Africa.

Chapter six provides an overview of the education system in Mozambique. First it provides an account of the education system implemented by Portugal during the colonial period. It discusses the two systems of education created by the colonial power to perpetuate exploitation and domination of indigenous Africans. Next, it describes Language Use in education in colonial Mozambique. After that, the chapter discusses the process of nationalization of the education system after the country gained its independence from the colonial power in 1975. Next, it

provides details of the current education system and, finally, it discusses the language policy in the education system.

Chapter seven provides the methodological orientations underpinning the present study. First, the chapter discusses qualitative approach to research with special emphasis on critical ethnography. Then, it describes the research sites, particularly the selection of the sites, access to the sites, selection of the participants and researcher- researched relationships. Next, it describes data collection procedures, translation and interpretation issues, and ethical issues related to the study. Finally, it provides approaches to data analysis.

Chapter eight presents and discusses the findings of data generated by interviews and classroom observations focusing on the central questions of our research. The interviews and classroom observations were conducted between June 2011 and September 2012 to gather fundamental data for identifying the challenges facing the implementation of bilingual education in Mozambique.

The chapter is divided into four major parts which constitute the major challenges for the implementation of bilingual education as per the findings of the present study. It presents and discusses findings related to the following identified challenges: availability and appropriateness of resources; perceived language power; pedagogical challenges and; appropriateness of the model of bilingual education.

Chapter nine proposes a model of bilingual education, taking into account the views and perceptions of pupils, parents and teachers, as well as best practices worldwide.

First, the chapter discusses the importance of prolonged use of national languages in education. Then, it provides the rationale for the proposed model of bilingual education. Next, it presents the proposal model of bilingual education. Then, the chapter describes the roles and responsibilities for the stakeholders. Finally, concluding remarks are provided.

Chapter ten presents the conclusions of the present study and makes recommendations related to successful implementation of bilingual education in Mozambique. This chapter also suggests areas for further research that would provide another dimension to the main theme and findings of the present research.

CHAPTER 2: HISTORICAL AND LINGUISTIC CONTEXT OF MOZAMBIQUE

Overview

Mozambique is a multicultural and multilingual country in which, the vast majority of the population has, as their mother tongue, one of the over twenty Bantu languages of Mozambique; and Portuguese, the official language, is unknown, particularly in rural areas.

This chapter presents the historical and linguistic background of Mozambique. First, it provides the location and population of Mozambique. Then, it gives the historical context of the country followed by its linguistic context. Finally, it discusses language in education practices in colonial Mozambique, in independent Mozambique (1975-1992), and from 1993 onwards. It also discusses the role of English and French in Mozambique.

2.1. Geography and population

Mozambique is located in southern Africa. It covers an area of 799,380 sq. km. It is bathed by the Indian Ocean to the east and shares common borders with Tanzania to the north, Malawi and Zambia to the north-west, Zimbabwe to the east, Swaziland to the south-west and South Africa to the south (see Figure 1). Mozambique has a population of 20,854,100 inhabitants of which 10,766,600 are female (INE 2009). The country is divided into ten provinces: Cabo Delgado, Niassa, Nampula, Zambézia, Sofala, Manica, Tete, Inhambane, Gaza and Maputo. Mozambique became independent from the former colonizing power, Portugal, on 25 June 1975. The cultural legacy of the country is rich with a diversity of dances, music, arts and languages. Portuguese is the official language of the country.

Figure 1: Map of Africa: Location of Mozambique

Source: http://harambeeusa.org/projects/past-projects/mozambique/

2.2. Historical context of Mozambique

Before effective colonization, the inhabitants of the land known today as Mozambique, and the inhabitants of Africa in general, were organized into empires, kingdoms and traditional states. Mozambique emerged as a modern state from the Berlin Conference (1884-1885) where Africa was partitioned among European colonial powers. As the result of this partition, the continent was divided without considering the pre-existing borders dividing different nations. Consequently, some traditional African nations and families were split and made cross border nations and families living in different countries. This situation fostered multilingualism that became one of the features of African individuals and societies (Ngunga 2011).

The history of Portugal as a colonial power is very different from the rest of the former colonial powers in Africa. While the other European colonial powers were granting independence to their colonies, after World War II, Portugal maintained its colonies around the world. This led to the development of liberation movements in all former Portuguese territories. Mozambique witnessed the development of the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (Frelimo) in 1962, which led an armed campaign against Portuguese colonial authorities from 1964 to independence in 1975.

Portugal colonized Mozambique for 500 years until 1975. During the colonial period, the Portuguese colonial administration implemented a policy of assimilation which resulted in the creation of a class of "assimilated" Mozambicans who would serve the interests of the Portuguese settlers. Through the assimilation policy, Mozambicans were forced to abandon their languages and cultures to adopt the language and culture of the colonizing power. Mozambican languages and cultures were totally ignored and their use was forbidden in formal contexts and thus confined to rural areas.

After independence in 1975, the colonial language policy prevailed in Mozambique for nearly three decades. Portuguese, the language of the former elite of "assimilated" Mozambicans who had run the liberation movement, was adopted as the sole official language and it was accorded the highest status as the language of "national unity". The use of national languages in schools, courts and other administrative and business services was prohibited. There was no effort made on codification and standardization of national languages. The newly adopted language policy of Mozambique promoted "Portuguesation" of the country through compulsory programmes teaching Portuguese in "literacy and adult education" campaigns (Ngunga 2011).

2.3. Linguistic context of Mozambique

Mozambique is a multilingual country. Apart from the official language, Portuguese, and the Asian languages spoken by Asian immigrants or their descendants, all the other languages spoken in Mozambique belong to the Bantu group (Lopes 1998). Bantu languages constitute the major language stratum pertaining to number of speakers and in terms of distribution in the country.

The label "Bantu" has a purely linguistic connotation. Its origin is traced back to the studies conducted by Bleek, the German linguist, between 1851 and 1869 (Bleek 1851; Bleek 1862; Bleek 1869) to show the genetic relationship among African languages that used the term "Bantu" to refer to "people" (singular "Muntu"). Bantu languages dominate the southern half of the African continent and, in the early 1980s; they were spoken as first languages by an estimate 157 million speakers (Wald 1987).

According to Ngunga (2004), Guthrie (1967-71) classified the Bantu languages into 15 zones codified with capital letters, namely: A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, K, L, M, N, P, R and S. Each zone is divided into various language groups established according to linguistic and geographic proximity/ separation criteria that reflect a certain degree of genetic proximity. Each language group is codified by a decimal number attached to the respective zone code. For instance: S10 refers to Shona language group; P20 refers to Yao language group and so on. Each of the languages that constitute a group is codified by a unit inside the decimal number. For example, Ciutee language has the code 3 inside group 10, zone S. Thus, S13 means, according to Guthrie's classification, Ciutee language, Shona group, zone S.

According to Guthrie's (1967-71) classification, the Bantu languages of Mozambique fall into four zones (G, P, N and S) and eight major language groupings (G 40, P20, P30, N30, N40, S10, S50 and S60) covering the following languages :

1. **Zone G**

    G40: Swahili language group

    G42. Kiswahili
    G45. Kimwani
2. **Zone P**

    P20: Yao language group

    P21. Ciyao

    P23. Shimakonde

    P25. Shimaviha

    P26. Cimákwe

    P30 Makhwua-Lomwe language group

    P31. Emákhuwana

    P32. Elómwe

    P33. Emetto

    P34. Echuwabo

    P35. Ekoti

3. ***Zone N***
N30: Cinyanja language group
N31a. Cinyanja
N31b. Cicewa
N31c.Cimanganja
N40: Nsenga-Sena language group
N41. Cinsenga
N42. Cikunda
N43. Cinyungwe
N44. Cisena
N45. Ciruwe
N46. Cipodzo
4. ***Zone S***
S10: Shona language group
S11. Korekore
S12. Zezuru
S13a. Cimanyika
S13b. Ciwutewe
S15a. Cindau
S15b. Cindanda
S50: Tswa-Ronga language group
S51. Xitswa
S52. Xigwamba
S53. Xichangani
S54. Xironga
S55. Xihlengwe
S60: Copi language group
S61. Cicopi (Cilenge)
S62. Gitonga

Guthrie's classification of Mozambican languages is the one that is most used by linguists in Mozambique and beyond. However, it has been criticized for several reasons. For example, Ngunga (2004) mentions the fact that, in Guthrie's classification, there are names of languages that do not appear in the list of languages found on recent studies on Bantu languages of Mozambique. Furthermore, Guthrie's classification does not include some of the languages that other studies have found to exist in the country. Consequently, for a better understanding of the Bantu languages of Mozambique, one needs to couple Guthrie's classification with other studies by Mozambican linguists such as (Katupha 1988; NELIMO 1989; Lopes 1998; Firmino 2002; Lopes 2004; Ngunga 2004).

It is difficult to say precisely how many Bantu languages or variants are spoken in Mozambique. NELIMO (1989) mentions twenty languages. Some linguists refers to over twenty languages (Kathupa 1994; Firmino 2002; Lopes 2004). Most references refer to a number between 15 and 41 languages as the table below illustrates.

Table 1: Number of Bantu languages of Mozambique

Source	Number of languages
(Cabral 1975)	15
(Ngunga 1987)	33
(Katupha 1988)	13
(NELIMO 1989)	20
(Lopes 1999)	20
(Firmino 2000)	24
(Cardoso 2005)	25
(Liphola 2009)	41

According to Luís (1999), the difficulty in saying the precise number of African languages has to do with the historical, social, political and economic situation of the continent which, among other issues, is reflected in the difficulty in distinguishing language from variety. (See Figure 2: The Bantu Languages of Mozambique).

Figure 2: The Bantu languages of Mozambique.

Source: NELIMO (1989)
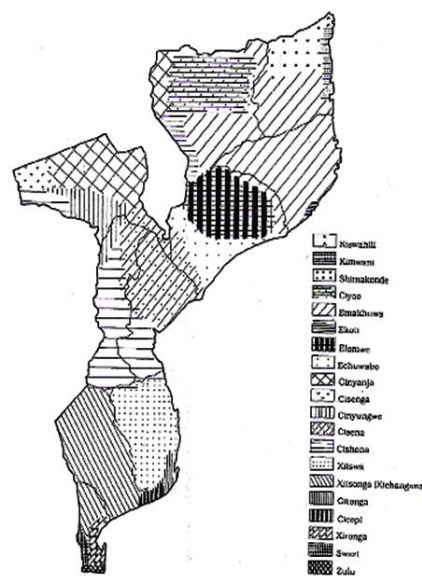
Figure 2 shows where the Bantu languages of Mozambique are mostly spoken. However, there are no clear linguistic boundaries and we cannot claim that there is a region that exclusively speaks one and only one particular Bantu language as people were deliberately moved, after independence, in the fight against regionalism and tribalism. The consciousness of this linguistic diversity in the country made the new government of the independent state choose Portuguese, the language of the colonizing power, as the official language and the language of national unity. As Frelimo (1971) see it,

> "There is no majority language in our country. Choosing one of the Mozambican languages as a national language would have been an arbitrary decision which could have had serious consequences… Thus, we were forced to use Portuguese as medium of instruction and as means of communication among ourselves" (p. 34).

Machel (1979), states that,

> "The need to fight the oppressor called for an intransigent struggle against tribalism and regionalism. It was this necessity for unity that dictated to us that the only common language- the language which had been used to oppress- should assume a new dimension" (p. 6).

According to Ganhão (1979) opting for Portuguese as the official language of Mozambique was a well-considered and carefully examined political decision, with the purpose of achieving one objective- the preservation of national unity and the integrity of the country. The history of appropriation of the Portuguese language as a factor of unity and leveler of differences dates back to 1962 when the front for the liberation of Mozambique was founded.

When Mozambique became independent, the Portuguese language, although spoken by a tiny minority of Mozambicans, emerged as the only language being disseminated throughout the whole country, as it was not marked either regionally or ethnically and, above all, was known by the elites, specially, those that had been through the colonial educational system (Firmino 1998). Portuguese was declared the official language and the language of national unity. It was the sole language of instruction in the education system, the language of power, the media and the courts. This decision went against the linguistic reality of the country which shows that the vast majority of Mozambicans, particularly children cannot speak Portuguese.

According to the 1997 population census (INE 2001), 75% of children aged 5-9 cannot speak Portuguese. Table 2 illustrates the situation.

Table 2: Knowledge of Portuguese language by age groups, Mozambique, 1997

Source: INE, 2001, p. 13

Age Group	Can speak Portuguese	Cannot speak Portuguese	Unknown
5-9-years	22%	75%	2%
10-14 years	48%	51%	1%
15-19 years	52%	47%	2%
20-24 years	46%	51%	1%
25-29 years	45%	54%	1%
30-34 years	48%	51%	1%
35-39 years	43%	56%	1%
40-44 years	37%	62%	1%
45-49 years	31%	67%	1%
50-54 years	27%	72%	1%
55-59 years	24%	75%	1%
60-64 years	22%	77%	1%
65-69 years	17%	82%	1%
70-74 years	16%	83%	1%
75-79 years	13%	86%	1%
80 + years	11%	87%	1%

The table above shows that the knowledge of Portuguese language among Mozambican population is very low, particularly among children aged 5-9, the age at which they start school. The knowledge of Portuguese as a second/foreign language or as mother tongue is more common in urban areas than it is in rural areas. When it comes to knowledge of local Bantu languages, the situation is reversed. 90% of children aged 5-9 have a Bantu language as their mother tongue as Table 3 illustrates.

Table 3: Mother tongues by age groups, Mozambique, 1997

Source: INE (2001)

Age Group	Bantu language	Portuguese	European Language	Unknown
5-9-years	90%	7%	0%	2%
10-14 years	89%	9%	0%	1%
15-19 years	89%	9%	0%	2%
20-24 years	90%	7%	0%	2%
25-29 years	93%	6%	0%	1%
30-34 years	93%	6%	0%	1%
35-39 years	94%	5%	1%	1%
40-44 years	94%	4%	1%	1%
45-49 years	95%	3%	1%	1%
50-54 years	96%	3%	1%	1%
55-59 years	96%	2%	1%	1%
60-64 years	97%	2%	1%	1%
65-69 years	97%	2%	1%	1%
70-74 years	97%	2%	1%	1%
75-79 years	97%	1%	1%	1%
80 + years	97%	1%	1%	1%

Most Mozambicans, as shown by the table above, have a local Bantu language as their mother tongue. The knowledge of Bantu languages as mother tongue is dominant throughout the country. However, this knowledge is more common in rural areas than it is in urban areas. Furthermore, Bantu languages are by far, the most frequently spoken languages in Mozambique, as illustrated by Table 4 below.

Table 4: Most frequently spoken languages by age group

Source: INE, 2001, p. 15

Age Group	Bantu language	Portuguese Language	Unknown
5-9-years	90%	8%	2%
10-14 years	88%	10%	1%
15-19 years	87%	11%	2%
20-24 years	85%	10%	2%
25-29 years	89%	10%	1%
30-34 years	88%	11%	1%
35-39 years	89%	10%	1%
40-44 years	91%	8%	1%
45-49 years	93%	6%	1%
50-54 years	94%	5%	1%
55-59 years	95%	4%	1%
60-64 years	95%	3%	1%
65-69 years	96%	2%	1%
70-74 years	96%	3%	1%
75-79 years	97%	2%	1%
80 + years	97%	2%	1%

Although Portuguese language enjoys the prestige as the only official language, the language of national unity, the language of power, the media and the courts, Bantu languages are nevertheless most commonly used by a vast majority of Mozambicans in their day-to-day exchanges outside the official realms.

The complexity of the language situation in Mozambique is such that there is no single language that is spoken by the majority of the population. This is true for Bantu languages as well as for the official language, Portuguese. The table below shows the largest language groups of Mozambique.

Table 5: The largest language groups

Source: adapted from INE (1998)

Language	Number of L1 speakers	% of population
Emakhuwa	4,007,010	25.48
Cisena	1,807,319	11.5
Xichangana	1,799,614	11.4
Elómwe	1,269,527	8,07
Echuwabo	1,203,494	7.7
Cishona	1,070,471	6.8
Xitswa	763,029	4.9
Xironga	626,174	4
Cinyanja	607,671	3.9
Portuguese (Mozambican)	489,915	3.1
Cinyungwe	446,567	2.8
Cicopi	405,521	2.6
Ciyao	374,426	2.4
Shimakonde	371,111	2.4
Gitonga	319,836	2.03
Ekoti	102,393	0.7
Kimwani	29,980	0.2
Swahili	21,070	0.1
Swazi	7,742	0.05
Zulu	3,529	0,02
TOTAL	15,726,399	100

Among all the languages spoken in Mozambique, as mother tongues, Portuguese, the official language, comes as the tenth most spoken language covering only 3.1% of people who speak it as their mother tongue.

2.4. Language in education practices in Mozambique

2.4.1. Language use in education in colonial Mozambique

The colonial education curriculum, in Mozambique, was conceived, elaborated and evaluated exclusively through the Portuguese language, spoken by a tiny minority of Mozambicans and this made schooling a real challenge for Mozambican children whose first language was not Portuguese (Ngunga 2011). Parents who could speak Portuguese were forced to introduced Portuguese language to their children at home as a way of preparing them for school. That is, if the parents wanted their children or relatives to be successful in the education system, they had to be active actors in the "Portuguesation" of their own family. The supremacy of Portuguese over the Bantu languages of Mozambique, in the colonial period, can be evidenced by the following quote from Sheldon (1998),

> "Bitonga is the dialect in Inhambane, but when I was a child [in the 1920s] I began to speak Portuguese also. This was because my father spoke Portuguese so that we would not have trouble in school. When I went to school, as a child, I already spoke decent Portuguese, and it was much easier to understand [in school]" (p. 614).

Knowledge of Portuguese language was half way through to being successful in the colonial education system. Moreover, it was the necessary condition for one to be professionally successful since the Portuguese language was not only the language of the education system but also the language of colonial administration.

2.4.2. Language use in education in independent Mozambique (1975-1992)

After independence, the language policy in Mozambique continued quite the same as it was in the colonial period with Portuguese language being declared the official language, the language of national unity, the sole language of instruction in the education system, the language of power, the media and the courts (Moçambique 1990; Firmino 1998; Lopes 1998; Ngunga 2011). The choice of Portuguese as the sole language of instruction went against the foundations laid by Eduardo Mondlane, the first president of FRELIMO (Mozambique Liberation Front), which consisted in educating African children through Bantu languages as well as Portuguese (Kitoko-Nsiku 2007).

Although the use of Bantu languages was not illegal, it was made politically incorrect among the elite who had participated in the liberation of the country. It was prohibited to ask questions like

"Where are you from?" or "What is your mother tongue?" as such questions were thought capable of exacerbating the consciousness of belonging to a specific group which was against the principle that said it to be necessary "to kill the tribe in order to create a nation" (Ngunga 2011).

Once again, with the people and the land liberated, Portuguese became the language of official instruction in the education system, the language of power, the media and the courts. The reasons given for such option, according to Ngunga (2011), were as follows:

1. There were too many languages in Mozambique. Therefore, it would be too costly for the country to produce mother tongue books for free distribution;
2. The promotion and use of Bantu languages would promote tribalism at a time when the number one priority was the promotion of national unity;
3. There was no scientific knowledge in and about these languages to facilitate their use in formal education;
4. Portuguese was a neutral language as there was no specific tribe that could claim it as its own language since it is spoken by a few people and it is the most spread language in the country (p. 186).

The option for Portuguese as the sole language of instruction in the education system placed the great majority of Mozambican primary school children at a disadvantage, particularly children in rural areas, because these children are born into a Bantu language speaking community. They use a Bantu language in their daily communications and are not exposed to the Portuguese language until their first day at school. Therefore, Portuguese is either their weaker or, in most cases, the unknown language. This led to a situation that can be termed as "the survival of the fittest", with high rates of school wastage: dropouts, repetitions, and poor academic performance (INDE/MINED 2003).

2.4.3. Language use in education from 1993

In 1993, a pilot transitional bilingual education project, PEBIMO, was introduced in five rural primary schools in Tete province (native Cinyanja pupils) and Gaza province (native Xichangani pupils), (Benson 1998). According to Benson's 1998 evaluation of the pilot bilingual education project, teachers, head teachers and parents were satisfied because the children could read and write in both languages. However, tests showed that the development of the L2 was not at the same level as the children in mainstream classes. Benson proposed, among other things: adoption of an appropriate model of bilingual education; adequate teacher training; development of bilingual education materials in advance; sensitization and education of families and communities involved and integration of bilingual education programmes in the structure of the Ministry of Education.

Encouraged by the results of the 1993-1997 bilingual experiment, a transitional bilingual education programme was introduced in some rural primary schools in Mozambique in 2003 (INDE/MINED 2003). Now the country runs two parallel programmes for the primary school curriculum: the Portuguese submersion education programme and the "new" bilingual education programme. The bilingual education programme, which was introduced in some rural primary

schools, involves eleven local Bantu languages namely: Cinyanja, Xichangani, Emakhuwa, Cinyungwe, Cisena, Cindau, Xironga, Xitshwa, Ciyao, Shimakonde and Echuwabo. Currently, there are sixteen Bantu languages used in education, as the table below shows.

Table 6: Bantu languages used in education in 2012 per province

Source: adapted from (Chambela and Bisqué 2012)

	Languages	Provinces covered
1.	Shimakonde	Cabo Delgado
2.	Kimwani	Cabo Delgado
3.	Emakhuwa	Niassa, Cabo Delgado, Nampula
4.	Ciyao	Niassa
5.	Cinyanja	Tete, Niassa
6.	Cisena	Sofala, Tete
7.	Cinyungwe	Tete
8.	Cindau	Inhambane, Sofala, Manica
9.	Ciutee	Manica
10.	Echuwabo	Zambézia
11.	Elómwe	Zambézia
12.	Xitswa	Inhambane
13.	Cicopi	Gaza, Inhambane
14.	Gitonga	Inhambane
15.	Xironga	Maputo
16.	Xichangani	Maputo, Gaza

The number of Bantu languages used in education has been increasing. Besides the 16 languages already being used as languages of instruction, there are studies being carried out for the introduction of other Bantu languages. For example, there has been ongoing work for the introduction of Cimanyika and Cibarwe as languages of instruction in the central province of Manica. The number of schools and pupils involved in bilingual education has been increasing too, as shown by Table 7 below.

Table 7: Number of bilingual education primary schools and pupils per year in 2011

Source: adapted from (Chambela and Bisqué 2012)

Year	Number of schools	Number of pupils
2003	14	700
2004	23	1620
2011	370	69,863

As shown by the table above, the number of schools and pupils has increased dramatically. However, compared to the number of monolingual schools existing in the country (see Table 8), there is still a lot to be done in order to cover all the children whose mother tongue is not the official language of the country.

Table 8: Number of monolingual primary schools and pupils in Mozambique in 2010

Source: adapted from (Chambela and Bisqué 2012)

Number of schools	Number of pupils
13,749	**5,286,960**

2.4.4. English and French in Mozambique

English has challenged the prestige and hegemony of Portuguese in Mozambique for decades. English is the international medium of communication, the language of business and of worldwide prestige and Mozambicans recognize its knowledge as a useful tool in Mozambique. English has become extremely useful for international communication, better professional and educational opportunities and also for social prestige. This growing interest in English has resulted in a dramatic increase in the number of institutions offering English language courses in the country. In Maputo, the capital city of Mozambique, for example, besides the Institute of Languages, established in the late 1970s, which offers English courses in all of its branches throughout the country, there are more recently established institutions such as the British Council teaching centre, Lynden Language School and Tecnicol. In addition, there a lot of informal/ not registered classrooms scattered in Maputo city where English is taught with a variety of teaching qualifications or no teaching qualifications at all.

In the formal education system, English used to be taught for five years from grade 8 to grade 12 but now it is taught for seven years from grade 6 to grade 12 (INDE/MINED 2003; INDE 2007). There are education institutions such as the International School and the American School where English is the language of instruction throughout schooling.

Furthermore, Mozambique is a member of the Commonwealth and SADC (Southern African Development Community). The Commonwealth is comprised of 54 countries, 52 of which were formerly British colonies. The other two members, Mozambique and Rwanda were elected to join for trade reasons. English is the main language for all business transacted by both organisations.

The other European language that has gained ground in Mozambique is French. Although not to the same extent as English, French is also challenging the prestige and hegemony of Portuguese in Mozambique. It used to be taught in the education system for two years from grade 11 to grade 12 but now it is taught for four years from grade 9 to grade 12 (INDE 2007). Besides English, French is the only other foreign language taught in the education system of Mozambique.

2.5. Conclusion

This chapter has shown that Mozambique is basically a Bantu country. Although the Bantu languages of Mozambique have been ignored for over half a millennium, from colonial period until 1992, they are well alive and still dominant throughout the country. Most Mozambicans have a Bantu language as their mother tongue and also, they mostly speak Bantu languages in their daily communications outside the formal context.

Although Portuguese still enjoys the prestige and hegemony over the Bantu languages of Mozambique, being the only official language of the country as accorded by the constitution, it is spoken by a tiny proportion of the population. The power relationship between Portuguese language and the Bantu languages of Mozambique is gradually changing with the introduction of Bantu languages as mediums of teaching and learning. Moreover, the prestige and hegemony of Portuguese in Mozambique is being challenged by other European languages such as English and French whose importance is increasingly recognized in Mozambique.

CHAPTER 3: THE BILINGUAL EDUCATION MODEL UNDER IMPLEMENTATION IN MOZAMBIQUE

Overview

During the 500 years of Portuguese colonization, the colonial education curriculum was conceived, elaborated and evaluated exclusively through the Portuguese language, spoken by a tiny minority of Mozambicans and this made schooling a real challenge for a great majority of Mozambican children whose first language was not Portuguese. After independence, in 1975, the language policy in Mozambique continued quite the same with Portuguese language being declared the only official language, the language of national unity, the sole language of instruction in the education system, the language of power, the media and the courts (Moçambique 1990; Firmino 1998; Lopes 1998; Ngunga 2011). 1993 was the year of "winds of change" in language in education practices in Mozambican education system with the bilingual education experiment project whose positive outcomes led to the implementation of bilingual education in Mozambique since 2003.

This chapter provides a summary of the transitional bilingual education programme that has been implemented in Mozambican rural primary schools since 2003. First, the chapter offers background information prior to the implementation of bilingual education in Mozambique. Then, it outlines the model being implemented. Next, it provides the reasons evoked by the proponents for the implementation of bilingual education in Mozambique. Then, it summarizes the two parallel programmes that are being implemented in Mozambican rural primary schools. After that, it analyzes the extent of national language use in the model. Finally, the chapter discusses the expected outcomes from the model in light of available literature on bilingual education and second language acquisition.

3.1. Background

In 2003, Mozambique witnessed a revolutionary change in its language in education policy and practice with the introduction of mother tongue education through the modality of bilingual education. Prior to the change, in 1990, the national institute for the development of education (INDE), an educational research institute of the ministry of education, published research findings on school wastage (dropouts, repetitions and poor academic performance). The research findings stated that the exclusive use of Portuguese language as medium of instruction in primary education classrooms in Mozambique was one of the major causes of dropouts, repetitions and poor academic performance of the pupils in the first years of schooling.

Following the publication of the research findings, INDE designed a pilot bilingual education project, locally known as *Projecto de Escolarização Bilingue em Moçambique* (PEBIMO/ Bilingual Schooling Project in Mozambique). The PEBIMO project was implemented in two remote rural primary schools in central and southern Mozambique (Ngunga 2011). One of the schools selected was located in the central Tete province where the languages of instruction were

Nyanja (a local Bantu language) and Portuguese (the official language). The other school was located in the southern Gaza province where the languages of instruction were Changana (a local Bantu language) and Portuguese. The PEBIMO project was implemented from 1993 to 1997 (Benson 2000).

The experimental students attended bilingual classes from grade 1 to grade 5 after which they joined the mainstream Portuguese-medium system for the rest of primary education (grades 6 and 7). The funding for the project, contributions from the Ministry of education, UNESCO and the World Bank, supported teacher training, materials development and production, and monitoring of the project by a team of educational technicians at the National Institute for Educational Development (INDE). The project involved four classrooms in each of the two selected provinces, with a total of 355 students who entered grade 1 in 1993 and completed grade 5 in 1997.The experimental bilingual classes functioned along with all-Portuguese classes in regular primary schools of the National Education System (SNE). The bilingual teachers reported to the same head teachers as their monolingual colleagues. Special needs for bilingual teachers were served by a bilingual coordinator at each provincial directorate of education and the project was headed by the central team at INDE (Benson 2000). Table 4 below summarizes the bilingual model of PEBIMO experiment.

Table 4: The Bilingual model for PEBIMO experiment

Source: (Benson 2000)

	Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 3	Grade 4	Grade 5	
	Literacy	Literacy	Language Arts	Language Arts	Language Arts	
L1 Medium	Mathematics	Mathematics	Mathematics	Mathematics	Mathematics	L2 Medium
			Science	Science	Science	
					History	
				History	Geography	
			Oral Instruction	Literacy	Language Arts	

Following this bilingual model, the experimental students in their first three grades of primary schooling spent their 3 to 4-hour school day studying beginning literacy and language arts and other school subjects in their mother tongue, with the exception of a 30 to 40- minute session of oral Portuguese instruction starting in the last trimester of the second year. Grade 4 was the grade of transition from mother tongue medium to Portuguese medium, where L1 language arts shifted to a 40-minute session and the L2 took over as the language of instruction. Students studied L1

language arts until the end of grade 5 at which point the project ended and the students who passed the national examinations went on to upper primary education (grades 6 and 7) in all-Portuguese classrooms. The INDE team ran the project, organizing teacher training, materials development, and field visits a few times a year to monitor progress. Local teachers were invited to develop teaching materials every year prior to when they were needed. During the two weeks immediately preceding each school year, teachers were trained in teaching methods, mother tongue literacy and linguistics, and use of the didactic materials for the coming school years. The same teachers remained with their classes throughout the five years of the experiment (Benson 2000).

 The external evaluation, which took place in 1996 and 1997, when the students were in grades 4 and 5, applied qualitative and quantitative instruments (observations, interviews, written and oral examinations, and questionnaires) on both bilingual (PEBIMO) and regular (SNE) classrooms. Although the quantitative results were rather inconclusive, the qualitative results of this experiment were tremendously positive for bilingual education. They showed strong evidence of the potential for bilingual education to improve the quality of primary education in Mozambique. The results showed that dropout rates decreased; there was high percentage of female bilingual students who remained in school up to grade 4; there were greater levels of classroom participation in bilingual classroom and that students had warmer, familiar relationships with their teachers. The results also showed that the use of mother tongue as a medium of instruction facilitated both teaching and learning by making communication possible and that, in bilingual classes, there was more on-task interaction between students and teachers. Cases were observed where individual students had the courage to ask questions or even correct the teacher, events that were never observed in SNE classes (Benson 1998; Benson 2000; Benson 2004 ; Benson 2010).

3.2. The bilingual education model

Encouraged by the results of the 1993-1997 PEBIMO experiment, in 1997, INDE promoted a debate on the introduction of national languages for initial education in Mozambique. The debate involved participants from different institutions and fields of study (education, religious confessions, universities, ONGs and other civil society organizations). The participants in the debate agreed that national languages should be gradually introduced as languages of instruction for initial schooling throughout the country, particularly in rural areas that are linguistically homogeneous. In 2003, a transitional bilingual education programme was introduced in some rural primary schools in Mozambique in 2003 (INDE/MINED 2003). The table below summarizes the model chosen:

Table 5: The 2003 transitional bilingual education model

Source: (INDE/MINED 2003)
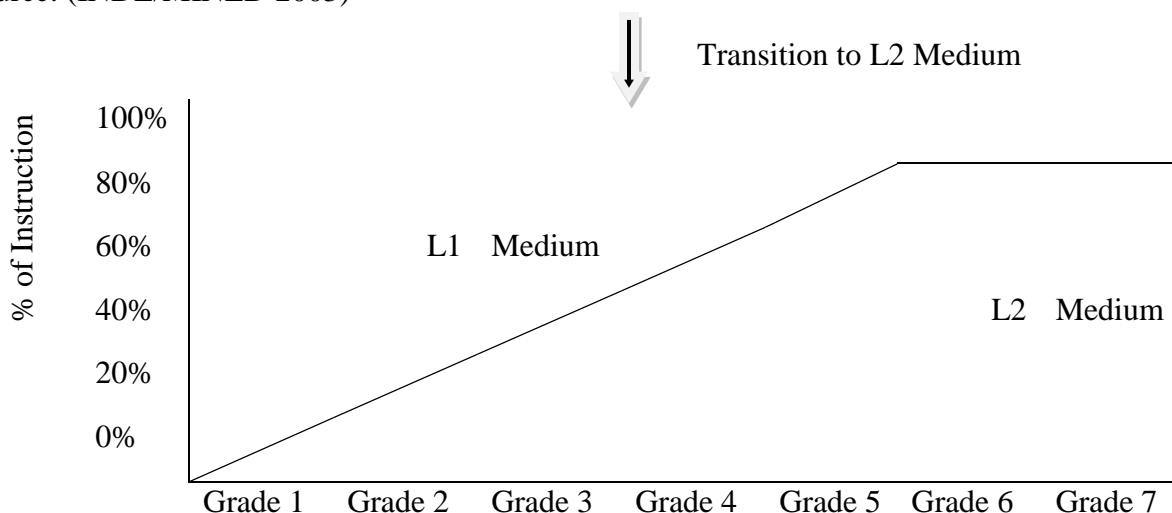
Since 2003, the country has been running two parallel programmes for the primary school curriculum: the Portuguese submersion education programme and the "new" bilingual education programme. The bilingual education programme initially involved eleven local Bantu languages namely: Cinyanja, Xichangana, Emakhuwa, Cinyungue, Cisena, Cindau, Xirhonga, Tshwa, Yao, Makonde and Chwabo. This programme, according to INDE/MINED (2003), is structured as follows:

- In grades one and two, a Bantu language L1 is used as the language of instruction. Portuguese L2 is taught as a subject mainly to develop students' oral skills.

- In grades three, four and five, (INDE/MINED 2003), the students begin the transition of the language of instruction from Bantu language L1 to Portuguese L2. Thus, in grade three, they learn reading and writing in Portuguese. In grade three, the language of instruction is still a Bantu L1 but from grade four, Portuguese L2 becomes the language of instruction and both L1 and L2 are taught as subjects. Although Portuguese becomes the language of instruction in grade four, L1 can still be used to help students understanding of difficult concepts mainly in subjects such as Mathematics, Natural Science and Social Science. In grade five, the students are submitted to a national exam under the same circumstances as the students from the Portuguese submersion curriculum. The national final exam for grade five is written in Portuguese language.

- In grades six and seven, (INDE/MINED 2003), Portuguese is the language of instruction and the Bantu L1 can still be used to help understanding as in grades four and five. In grade six, the children are also introduced to English as a foreign language. At the end of grade seven, the students are again submitted to another national exam, the last exam for primary school students. This exam, like the fifth grade exam, is written in Portuguese. Portuguese, the official language, is the sole language of instruction in the subsequent levels of education and it is the language required to enter the employment market and to have access to other institutions in the country. Thus, it is important for students to have a good command of this language at the end of their primary education.

3.3. Reasons evoked for the implementation of bilingual education in Mozambique

The design and implementation of bilingual education in Mozambique was based on linguistic-pedagogic reasons, cultural identity reasons and language as an individual right (INDE/MINED 2003).

3.3.1. Linguistic-pedagogic reasons

In multilingual settings like Mozambique, it is now widely recognised that when children enter school for the first time, they have already developed basic interpersonal communicative skills in their mother tongue (for most children, the mother tongue is different from the language of the education system). They have already learned the sound systems and grammatical structures of their mother tongue and they can communicate in that language. It is recognised, in light of findings in second language acquisition theory that the children will more easily develop cognitive/ academic language proficiency (the language proficiency necessary to meet the cognitive demands of the classroom) in the language that they already speak when they start school. The principle is that when the children have developed cognitive/ academic language proficiency in their L1 and when the children have had sufficient time to develop basic interpersonal communicative skills in the L2, the children will transfer the skills learned in L1 into L2 (Cummins 1981; Cummins 1984; Baker and Garcia 1996; Baker 2006). Furthermore, the proponents of bilingual education in Mozambique argue that primary school teachers feel more confident to teach in a language that they and their students are native or fluent speakers (INDE/MINED 2003).

3.3.2. Cultural identity reasons

The proponents recognise that the incapacity of the curriculum to integrate the ethnolinguistic complexity of the children, the communities and the society at large, is the major shortcoming of contemporary education. Decisions on the education of children should not be limited simply to pedagogic themes or topics. They must include linguistic and cultural issues surrounding bilingualism and bilingual education. Language is not only a means for transmission of messages but also a means for transmission of cultural values. In the teaching and learning process, if the relationship between language and culture is not observed, this can create discontinuity between the values that the child brings to school and those values that are developed by the school. In this case, the option for using mother tongue for initial schooling is ideal because it brings Portuguese language to the same level of prestige as the familiar domestic culture, the traditional values and the experiences of the teachers (INDE/MINED 2003).

3.3.3. Language as a right

Mother tongue learning is a right of the individual(UNESCO 1953; UNESCO 1996). In the same way that the individual has to choose the religion they identify with, for example, the individual also has the same right with regard to languages. In the same way that racism and other forms of discrimination should be banned, discrimination on the basis of language should be eradicated. Mozambique cannot be considered a fully democratic society when basic rights of the individual are not met; for example, when language, the main instrument for participating in the democratic process is not taken into consideration. In education, if children cannot communicate in their language (the mother tongue); they are excluded from the teaching and learning process. When a language that the students cannot speak is used as the sole language of instruction by the school, the day-to-day life of the student becomes dreadfully painful contributing to the development of a low self-esteem among the children (INDE/MINED 2003).

3.4. Two parallel programmes for rural primary education

Since 2003, Mozambique has been running two parallel programmes for rural primary education. The transitional bilingual education programme and the Portuguese submersion education programme. Whereas in urban areas pupils can only enroll in the Portuguese submersion education programme, rural primary school pupils have two options to choose from. They can either enroll in the transitional bilingual education programme or in the traditional Portuguese submersion programme depending on what the parents or care-takers see as best for the education of their children. The table below summarizes the two education programmes that co-occur in Mozambican rural primary schools:

Table 6: The transitional bilingual education and the Portuguese submersion programmes for Mozambican primary schools

Source: Adapted from (INDE/MINED 2003)

Programme	Language of Instruction	Languages as subjects
Bilingual (grades 1 to 3)	Local Bantu language	Local Bantu and Portuguese
Bilingual (grades 4 and5)	Portuguese	Local Bantu and Portuguese
Bilingual (grades 6 and 7)	Portuguese	Local Bantu, Portuguese and English
Submersion (grades 1 to 3)	Portuguese	Portuguese
Submersion (grades 4 and5)	Portuguese	Portuguese
Submersion (grades 6 and 7)	Portuguese	Portuguese and English

At completion of primary education, children enrolled in the bilingual programme will have had three languages as subjects (local Bantu language, Portuguese and English). Children enrolled in the traditional Portuguese submersion programme, on the other hand, will have had two languages as subjects (Portuguese and English). This model does not make provisions for urban primary school children who recogonise and are willing to rescue the language of their ancestors.

3.5. The extent of national language use in the model.

The extent of national language use in the model decreases from grade 1 throughout while the use of Portuguese languages increases, as shown in Table 7.

Table 7: National language use in the current transitional bilingual education model

Source: adapted from (INDE/MINED 2003)

Grade	National language/L1 Use	Portuguese/L 2 Use	Other
Grade 1	**90%** L1 as subject + Medium of Instruction for all subjects; classroom management and essential communication in the classroom.	**10%** L2 as a subject: oral basic classroom instructions + medium of instruction when context is clear (e.g. sport, art, technology)	
Grade 2	**75%** L1 as subject + Medium of instruction for most subjects; reading/writing; communication.	**25%** L2 as a subject: oral; classroom instructions and management. L2 as Medium of Instruction for sport, art and technology and sometimes for Mathematics	
Grade 3	**60%** Transition grade Transfer of reading/writing skills from L1 to L2 Reading/writing Communication L1 as a subject +Medium of Instruction for many subjects	**40%** Transition grade Transfer of reading/writing skills from L1 to L2 Introduction to reading and writing in L2 Instructions and classroom management L2 as a subject + Medium of Instruction for some subjects	
Grade 4	**40%** Reading/writing Communication Introduction to literature L1 as a subject and Medium of Instruction in some subjects when the issues being taught are new or L1 as a resource to explain difficult	**60%** L2 as a subject: Oral (communication); Development of reading/writing. L 2 as Medium of Instruction for most subjects	

	terms		
Grade 5	**25%** L1 as a subject: reading/writing; communication. L1 as Medium of Instruction using the predict-review method.	**75%** L2 as a subject: consolidation of reading/writing; Introduction to literature; development of speaking skills. L2 as Medium of Instruction for all subjects.	
Grade 6	***±20%** L1 as a subject: reading/writing; vocabulary development; literature. L1 as a resource when issues being taught are new or to explain difficult terms/notions	***±80%** L2 as a subject: reading/writing; literature; development of speaking skills. L2 as Medium of Instruction for all subjects	**L 3 English *±10%**
Grade 7	***±20%** L1 as a subject: reading/writing; vocabulary development; literature L1 as a resource when issues being taught are new or to explain difficult terms/notions	***±80%** L2 as a subject: reading/writing; literature; development of speaking skills. L2 as Medium of Instruction for all subjects	**L 3 English *± 10%**

* The original table did not account for the fact that English as a foreign language is introduced in grade 6.

The extent of national language use (L1/ mother tongue use), as shown in the table above, varies from grade to grade. What is evident, however, is the gradual decrease in the amount of national language (mother tongue) use from grade 1 through to grade 7 and the gradual increase in the amount of official language use (Portuguese language) from grade 1 through to grade 7. Moreover, the function of national language (L1/ mother tongue) as Medium of Instruction is taken over by the official language from grade 4 onwards and the L1 becomes a subject till the end of primary schooling. In the final two grades of primary education, grades 6 and 7, English is introduced as a foreign language.

3.6. Expected outcomes

The implementation of the transitional bilingual education in Mozambique is a reason for commemoration because the country has moved from zero use to some use of national languages (L1/ mother tongue) in education (Heugh 2006; Chimbutane 2011; Ngunga 2011). However, the model chosen is not harmonious with current findings in second language acquisition theory and consequently it is very likely not to deliver the expected cognitive and academic advantages of bilingual education advanced in literature.

This model can be classified, according to Baker (2006), as a weak form of bilingual education opposed to strong forms of bilingual education such as immersion, maintenance/heritage language, two-way/dual language and bilingual education in majority languages. According to Baker (2006), academic empirical studies generally support 'strong' forms of bilingual education where a student's first language is cherished by the school. 'Weak' forms of bilingual education where the student's home language is substituted for educational purposes by a second majority language tend to be less effective.

A number of scholars have provided typologies of language education policies and models in African contexts which move away from mother tongue education towards L2 models and demonstrate that most of these policies and models are ineffective, inefficient and counterproductive (Obanya 1999; Bamgbose 2000; Ouane 2003; Wolff 2004; Heugh 2006). Research in Africa (e.g.Bamgbose 2000; Chimbutane 2011) and elsewhere (e.g. Ramirez, Yuen et al. 1991; Thomas and Collier 2002) show that weak forms of bilingual education , submersion education and early-transition to L2 programmes do not facilitate successful results. According to Heugh (2006), while there may appear to be an initial improvement in well-resourced programmes, such improvement tends to disappear by about the fourth or fifth year of school. Consequently, very few pupils show positive signs of achievement. Cummins'(1981) interdependence hypothesis shows that young children's apparent aptitude for learning the L2 is commonly misunderstood. The children learn simple conversational skills (BICS) quite quickly in one or two years. However, they do not develop the necessary proficiency in the complex decontextualized discourse of the classroom (CALP) in fewer than six years. This, according to Heugh (2006), means that if a child needs to learn a new language such as the official language, they will normally need six to eight years of learning the language as a subject before it can be used as a Medium of Instruction.

UNESCO's (1953) report on the use of vernacular languages in education supports lengthy use of L1 in education in the following terms:

> "On educational grounds we recommend that the use of the mother tongue be extended to as late a stage in education as possible. In particular, pupils should begin their schooling through the medium of the mother tongue, because they understand it best and because to begin their school life in the mother tongue will make the break between home and school as small as possible." (UNESCO 1953)

If the aim of the implementation of bilingual education in Mozambique is to improve the quality of education of minority language children, something needs to be done urgently on the current model that is being implemented so that the resources made available for education in the

country and the timing allocated for mother tongue education in the current model result in positive consequences of bilingual education. If analysed in the light of the thresholds theory and of the interdependence theory, the current model of bilingual education is very likely to lead learners to a situation of semilingualism where adequate performance is attained in neither language at the end of primary schooling. Furthermore, considering that primary school is the only level of education that many rural children in Mozambique manage to complete successfully, carelessness in the choice and implementation of bilingual education programme might result in strengthening the gap between the haves, on the one hand, and the have-nots and never-to-haves on the other hand (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000).

3.7. Conclusion

This chapter has shown that the transitional bilingual education programme being implemented in Mozambique since 2003 is an early-exit programme where the students' mother tongue is used as a medium of instruction for initial schooling (grades 1 to 3). Portuguese, the official language of the country, takes over as the medium of instruction from grade 4 and the students' mother tongue becomes a subject until the end of primary education (grade 7). The chapter has also shown that such a model is not harmonious with the present state of knowledge in bilingual education and second language acquisition theory and that it does not facilitate the desired transfer of skills from L1 to L2. Transition after three years of mother tongue medium is not enough for the development of skills in neither language. Consequently, this model needs to be reviewed and adjusted to current knowledge so that students can enjoy the cognitive and academic advantages of bilingual education. Nevertheless, the official implementation of bilingual education in Mozambique has deserved applauses by proponents of bilingual education because the current bilingual education programme is not only better than the traditional Portuguese submersion programme inherited from the former colonizing power but also, it opens a door for improved education of language minority children, a door that had never been opened since the country became independent in 1975.

CHAPTER 4: LITERATURE REVIEW

Overview

"Language is not everything in education, but without language everything is nothing in education" (Wolff 2006, p.50).

Since the UNESCO's (1953) report on the use of vernacular languages in education many countries in Africa and beyond have been struggling to find an effective strategy that allows them to transform the educational systems that they inherited form the colonial powers into more culturally relevant education that takes into account not only national values but also people's socio-cultural and linguistic background as well as their educational needs. Such a relevant and effective strategy, according to Alidou et al. (2006), would be characterised, among other issues, by the use of an effective medium of instruction. It has become indubitable in multilingual contexts, particularly in Africa, that; of the many factors involved in delivering quality education, language is clearly the key to communication in the classroom (Benson 2005).

This chapter presents an overview of bilingual education, second language acquisition (SLA) and cultural identity issues related with design and implementation of bilingual education programmes. First it provides the framework guiding the present study. Then it discusses issues related with bilingual education and models of bilingual education. After that, it focuses on the relationship between bilingual education, cognitive development and second language acquisition. Next, it addresses bilingual education and human rights and finally, bilingual education and cultural identity.

4.1. Conceptual framework

The major thrust of this study is devoted to understanding the views of students, parents and teachers concerning language education as a means of developing attitudes, values and social capabilities that a child must acquire in order to be functional in the community. From such views, the study will endeavour to come up with a proposed model of bilingual education that can best serve the interests of the stakeholders involved.

According to Borgatti (1999), a conceptual framework is " a collection of interrelated concepts like a theory, but not necessarily so well worked- out". Defining an appropriate conceptual framework to guide the study has helped to determine what things need to be measured, and what outcomes the study might achieve. There are three conceptual frameworks related to this study. These include principles of second language acquisition (SLA), cultural identity and bilingual education theory. These mainframes elaborated how the research questions would be better addressed. An overview of the conceptual framework is shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3: Conceptual framework
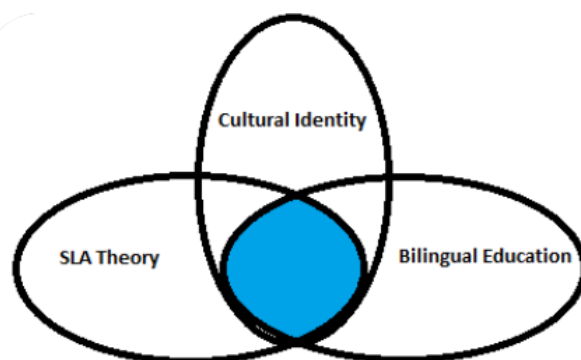
Although bilingual education has been widely recognised as offering best opportunities for the education of language minority children, decisions taken on the basis of this knowledge by educational planners and managers should not be imposed to identified communities. The voices of students, teachers and parents need to be heard and taken into consideration before any transformational educational programme is implemented. In the case of bilingual education, it is important to find out how the target people identify themselves with their language and culture. It is important to find out if they are interested in having their linguistic rights fulfilled by the education system. An educational programme that does not enjoy the support of the communities involved is condemned to failure and bilingual education is not an exception to this.

The dark patch in the middle of Figure 3 is meant to represent a fusion of the three conceptual frameworks of this study, namely, principles of second language acquisition (SLA), cultural identity and bilingual education theory. It is an imaginary optimum point at which, after measuring the mainframes, decisions on type of education (monolingual or bilingual) and models of bilingual education should be made. The idea behind the dark patch is that: (1) bilingual education can and should be offered to communities who identify with their local language and culture and want to maintain and develop it; and (2) a good model of bilingual education must be in line with findings in Second Language Acquisition Theory and with socio-economic expectations of the communities involved.

The proposed conceptual framework will enable the study to measure, first of all, identity relations of the study participants with their language and culture and then, move on to see how their views can best be catered for with a view to improving the quality of education provided in the communities concerned.

The centre case for bilingual education is that the principles underlying successful bilingual education are the same principles that underlie successful language acquisition in general (Krashen 1991). Such principles are:

1. We acquire a second language by understanding messages, by obtaining comprehensible input;
2. Background knowledge can help make second language input more comprehensible, and can therefore assist in the acquisition of the second language;

3. The development of literacy occurs in the same way as second language acquisition does. We learn to read by reading (Goodman 1982; Smith 1982). We learn to read by making sense of what is on the page. In turn, reading is the major source of our competence in vocabulary, spelling, writing styles and grammar. (Krashen 1991, p. 4)

One of the most salient features of bilingual education is the use of L1 (mother tongue) as the medium of instruction. The mother tongue can help in the following ways:

1. It supplies background knowledge which can make the L2 input more comprehensible;
2. It enhances the development of basic literacy:
   1. If we, in fact, learn to read by reading, it will be much easier to learn to read in a language one already knows, because written materials in our mother tongue will be more comprehensible to us.
   2. Once you can read, you can read. This ability will transfer to other languages that may be acquired.
3. It helps the development of advanced literacy- the ability to use language, oral and written, to solve problems. If learners understand the composing process in one language, for instance, they will be able to use it in other languages they acquire. (Cummins 1981; Krashen 1985; Krashen 1985; Krashen 1990).

4.2. Issues in bilingual education

4.2.1. Defining bilingual education

The term "bilingual education" generally implies the use of two or more languages of instruction to teach subjects other than the languages themselves (Fishman 1977; Baker 2006; Heugh 2009). This definition implies that programmes in which one of the languages is not used as language of instruction (e.g. submersion with or without pull-out L2 lessons) cannot qualify as bilingual education programmes.

For the purpose of this study, the term "bilingual education" will be used to refer to the use of two languages, a national language (mother tongue) and Portuguese, the official language of Mozambique.

There are "weak" and "strong" forms of bilingual education (Baker 2006). Weak forms aim for strong dominance in the majority language and these include transitional (early-exit and late-exit) programmes. Strong forms of bilingual education lead to high levels of bilingualism and are associated with greater academic success. These include maintenance/heritage language, two-way/dual language and immersion programmes.

4.2.2. Clarifying terminology used to identify bilingual education models

Subtractive and transitional models of bilingual education

Subtractive models

The aim of a subtractive model of bilingual education is to shift the child from the home, minority language/L1 to the dominant L2 as the medium of instruction as soon as possible. According to Heugh (2006), this shift, sometimes involves a straight-for-L2 medium from the first grade in school, referred to as the submersion model which literally means that the child is submerged in the L2. This submersion leads to a "survival of the fittest" or "sink or swim" scenario. Sometimes, submersion models do make a little provision for remedial work in L2 but the goal is the use of L2 for teaching and learning.

Transitional models

Transitional models of bilingual education have the same goals as the subtractive models- to shift the child from the home/L1 language to the dominant L2 at the end of school (Baker 2006). As Heugh (2006) puts it, the learner may begin school in the L1 and then, gradually, shift to the L2 as the medium of instruction. If the shift or transition from L1 medium to L2 medium occurs within 1-3 years, the model is called early-exit transition model. However, if transition is delayed to grade 6, the model is called late-exit transition model (Baker 1996; Heugh 2006)

Weak bilingual models

The term " weak bilingual" models is used by authors such as Baker & Garcia (1996); Baker (2002) to refer to both subtractive and early-exit transitional models of bilingual education.

Additive models of bilingual education

Additive models of bilingual education are also referred to as strong bilingual models (Baker and Garcia 1996; Baker 2002). Unlike subtractive or weak models, the aim of additive models is either L1 medium throughout school (with L2 taught well as a subject) or it is L1 plus L2 as two mediums of instruction to the end of school (Heugh 2006). According to Heugh (2006), the kind of additive bilingual education models which are applicable in most African countries would be: either

0. L1 medium throughout with L2 taught as a subject by a specialist teacher; or

1. Dual medium: L1 mainly to at least grade 4-5 (preferably grade 6); followed by gradual use of L2 for up to but not more than 50% of the day/subjects by the end of school.

Transfer

The term "transfer" comes from psycholinguistics and second language acquisition theory. It is associated with Jim Cummins on bilingualism and cognitive growth (Cummins 1976; Cummins 1978; Cummins 1981; Cummins 1984). Transfer is a cognitive process where what is known in the L1 (knowledge of language and academic concepts), at appropriate time and circumstances, can be transferred to the L2. The knowledge to be transferred from L1 to L2 includes: how to read and write; how to write for different genres; the understanding of concepts of how the L1 works and making inferences or interpreting text. An adequate degree of transfer will not be possible when the L1 is not sufficiently well established or the L2 is not sufficiently well known. Psycholinguists like Cummins and others believe that an adequate transfer of knowledge required for formal education is only possible when there is a firm foundation of academic and cognitive development in the L1 (see Baker 1996). Heugh (2006) argues that transfer is made possible in additive bilingual education programmes because the first language is kept present as the primary medium of instruction and language from which the knowledge and skills can be transferred. However, The Ife Six Year Primary Project (SYPP) in Nigeria, a late-exit transitional bilingual model, for example, has shown that in well-resourced conditions (well prepared teachers and good materials) six years of L2 teaching can facilitate transition to L2 medium in grade 7. If a child needs to learn a new language such as the official language, they will normally need six to eight years of learning the language as a subject before it can be used as a Medium of Instruction (Heugh 2006).

Transition

Unlike transfer, transition is not a cognitive process. This term is used to describe a model of bilingual education in which the language of teaching and learning shifts from initial L1 medium to L2 medium. An issue that has constituted a source of debate for years is the right period for transition to take place. Heugh (2006) argues for the need to clearly distinguish between learning to use early literacy decoding skills and the cognitively more challenging requirements of comprehending or making meaning of extended written text. Lack of such distinction, as Heugh (2006) sees it, leads to the design of bilingual education programmes on inadequate assumptions that early literacy decoding skills in the first language facilitates transfer of literacy skills to the second language within a short period of time. Although early-exit bilingual education programmes make an enormous contribution to the development and use of local languages, where such programmes offer transition to L2 as medium of instruction before or by grade 4, they are not affecting adequate transfer of knowledge. In such early-exit programmes, transition to L2 medium occurs before the children could possibly have learnt enough of the L2 to function in educational contexts at grade level across the curriculum. Transfer to L2, on the other hand, can only occur when the children have developed cognitive academic literacy and language proficiency to a level where they can understand decontextualized text, and their second language is sufficiently developed to make transfer possible.

Successful transfer of cognitive academic language skills may be possible in late-exit transitional models (after 6 years of L1 Medium) and very late-exit models (after 8 years of L1 Medium) (Cummins 1981; Cummins and Swain 1996; Heugh 2006). For Heugh (2006), transfer may be possible in very well-resourced circumstances after 6 years of mother tongue education when accompanied by L2 language specialists. In less well-resourced circumstances, transfer is more likely to be possible after 8 years of mother tongue education.

4.2.2. On models of bilingual education

There has been considerable work on typologies of bilingual education (Mackey 1970; Fergunson, Houghton et al. 1977; Mackey 1978; Baker and Garcia 1996). According to Baker & Garcia (1996) an intrinsic limitation of typologies is that not all real-life examples of bilingual education programmes will fit easily into the classification. Mackey (1970) indicates 90 varieties of bilingual education. Baker & Garcia (1996) have classified bilingual education programmes into two groups: 1) weak forms and, 2) strong forms. This classification is dependent on the ultimate aim in language outcome. Weak forms of bilingual education include bilingual education programme types such as submersion education (with and without withdrawal L2 classes), segregationist education, transitional bilingual education (early and late transition), main stream education (with foreign language teaching), and separatist education. Strong forms of bilingual education include immersion bilingual education (early, middle and late immersion), developmental maintenance and heritage language bilingual education, two way/dual language bilingual education, and bilingual education in majority languages. The table below summarizes Baker and Garcia's typology of bilingual education.

Table 8: Types of bilingual education programmes

Source: (Baker 1996)

WEAK FORMS OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION				
Type of programme	Typical type of child	Language of the classroom	Societal and educational aim	Aim in language outcome
SUBMERSION	Language Minority	Majority Language	Assimilation	Monolingualism
SUBMERSION with withdrawal L2 classes	Language Minority	Majority Language with "pull out" L2 lessons	Assimilation	Monolingualism
SEGREGATIONIST	Language Minority	Language Minority(forced, no choice)	Apartheid	Monolingualism
TRANSITIONAL	Language Minority	Moves from Minority to Majority Language	Assimilation	Relative Monolingualism

Type of programme	Typical type of child	Language of the classroom	Societal and educational aim	Aim in language outcome
MAINSTREAM with foreign Language Teaching	Language Majority	Majority Language with L2/FL Lessons	Limited Enrichment	Limited Bilingualism
SEPARATIST	Language Minority	Minority Language (out of choice)	Detachment/ Autonomy	Limited Bilingualism

STRONG FORMS OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Type of programme	Typical type of child	Language of the classroom	Societal and educational aim	Aim in language outcome
IMMERSION	Language Majority	Bilingual with Initial Emphasis on L2	Pluralism and Enrichment	Bilingualism & Biliteracy
MAINTENANCE/ HERITAGE LANGUAGE	Language Minority	Bilingual with Emphasis on L1	Maintenance, Pluralism and Enrichment	Bilingualism & Biliteracy
TWO WAY/DUAL LANGUAGE	Mixed Language Minority & Majority	Minority and Majority	Maintenance, Pluralism and Enrichment	Bilingualism & Biliteracy

Heugh (2006) refers to weak models of bilingual education as subtractive models of bilingual education and strong forms of bilingual education as additive models of bilingual education.

The effectiveness of each of the different types of bilingual education depends on the conditions under which the programmes operate. According to Baker & Garcia (1996), the effectiveness of bilingual education needs to consider factors such as the children, the teachers, the community, the school itself and the programme type. The children have a variety of characteristics that need investigating. Children cannot be isolated from the classroom characteristics in which they work. Within the classroom, there are a variety of factors which may make for more or less effective education. Outside the classroom, the different attributes of schools may in their turn interact with the children and their classrooms to make education for language minority children more or less effective. Outside the school, there is the important effect of community. The social, cultural and political environment in which a school works will affect the education of language minority children at all levels (Baker and Garcia 1996, p. 222)

Studies on bilingual education in Africa (Bamgbose 2000; Adegbija 2004; Heugh 2006) and beyond (Ramirez, Yuen et al. 1991; Thomas and Collier 2002; Baker 2006) have criticized weak

forms of bilingual education where the children's first language is removed as medium of instruction. As Baker (2006) put it:

> " . . . Academic empirical research generally supports 'strong' forms of bilingual education where a student's home language is cultivated by the school. 'Weak' forms of bilingual education where the student's first language is replaced for educational purposes by a second majority language tend to be less effective". (Baker 2006, p. 289)

In a review of studies on mother tongue education (MTE) across the world, Heugh (2006, p. 68) concluded that for most minority language children across the world, the following applies:

1. The L1 needs to be reinforced and developed for twelve years for successful L2 learning and academic success to take place. This means from birth to 12 years of age. i.e. L1 medium for at least 6 years of formal education;
2. The international second language acquisition literature indicates that under optimal conditions, it takes 6 to 8 years to learn a second language sufficiently well enough to use it as a medium of instruction;
3. Language education models which remove the first language as a primary medium of instruction before grade 5 will facilitate little success for the majority of learners;
4. Language education models which retain the first language as a primary medium of instruction for 6 years can succeed under very well-resourced conditions in African settings; and
5. Eight years of mother tongue education may be enough under less well-resourced conditions.

In most postcolonial African countries, particularly in Mozambique, having very well-resourced conditions for education is still a dream. Thus, the model of bilingual education to opt for will retain the children's L1 as the primary medium of instruction for as long as possible in order to compensate for the lack of resources and at the same time facilitate transfer of skills from L1 to L2 so that the children can enjoy the benefits of their bilingualism. The need to extend the period of L1 medium is further substantiated by the discussion of the Threshold and the Developmental Interdependence Hypotheses below.

4.2.3. Bilingual education, cognitive development and second language acquisition

4.2.4.1. The threshold hypothesis

The threshold hypothesis was proposed by Toukomaa and Skutnabb-Kangas (1977) and by Cummins (1976; Cummins 1978) in the attempt to cope with the discrepancy in findings concerning bilingual children's cognitive ability. The hypothesis was based on the examination of issues related with the education of language minority children and it was especially concerned with establishing a point at which bilingualism can be seen to bring about positive cognitive effects.

The hypothesis proposes two thresholds each of which constitutes a level in the bilingual child's linguistic competence. The first threshold is a level that a child must attain in order to avoid negative cognitive effects of bilingualism. The second threshold is a level required for a child to experience the positive effects of bilingualism.

Figure 4: Diagrammatic representation of the threshold hypothesis showing cognitive effects of different types of bilinguals

Source: adapted from Baker (1996)
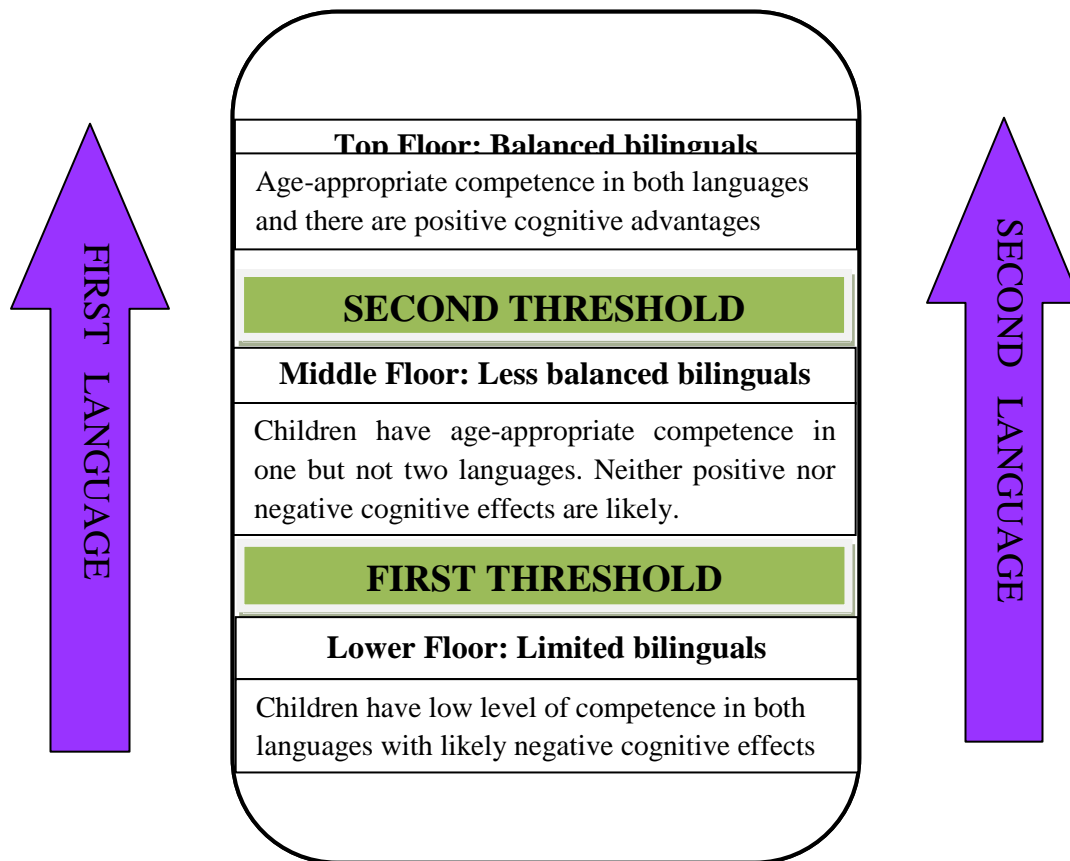
The threshold hypothesis is not only related to cognition but also to education. According to Baker (2006), with children in immersion education in Canada, there is normally a temporary delay in achievement when the curriculum is taught through the second language. Before the second language has developed well enough to cope with the curriculum content, a temporary delay may be expected. However, once the second language is developed sufficiently to deal with the curriculum material, immersion education is unlikely to have detrimental achievement effects for children. In fact, as Baker (2006) concludes, such immersion experience seems to enable children to reach the top floor of the threshold with resulting positive cognitive advantages.

The threshold hypothesis, according to Baker (2006), also helps to sum up why minority children taught through a second language sometimes fail to develop adequate competence in their second

language and fail to benefit from "weak" forms of bilingual education. The children's low level of proficiency in the second language limits their ability to cope with the curriculum. Thus, heritage language programmes that allow children to operate in their more developed home language can result in greater performance levels compared to submersion and transitional bilingual education.

The problem with the threshold hypothesis is that it neither defines precisely the level of language proficiency that a child must attain in order to avoid negative effects of bilingualism nor the precise level of language proficiency that a child must reach so as to obtain positive advantages of bilingualism. However, it constituted an important starting point for the emergence of more refined theories of bilingualism, for instance, the developmental interdependence hypothesis discussed below.

4.2.4.2. Developmental interdependence hypothesis

Cummins' (1978) developmental interdependence hypothesis is part of the evolution of the threshold hypothesis. This hypothesis considered the relationship between a bilingual's two languages. Cummins' hypothesis suggested that the competence of a child's second language is partly dependent on the level of competence already attained in the first language. If the first language is more developed, it will be easier to develop the second language. However, if the first language is at a low level of development, it will be more difficult to develop the second language.

The developmental interdependence hypothesis was strengthened by Cummins' (1984) distinction of basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS) and cognitive/academic language proficiency (CALP). BICS are said to occur in face-to-face "context embedded" situations where there are contextual supports and props for language delivery such as non-verbal support to secure understanding, actions with eyes and hands, instant feedback, cues and clues to support verbal language. CALP, on the other hand, is said to occur in a context reduced academic situation where language is "disembedded" from a meaningful supportive context (Cummins and Swain 1996, pp. 151-156).

Cummins further suggests that second language BICS, which are context embedded and cognitively undemanding use of language, develop relatively independently of first language BICS. Conversely, CALP, language that is context reduced and cognitively and academically demanding develops interdependently and can be promoted by either language or by both languages in an interactive way (Cummins and Swain 1996). Cummins (1981) points out that children usually take one or two years to acquire context- embedded second language fluency (BICS) compared to five to seven years or more that they take to acquire context-reduced fluency (CALP).

This hypothesis has been criticized for, among other issues, excluding various other factors that exist in the relationship between language development and cognitive development such as motivation, school, home and community effects. Nevertheless, the distinction between BICS and CALP coupled with the threshold hypothesis help explain the relative failure of many minority language children, particularly in submersion and transitional bilingual education programmes.

4.2.5. Bilingual education and human rights

Many countries around the world started using vernacular languages as languages of instruction motivated by the UNESCO's report on the use of vernacular languages in education (UNESCO 1953). The UNESCO's (1953) recommendation on the use of vernacular languages in education and subsequent declarations and resolutions such as the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights (UNESCO 1996), The Asmara declaration (Blommaert 2001) and others, have been used as the foundation basis for the design and implementation of bilingual education programmes for language minority children around the world.

UNESCO's (1953) recommendations state that:

> "It is axiomatic that the best medium for teaching a child is his mother tongue. Psychologically, it is the system of meaningful signs that in his mind works automatically for expression and understanding. Sociologically, it is a means of identification among the members of the community to which he belongs. Educationally, he learns more quickly through it than through an unfamiliar linguistic medium." (UNESCO 1953, p. 11)

The Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights establishes that:

> "All language communities have the right to decide to what extent their language is to be present as a vehicular language and as an object of study at all levels of education within their territory: preschool, primary, secondary, technical and vocational, university and adult education" (UNESCO 1996).

The psychological, social and educational benefits of bilingualism advanced in the UNESCO report are substantiated by further studies on benefits of bilingualism (Bamgbose 1984; Bamgbose 2000; Bamgbose 2004; Baker 2006; Heugh 2009). Bamgbose (2004) shows that in the six year Yoruba medium project in Ife Nigeria, compared to students who switched to English medium after three years of mother tongue education (MTE), students who had six years of MTE performed better in English, and in other content subjects than those who had had three years of MTE. Heugh (2009) shows that 8 years of mother tongue education in South African schools (1955-1975) resulted in increased pass rates for African language speaking learners at the final exit point, grade 12.

4.2.6. Bilingual education and cultural identity

Bilingual education in postcolonial contexts can be seen as a way of giving back to minority language communities what colonial history took away from them, the pride of their language and culture; the pride of belonging to a worthy community; the pride of their ancestral legacy. The legitimation of African languages and cultural practices can be viewed as one of the outcomes of bilingual education in Mozambique (Chimbutane 2011).

Mozambican languages and cultures were relegated to an inferior position for 500 years of Portuguese colonization and this marginalization continued for almost three decades after independence in 1975. The colonial Portuguese power introduced a system of education based on the view that the Africans had no culture and that the Europeans had the mission to civilize them in Portuguese language. The only medium of instruction throughout the formal education system was Portuguese, a language spoken by the white settlers. This meant that the Mozambicans who were not able to speak Portuguese were either left out of the system or had to struggle to overcome the language barrier (Ngunga 2011).

After independence, the language policy in Mozambique continued quite the same with Portuguese language being declared the official language, the language of national unity, the sole language of instruction in the education system, the language of power, the media and the courts.

Marginalization of Mozambican languages and cultures went against Eduardo Mondlane's dream for independent Mozambique (Kitoko-Nsiku 2007). Eduardo Mondlane, a freedom fighter and the first president of the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (Frelimo) laid the foundations for a new language policy for independent Mozambique as stated:

> "The positive elements of our cultural life such as our forms of linguistic expression, our music and typical dances, the regional peculiarities of being born, growing up , loving and dying, will continue after independence, so that they may blossom and embellish the life of our nation. There is no antagonism between the realities of the existing various ethnic groups and National Unity". (Mondlane 1967, p. 79)

With the implementation of bilingual education programmes in Mozambique, since 2003, the use of Chope (a national language spoken in southern Mozambique) in the formal context of the classroom is viewed by the speakers not only as an official recognition of their own existence as an ethnolinguistic linguistic group but also as a vital step towards the rescuing and reviving of their marginalized language and cultural practices (Chimbutane 2011). For Chimbutane, there is an increased sense of ethnolinguistic pride and identity affirmation among the communities where the bilingual education programme is being implemented. Instead of feeling ashamed of speaking their local languages, as it was the case before, communities now show off in their L1 through songs that celebrate the rescuing of their language and cultural identity.

4.3. Conclusion

This chapter has shown that 'weak' forms of bilingual education, early-exit programmes, where children start school using their mother tongue as language of instruction and then they are quickly transferred to L2 medium classes within the first three to four years of primary schooling do not facilitate transfer of skills from the first language to the second language. This is because such programmes are not supported by current research on bilingual education and second language acquisition, according to which, if a child needs to learn a new language such as the official language, they will normally need six to eight years of learning the language as a subject before it can be used as a Medium of Instruction. Although early-exit bilingual education programmes make an enormous contribution to the development and use of local languages, where such programmes offer transition to L2 as medium of instruction before or by grade 4, they are not affecting adequate transfer of knowledge. In such early-exit programmes, transition to L2 medium occurs before the children could possibly have learnt enough of the L2 to function in educational contexts at grade level across the curriculum. Transfer of skills from L1 to L2, on the other hand, can only occur when the children have developed L1 cognitive academic literacy and language proficiency to a level where they can understand decontextualized text, and their second language is sufficiently developed to make transfer possible.

Successful transfer of cognitive academic language skills may be possible in late-exit transitional models (after 6 years of L1 Medium) and very late-exit models (after 8 years of L1 Medium) (Cummins 1981; Cummins and Swain 1996; Heugh 2006). Transfer may be possible in very well-resourced circumstances after 6 years of mother tongue education when accompanied by L2 language specialists. In less well-resourced circumstances, transfer is more likely to be possible after 8 years of mother tongue education (Heugh 2000; Heugh 2006; Heugh 2009).

The chapter has also shown that psychologically, sociologically and educationally, the best medium for teaching a child is his mother tongue. It has shown that bilingual education increases the sense of ethnolinguistic pride and identity affirmation among the students and communities concerned. Instead of feeling ashamed of speaking their local languages, communities now show off and celebrate the rescuing of their language and cultural identity.

CHAPTER 5: LANGUAGE EDUCATION MODELS IN AFRICA

Overview

Although recent findings in bilingual education and second language acquisition theory are convincingly supportive of late-exit and additive models of bilingual education, many African countries still retain language education models inherited from the former colonial powers. These models are characterised by "straight" for or "submersion" into Portuguese, English or French as media of instruction throughout the entire education system. Such models, however, have proved to be ineffective, inefficient and counterproductive.

The present chapter discusses language in education practices in Africa. First, it provides an overview of language use in education in colonial Africa. Then, it focuses on language use in education in postcolonial Africa. After that, the chapter accounts for convergence of bilingual education models in Africa towards early-exit transitional bilingual education models. Finally, it outlines some successful examples of bilingual education models in Africa.

5.1. Language use in education in colonial Africa

Before the 1884/5 Berlin conference which culminated in the partition of Africa among the European colonial powers, most African communities were organized in clans, chiefdoms and tribes. There were no apparent language policies with the exception of areas that were dominated by Muslim or Christian religion. In areas dominated by Muslim religion, for example, African followers of this religion had to acquire basic literacy in Arabic and to have an adequate mastery of their own African languages to enable them either to recite the Koran and other important religious texts or to be able to understand the translations of Arabic religious texts and the Islamic jurisprudence (Abdulaziz 2003).

Definite language policies emerged during the colonial rule. African countries came to be known as Anglophone countries (former British territories), Francophone countries (former French territories) and Lusophone countries (former Portuguese territories). This classification of African countries into "X-phones" depended solely on who the colonial power was. If the Germans had not lost their territories in Africa after losing World War II, today, we would be speaking of "Germanphone" Africa. Language policy and language in education practices in colonial Africa also depended on who the colonial power was.

The Germans, the British and the Dutch were in favour of the use of African languages as media of instruction at the lower levels of education and administration. The missionaries of these countries developed orthographies and wrote grammar books and dictionaries from African languages with the intent of developing literacy in African languages. The reason for such undertaking was to teach the bible and other religious texts in African languages since this was considered the right way to disseminate the message of God (Abdulaziz 2003).

In the British territories of Africa, for example, African languages were used in primary schools when English was being introduced as the medium of instruction for higher education. In some regions, African languages were taught as a subject when English was adopted as the medium of

instruction. In Francophone Africa, African languages were used only occasionally and generally in oral form and mainly in adult education. The French colonial educational policy was to teach the French language from the very beginning in school and to leave aside the use of mother tongue. The French colonial power believed that their language, French, was the most cultured language and that it had a civilizing mission. This is why the French colonial language policy discouraged research into or development of African languages. French was to be the only official language of administration, education and culture (UNESCO 1953; Abdulaziz 2003). In Lusophone countries, the Portuguese colonial power had an even more intolerant policy towards African languages. They went to the extreme of referring to African languages as dog's languages (Kitoko-Nsiku 2007). The Portuguese chose the policy of assimilation. On the basis of their political position that the overseas territories of Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Sao Tome and Principe and Mozambique were an inalienable part of metropolitan Portugal, they took severe measures to guarantee that no African languages were promoted. They went as far as punishing missionaries who used African languages in education (Abdulaziz 2003). Through the policy of assimilation, Africans were forced by law to give up their language and culture in order to adopt Portuguese language and culture. African languages and cultures were despised and completely ignored. The colonial language was the only language, and the use of African languages was confined to rural family situations and eventually banned in modern public life (Ngunga 2011).

After independence, most African states have continued to promote the colonial legacy, whereby the use of the language of the former colonial power is supreme (Badejo 1989). However, urged by UNESCO's 1953 report on the use of vernacular languages in education, Africa countries have been struggling to find an effective strategy that allows them to move from an education system that they inherited from the colonial period to a more transformative and culturally relevant education that takes into account African values and languages, people's socio-cultural and linguistic background as well as their educational needs. Such a strategy would be characterized first of all, by the use of an appropriate medium of instruction, the use of adequate teaching techniques, the use of culturally adequate curriculum content and sufficient financial and material resources (Alidou, Boly et al. 2006).

5.2. Language use in education in post-colonial Africa

Urged by UNESCO's 1953 report on the use of vernacular languages in education coupled with other provisions and arrangements such as the Convention on the rights of the child (UN 1989) and the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights (Nations 1998) , African countries have been struggling to find an effective strategy that allows them to move from an education system that they inherited from the colonial period to a more transformative and culturally relevant education that takes into account African values and languages, people's socio-cultural and linguistic background as well as their educational needs.

According to Obanya (1999), multilingual postcolonial Africa has tried five options with regard to language-in-education policy and practice namely, (i) promoting national languages and developing them for use in education; (Muthwii) using indigenous languages for instruction in basic education, including teaching them as subjects at all levels; (iii) using indigenous

languages for instruction in the early years of formal education and teaching them as subjects at all other levels; (iv) teaching indigenous languages as subjects to a limited extent in basic education; and finally, (v) an ever-lasting experimentation and argumentation on the use of indigenous languages in education.

The most commonly used language-in-education models in postcolonial Africa are:

1. "straight for" or "submersion" into the second/ foreign language (usually English, French or Portuguese), known as subtractive language education model because the first language is removed from the formal school system as the medium of instruction;

  2) the use of African languages (L1/ mother tongue) in education systems based on early-exit models where the children start school in the first/home language or the language of the immediate community, followed by a rapid transition to the official language within a year or two, occasionally by year three. (Wolff 2004; Wolff 2006)

Educational practices in postcolonial Africa have failed independent of which of the two most commonly used language- in- education models individual countries have opted for. This is because both models are equally inefficient, ineffective and counterproductive for post-colonial contexts in Africa.

In the so-called Lusophone and Francophone countries of Africa, according to Wolff (2006), educational systems based on the exclusive use of the language of the former colonizing power as the sole medium of learning and teaching have been retained and the result has been rather poor performance of the system as a whole. This result, however, does not come as a surprise to language-in-education specialists who have always argued that learning in a foreign or unfamiliar language merely does not work for most learners.

In the so-called Anglophone countries of Africa, on the other hand, where governments have made considerable effort to introduce or maintain mother tongue education during the first few years of schooling, these have not shown the expected outcomes and the result, again, has been poor performance of the system. This failure is substantiated by research findings that show that early-exit models of bilingual education are likely to fail in the long run because of the insufficient period of learning both the first language (mother tongue/L1) and the second language (L2/official Language) (Cummins and Swain 1996; Bamgbose 2000; Heugh 2000; Bamgbose 2004; Baker 2006).

It is undeniable that early-exit bilingual education programmes make an enormous contribution to the development and use of African languages compared to programmes characterized by "straight" for or "submersion" into the language of the former colonizing power. However, where such early-exit bilingual programmes offer transition to L2 as medium of instruction before or by grade 4, they are not affecting adequate transfer of knowledge. In such early-exit programmes, transition to L2 medium occurs before the children could possibly have learnt enough of the L2 to function in educational contexts at grade level across the curriculum (Heugh 2006). Transfer to L2, on the other hand, can only occur when the children have developed cognitive academic literacy and language proficiency to a level where they can understand decontextualized text, and their second language is sufficiently developed to facilitate transfer of skills.

Successful transfer of cognitive academic language skills may be possible in late-exit transitional models (after 6 years of L1 Medium) and very late-exit models (after 8 years of L1 Medium) (Cummins 1981; Cummins and Swain 1996; Heugh 2006). For Heugh (2006), transfer may be possible in very well-resourced circumstances after 6 years of mother tongue education when accompanied by the teaching of the second language by a specialist language teacher. In less well-resourced circumstances, transfer is more likely to be possible after 8 years of mother tongue education.

5.3. Convergence towards early-exit bilingual education models

Since European colonization in Africa, educational practices in Lusophone and Francophone countries of Africa have been characterized by models using "straight for" or "submersion" into the language of the colonial power, Portuguese or French (Heugh 2006). This practice is characterized as a subtractive language education model because the children's first language is taken out of the formal education system as a medium of instruction. There has been tendency to neglect the use of African languages in mainstream state education systems. In countries where there have been experimental bilingual education programmes, these have usually been based on early-exit models in which children begin school in their home language or language of the immediate community, followed by a rapid transition to French, or Portuguese within a year or two, occasionally by year three (Heugh 2006).

In the Anglophone countries, on the other hand, the practice introduced by missionaries was mother tongue education for the first three to four years followed by English. In some parts of southern Africa, the missionaries developed and used African languages for up to six years of school (Heugh 2006). According to Baker & Garcia's (1996) typology, this is known as a transitional model of bilingual education because the children are switched from mother tongue medium to English medium. Transitional bilingual education models can be divided into earl-exit models (when transition to L2 medium occurs at or by grade 4) and late-exit models (when transition occurs after grade 6). After independence, some Anglophone countries embarked on a dramatic reduction of the use of early mother education. For example, in Zambia, the four years of mother tongue education were replaced by a straight-to-English (subtractive) model which continued for over thirty years. Within a few years of independence, Zimbabwe and Namibia settled on early-exit transitional model (early- exit to English by the end of year three) (Alidou, Boly et al. 2006; Heugh 2006).

The general tendency in Francophone countries and in Lusophone countries, particularly in Mozambique, has been to replace the "straight for" French or Portuguese models with early-exit bilingual models. In Anglophone countries, on the other hand, the tendency has been to replace late-exit bilingual models inherited from the British colonial power with early-exit bilingual models. In the first case, there is an increase in the use of African languages in education because the countries have moved from no use at all to some use of African languages in education, whereas in the second situation, there is a diminished use of African languages in education because the countries have moved from late-exit models (six years or more of mother tongue education) to early-exit models (up to four years of mother tongue education). This general tendency goes against findings in bilingual education and second language acquisition theory

that clearly support late-exit and additive bilingual models as best for the education of language minority children. There are exceptions to this trend and these are discussed in the section on successful examples of bilingual education models below.

5.4. Some successful examples of bilingual education models in Africa

5.4.1. Nigeria: The Ife Six Year Primary Project (SYPP)

The Six Year Primary Project (SYPP) is a late-exit transitional model. It started in 1970 at the Obafemi Awolowo University, formerly known as the University of Ife in Ile-Ife, Nigeria. SYPP was an experiment in medium of instruction involving a comparison of the traditional 3-year Yoruba medium plus 3-year English medium with a 6-year Yoruba medium in primary schools. According to Bamgbose (2005), the SYPP started in a rural school with two experimental classes and one control class. One of the aims of the project was to use Yoruba throughout the six years of primary schooling in order to find out whether primary education provided in the child's mother tongue medium would be likely to be more meaningful and of greater advantage to the students who enrolled through the schooling system.

The SYPP curriculum consisted of Mathematics, English, social studies, science and Yoruba. English and Yoruba were taught as subjects from the beginning of primary education while the other subjects were taught through the medium of Yoruba in the experimental classes. The main differences between the experimental and the control classes were the medium of instruction in the last three years of primary school as well as in the use of a specialist teacher of English as a subject for the experimental class. In 1973, the project was extended to more schools, including urban schools. The use of specialist teacher of English was abandoned for the new experimental classes. During the duration of the project, detailed evaluation covering various subject areas and intelligence tests were administered. The results showed consistently that the group that performed highest on tests of all subjects was the original experimental group followed by the new experimental group. The worst group in all cases was the traditional control group. Consequently, the difference in medium of instruction is shown to be significant (Bamgbose 1984; Fafunwa, Macauley et al. 1989; Adegbija 2004; Bamgbose 2005).

The SYPP project confirms, in an African setting, the current SLA theories which show that in well-resourced conditions (well prepared teachers and good materials) six years of L2 teaching can facilitate transition to L2 medium in grade 7 (Heugh 2006).

5.4.2. Niger

Niger began implementing bilingual education since 1973; first, as an early-exit transitional bilingual education programme. However, in 2001, The Ministry of Basic Education and GTZ (a German Technical Cooperation) suggested that Niger should move from implementing transitional bilingual models to more appropriate models that maintain the use of national languages as mediums of instruction throughout primary school (Alidou and Brock-Utne 2006). The suggested model is presented below:

Table 9: Time allocated to national languages and French in Niger pilot bilingual Schools

Source: adapted from Chekaraou (2004)

Grades	National languages	French
Grade 1	90%	10%
Grade 2	75%	25%
Grades 3&4	60%	40%
Grades 5&6	50%	50%

The above model is classified as a late-exit transitional bilingual education model (Baker and Garcia 1996; Heugh 2006). In this model, the first language is retained as language of instruction throughout primary schooling. French is gradually introduced as language of instruction for up to 50% in grades 5 and 6. Total transition to L2 medium is delayed until grade 7 when the children have learnt the L2 for six years.

5.4.3. Mali

Mali is another success story with its "la pédagogie convergente", a transitional bilingual programme whose main aim is to produce functional bilingual learners (Traoré 2001). In "pédagogie convergente" schools, five national languages are used as languages of instruction, along with French (Alidou and Brock-Utne 2006). The model is presented in the table below:

Table 10: Time allocated to national languages and French in la pédagogie convergente schools

Source: adapted from Traoré (2001)

Grades	National languages	French
Grade 1	100%	
Grade 2	75%	25%
Grade 3	25%	75%
Grade 4	25%	75%
Grade 5	50%	50%
Grade 6	50%	50%

This is another late-exit bilingual programme where total transition to French medium is delayed until grade 7. Instruction in national languages prevails in the first and second grades. French is introduced in its oral form at the end of grade two. The written form of French is not introduced until the child is able to write in the first language; after that there is a drastic increase in the use of oral and written French from third grade through grade four (Alidou and Brock-Utne 2006).

The models above show that Mali, Niger and Nigeria are all moving from the implementation of early-exit transitional bilingual models where national languages are quickly replaced by second or foreign languages before the students develop satisfactory literacy in their first language to the promotion of maintenance bilingual models. These models are successful because the achievement tests administered showed that the cultural, effective, cognitive and socio-psychological development of the children attending the bilingual programmes were more advanced than their counterparts attending the regular school where the language of the former colonial power was used as the exclusive language of instruction.

The design of the above models is in line with findings in bilingual education and second language acquisition theory that support the need for delayed transition from mother tongue medium to second language medium to allow sufficient time for both first and second language development so that transfer of skills from L1 to L2 can be made possible.

5.5. Conclusion

Although many African countries still cling on language in education practices inherited from the former colonial powers, these practices have been shown to bring no benefits in the education of language minority students who, in fact, constitute a great majority of student population in African schools.

Early-exit models of bilingual education, which have become common practice in some African countries interested in promoting African languages, are equally inefficient, ineffective and counterproductive. The children are moved to L2/official language medium too early and as the consequence, children may not acquire the desired performance in neither language and thus derive detrimental effects of their bilingualism.

The way forward, as shown through the examples of successful bilingual education models in Africa, is either late-exit bilingual education models (transition to L2/official language medium after 6 to 8years of mother tongue education) or additive bilingual education models. Most minority language children in Africa start learning the second/official language at school and they do not have much exposure to the official language outside the classroom context because the official language is not the language of their home or their immediate community. There is now ample evidence that if a child needs to learn a new language such as the official language, they will normally need between six and eight years of learning this language as a subject before it can be used as a medium of teaching and learning. The popular belief "the sooner the better" or the sooner a child is exposed to the new language, the better that child will learn the language is now replaced with a more evidence- based statement "the longer mother tongue education is

retained in the education of a language minority child, the better that child will learn another language (second or foreign)".

CHAPTER 6: EDUCATION SYSTEM IN MOZAMBIQUE

Overview

The current national education system which has been in effect since 1992 is an adjustment of the 1983 national education system to suit the new socio-economic conditions of the country (RPM 1983; RM 1992). The 1983 education system was designed to ensure that everyone had the same right to education at all levels of the education system without any form of discrimination.

This chapter provides an overview of the education system in Mozambique. First it provides an account of the education system implemented by Portugal during the colonial period. It discusses the two systems of education created by the colonial power to perpetuate exploitation and domination of indigenous Africans. Next, it describes language use in education in colonial Mozambique. After that, the chapter discusses the process of nationalization of the education system after the country gained its independence from the colonial power in 1975. Next, it provides details of the current education system and, finally, it discusses the language policy in the education system.

6.1. Colonial background

The colonial system of education was designed to perpetuate the relationship of exploitation and domination between the colonizer and the colonized. This relationship was consonant with the economic, political and cultural objectives of the colonial system. The purpose of colonial education was to mould up servile, depersonalised individuals, alien to the reality of their own people. Such individuals, termed as "assimilated" would, in the long run, serve as agents of colonial power for the domination of their brothers and sisters. It was also the purpose of colonial education system, the training of cheap workforce to hold subordinate positions in colonial administration.

Between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries, there is no record of education initiatives advanced by the colonial administration. Education was an exclusive initiative of the Church but very little was done in terms of education as the process of teaching and learning at school, college or university. In areas with huge slave trade, as was the case in most coastal areas of Mozambique, the "educational" responsibility of priests was limited to baptising the slaves before they were exported (Gómez 1999). There were no specific regulations for education in colonial Mozambique until the nineteenth century. The first regulation for education in Portuguese colonies was on 2 April 1845. On the 14 August 1845, a decree differentiated education in the colonies from education in the mother country, Portugal, and established the first public schools in the Portuguese colonies (Gómez 1999).

The colonial education was mostly the responsibility of the s. In 1873, there were 400 students enrolled in all schools existing in Mozambique. Access to education was a big problem for African students as these were seriously barred from the system. One of the difficulties that African students faced was the distance between home and the nearest school. There was one

school in 3,346 Square Kilometres. This distance was practically impossible for most seven-year old children to walk (Gómez 1999). Another difficulty was connected with the language issue. Most African children did not speak Portuguese, the language of the school. The Portuguese colonial administration prohibited the use of African languages in education. The 1929-1930 legislation on education categorically prohibited education of Africans in African languages (Chilundo, Rocha et al. 1999). These difficulties, coupled with the discriminatory nature of the whole colonial education system, barred access to education for a vast majority of school-aged African children. The colonial education system can be classified as having been both inefficient and ineffective for the education of African children. The following Table shows the [in] effectiveness of the system in Lourenço Marques, the most important population and economic centre in Mozambique in 1894.

Table 11: Effectiveness of colonial education in Lourenço Marques in 1894

 source: (Gómez 1999).

Race	Illiterate people	Literate people	With professional courses
White	23.79%	71.56%	4.71%
Black	86.11%	13.89%	0.00%
Indian	8.41%	90.26%	1.33%
TOTAL	25.5%	65.72%	3.21%

Table 11 shows that very few Africans had access to education and that in 1894, in Lourenço Marques (now Maputo- the capital city of Mozambique); no single African had successfully completed a professional course.

There are two sides of thought to this inefficiency. On the one hand, one might think that the Portuguese colonial administration was not competent enough to implant a system of education like the British or the German colonial powers in Africa, or that Portugal did not have the necessary human and material resources to invest on the education of Africans. On the other hand, one might believe that the inefficiency of colonial education was simply premeditated. Taking into account the fact that the purpose of Portuguese colonial system was to exploit and dominate the natives, good education would have awakened the natives' consciousness, early on, to fight for freedom and this would have jeopardised the intents of the colonial system.

As already mentioned, education in Portuguese colonies was mostly in the hands of Catholic Missions. However, one of the decisions at the Berlin Conference (1884/5) established that, in all the colonies, there should be freedom for the activities of missionaries from different religions. This decision, in the case of Portuguese colonies where schools were protected by the Portuguese government, meant that Portugal had to allow Protestant Missions to carry out their religious activities, including establishing schools in Portuguese colonies. Such decision did not favour the interests of Portuguese colonialists in Mozambique because the evangelical churches had always maintained a critical position towards the Portuguese method of colonization (Johnston 1989) in (Gómez 1999).

At the start of the twentieth century, there were changes in education and also debates on whether Africans could become civilized without education and in which language Africans should be educated: Portuguese or Bantu languages. There were also debates on the role of the State and of missionary societies in the education of Africans.

In 1924, after a visit to Mozambique, the African Commission for education, an agency of the Society of Nations, responsible for inspection of colonial education in Africa, reported hostility that the Protestant schools were subjected to, prohibition or exclusion of African languages from education, generalized lack of resources and failure in the training of native African teachers (Gómez 1999). In 1926, the Portuguese minister for overseas territories, João de Belo, proclaimed the "Statutes of Portuguese s" which concentrated the entire "civilizing mission" in the hands of s. In 1930, Law 238 regulated the education of natives. In its article 1, Law 238 established that the education of natives should lead the indigenous out of the savage life to a civilised life style; it should build, in the indigenous individual, the consciousness of a Portuguese citizen and prepare them for the adversities of life, making them more useful for the society and for themselves (Gómez 1999). This indigenous education, according to Chilundo et al., (1999) included the following subjects:

1. Portuguese language;
2. Arithmetic and the metric system;
3. Geography and History of Portugal;
4. Drawing and handicraft;
5. Physical education and hygiene and;
6. Moral education and choir.

As the education of the indigenous was entrusted to the Catholic Church, the colonial State was released from the political and financial responsibility on the education of Africans. With this arrangement, Portugal had the Catholic Church as a valuable ally of their colonial policy. This was an exchange of favours between the Portuguese State and the Catholic Church. The State would provide the Church with the political and material resources necessary to fulfil their mission of "Christianisation" of Africans and in return, the Church would "portuguesalise" a minority of Africans through education and would preach resignation to the majority of Africans so that they could accept submission to foreign power. The gospel was used for obtaining a form of consensus that legitimised coercion and violence which were characteristic of the Portuguese colonial system. In this way, the "cross and the sword" joined their hands for the "big civilizing mission" (Gómez 1999).

The hostility, to which the Protestant schools were submitted by the Portuguese colonial power, as reported by the African Commission for education in 1924, did not come as a surprise. The colonial power and by the hierarchy of the Portuguese Church were suspicious of non-Portuguese missionaries, particularly Protestant missionaries because the faith that these missionaries preached did not identify with the Portuguese imperialist ideologies. Frequently, Protestant missionaries were accused of "denationalizing the natives" or "deportuguesalizing the natives". This mistrust was extended to non-Portuguese Catholic missionaries who had to obtain some kind of permission from Portugal in order to perform their missionary activities in Portuguese colonies (Gómez 1999).

The Catholic missionary programme was regulated by the Portuguese Constitution, through the 1940 Missionary Agreement. Article 15 of the Agreement conferred the freedom to perform their activities namely: to establish and run schools for the indigenous and for the Europeans. Article 16 of the same Agreement stated that, in the indigenous missionary schools, the teaching of Portuguese language was compulsory and that, in harmony with its principles, the Church was free to use indigenous languages for the teaching of religion (Hastings 1974).

6.2. Two systems of education in colonial Mozambique

Through Law 238 of 1930 coupled with the 1940 judiciary composition, the Portuguese colonial administration created two educational systems, one for the children of native Africans and the other one for the children of Europeans and assimilated Africans. The education system for Africans was called rudimentary education and it was led by Catholic Missions. The education system for Europeans and assimilated was called official education and it was directly dependent on the Portuguese government structures(Chilundo, Rocha et al. 1999; Gómez 1999).

The official education (primary education) was compulsory for all non-indigenous Portuguese children and the objective was to enable the children to read, write, and count, understand simple facts about life and to exercise moral and civic virtues within the context of love for Portugal.

Rudimentary education, on the other hand, was designed to introduce the Portuguese language to African children and to provide them with the basic notions of reading, writing and arithmetic with the aim of gradually leading the indigenous children from a savage life to a civilized life style. The intention of this education was to indoctrinate the children of the native black Mozambicans and to guarantee the Portuguese government a docile and loyal population. The curriculum content of elementary education was mostly religious with most of the school day reserved for learning the Catholic doctrine. The level of contents taught was very low. The history and Geography taught were connected with Portugal. The history and geography of Mozambique were completely ignored and when they were mentioned, it was always in connection with the Portuguese empire (Mondlane 1975). As (Rodney 1975) commented:

> "The system was not based on the real conditions of the African society nor destined to promote rational use of material and social resources. The educational system was not designed to convey to the youth the pride and confidence of members of African society but to implant the feeling of submission to the European and to capitalism […] Colonial education supplied education for submission to exploitation, mental confusion and development of the undeveloped" (pp. 347-348).

Clearly, the two systems of education were designed to perpetuate the relationship colonizer-colonized. The primary education curriculum was conceived, elaborated and evaluated exclusively through the Portuguese language, spoken by a tiny minority of Mozambicans which made schooling a real challenge for Mozambican children whose first language was not Portuguese or did not speak any Portuguese at all. Besides being discriminatory, the colonial education system deliberately left a vast majority of Africans out of the system. For instance, in

1960, in the biggest official secondary school of the country (Liceu Salazar), there was a total of 1000 students of which only 30 were African (Mondlane 1975) as quoted in (Gómez 1999). Discrimination was evident at all levels of education: primary, secondary and tertiary. The first university was established in 1963 and it was entirely for the children of Europeans. In 1973, ten years after the university was established, there were 3,000 students enrolled of which only 40 were Africans (Gómez 1999).

6.3. Local Bantu Languages considered "dog's languages" in colonial Mozambique

At the start of Portuguese colonization in Africa, the Portuguese settlers were the first to call Bantu languages or any African languages dogs' languages. Belgian settlers who came to the Democratic Republic of Congo, on the other hand, called Congolese people "macacos" or monkeys (Kitoko-Nsiku 2007). For the Belgian colonizers, their colonized people were monkeys but for the Portuguese colonizers, their colonized people were mere dogs and their languages dogs' languages. According to Couto (1981) as cited in Kitoko-Nsiku (2007), this psychological discourse had devastating effects on religious and socio-political life of many African people. It affected their self-esteem, damaged their sense of creativity and, provoked a sense of grave inferiority and put their languages in an inferior position compared to European languages.

The Portuguese colonial administration prohibited the use of African languages in schools. The 1929-1930 legislation on education categorically prohibited education of Africans in African languages (Chilundo, Rocha et al. 1999). Portuguese was the only language of instruction in colonial education system. Indigenous languages could only be used by the Church, in specific cases, for the teaching of religion (Hastings 1974). The colonial language policy in education constituted a major barrier for the education of African children because most of these children had no prior knowledge of the language before joining school.

As immediate effects of the colonial language policy: (1) only the children of the settlers and of the assimilated benefited from the colonial education language policy; (2) millions of Mozambicans were not able to attend the school or attended for a few days and quit before they were able to have a good command of the Portuguese language; (3) a considerable number of Africans gave up their language and culture to the extent that today, their world references are Portugal and other Western countries, their mother tongue is Portuguese and their second language is English or French (Ngunga 2011). This group of black Mozambicans cannot speak any of the local Bantu languages. In theory, they identify themselves with Portuguese language and culture but, in practice, they are not recognised as rightful members of Portuguese culture. Their behaviour, dressing, food, music and arts are completely different from those of Portuguese culture. They are evidently strangers to Portuguese culture and in addition they are strangers in their own homeland. In other words, they neither fit in the Portuguese culture nor in the culture of their ancestors.

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6.4. Nationalization of education in post-independence Mozambique

On 24 July 1975, a month after independence, the State nationalized the land, the natural resources of the country, health and education services. With the process of nationalization, education became an exclusive responsibility of the State. The newly formed government had inherited an educational system profoundly marked by socio-racial discrimination and had to face the challenge of adjusting the education system to suit the new socio-political circumstances.

The process of nationalization of the education sector created a lot of tensions. It deteriorated the relationship between the Catholic Church and the State because, as already mentioned, the Church had a lot of schools in the rural areas and colleges in cities and these institutions were the source of the power and influence that the Church enjoyed within the country (Gómez 1999). With nationalization, the State took over all the schools and colleges that the Catholic Church possessed in rural areas and cities and with the infrastructures went all the power and influence that the Church had in the country. Furthermore, there was a lot of criticism by FRELIMO to the Catholic Church because of the role that the Church had played, having been a supporter of the Portuguese colonial system.

Nevertheless, the process of nationalization allowed the structuring of a single system of education to be implemented countrywide. Changes were made to the inherited education system to guarantee it led to the decolonization of the institutions, of the minds and to make sure that it covered the whole country. It was in the light of these changes that the Ministry of Education and Culture called teachers from all over the country to participate in the "Beira Seminar" from December 1974 to January 1975. The purpose of the seminar was for teachers to design and propose to the Ministry of Education and Culture, changes or adjustments to be effectuated on the school curriculum, excluding the tertiary education curriculum (Gómez 1999).

The adjustments made on the curriculum were mostly related to school subjects taught in the curriculum including the contents covered in the subjects; and also with changes in structural and school management. For instance, subjects like history and geography of Mozambique which had been ignored in the colonial curriculum were included in the new educational system. New subjects such as political education and cultural activities were introduced. However, the language issue, unfortunately, remained practically the same as in the colonial period. The Bantu languages of Mozambique that had been ignored throughout the colonial period continued to be ignored after independence. Portuguese was declared the official language and the language of national unity. It was the sole language of instruction in the education system, the language of power, the media and the courts.

The unfair or even reactionary treatment given to Bantu languages, in the years immediately after independence, came as a surprise to linguists, educationalists and public in general. The country had witnessed a group of young courageous freedom fighter who had fought and defeated the colonial regime, nationalized the land, the natural resources of the country, health and education services. However, these young courageous freedom fighters, like the colonial masters, had chosen to be so intransigent towards the languages of their own people, the

languages of their own ancestors, the languages spoken by the vast majority of the people they had fought to liberate.

The explanations given for such intransigent treatment of African languages were many. For Frelimo (1971),

> "There is no majority language in our country. Choosing one of the Mozambican languages as a national language would have been an arbitrary decision which could have had serious consequences… Thus, we were forced to use Portuguese as medium of instruction and as means of communication among ourselves" (p.34).

For Machel (1979),

> "The need to fight the oppressor called for an intransigent struggle against tribalism and regionalism. It was this necessity for unity that dictated to us that the only common language - the language which had been used to oppress - should assume a new dimension" (p.6).

For Ganhão (1979),

> "The decision to opt for Portuguese as the official language of the People's Republic of Mozambique was a well-considered and carefully examined political decision, aimed at achieving one objective- the preservation of national unity and the integrity of the territory" (p.2).

The arguments against the introduction of African languages in education have deserved considerable criticism by linguists, educationalists and other specialist in Mozambique and beyond. The official discourse centred on preservation of national unity, the need to fight tribalism in order to build the nation and the need for Portuguese language to assume new dimensions is seen as the way the former assimilated Mozambicans, now the elite, found to bar the use of African languages in education to their advantage. By barring a community's language from education, one is barring or delaying the education process for the members of that community (Ngunga 2011). According to Ngunga, the elite whose children's mother tongue is Portuguese accept mother tongue education for their children but they only see problems when it comes to granting the same right of mother tongue education to the majority of children whose mother tongue is not Portuguese.

6.5. The Mozambican national system of education

Education has always been a priority of the government ever since Mozambique became independent. The current national education system which has been in effect since 1992 is an adjustment of the 1983 national education system to suit the new socio-economic conditions of the country (RPM 1983; RM 1992).

The Mozambican national education system comprises five subsystems: General Education; Adult Education; technical and professional Education; Teacher Training and; Tertiary Education. The system is structured into four levels: Primary, Secondary, Middle (pre-university) and Tertiary. The subsystems are grouped into: pre-school education (ensino pré-escolar); formal

education (ensino escolar) and; non-formal education (ensino extra-escolar) (RM 1992). Pre-school education is not compulsory and it is provided by crèches and kindergartens for children less than six years of age.

Formal education is made up of three subsystems: general education, technical and professional education and, tertiary education. General education is considered the backbone of the national education system. This is because the contents of general education subsystem constitute reference point for all the other subsystems in the national education system. The general education subsystem of the national education system has the following purposes:

1. Guarantee the right to education to all children and youth;
2. Guarantee full and standardized training;
3. Develop the qualities of a "new Man" and;
4. Train the youth to respond adequately to material and cultural demands of economic and social development.
    (RPM 1983; RM 1992)

The general education subsystem is divided into two levels: primary education and secondary education. Primary education comprises two levels: lower primary education (grades 1 to 5) and upper primary education (grades 6 and 7). Children enroll in grade one at the age of six. Secondary education is divided into two cycles: the first cycles (grades 8 to 10) and the second cycle (grades 11 and 12).

Technical and professional education is divided into three levels: elementary, basic and middle. The purpose of technical and professional education is to train youth and employees and prepare them for jobs that require specialization. This subsystem was fundamental after independence because the country suffered from a serious shortage of qualified personnel as most of the qualified human resources, who were Portuguese, had abandoned the country with the advent of independence. Students enroll in elementary level after successful completion of lower primary education (grade 5). Enrollment in basic level is conditioned to completion of upper primary education (grade 7) or of the elementary level of technical and professional education. Matriculation in the middle level is dependent on completion of the first cycle of secondary education (grade 10) or of the basic level of technical and professional education.

Adult education is designed for individual who, due to unforeseen circumstances, could not enroll in general education or technical and professional education at the right age. Children who are fifteen years old can still enroll in grade one in this subsystem of education and they get the same certificates and diplomas as the students in the regular system. Tertiary education is reserved for students who have successfully completed the second cycle of secondary education (grade 12) or of the middle level of teacher training or of technical and professional education

Teacher training is provided in specialized institutions. The purpose of this subsystem of education is to provide teachers for all the other subsystems of the national education system. His subsystem is structured into three levels: Basic level; middle level and; tertiary level. Basic level is designed to train teachers for lower primary school. Candidates enroll in this level after successful completion of grade 7. The middle level of teacher training prepares teachers for primary school and for technical and professional education. Candidates enroll in this level after completing successfully grade 10 or an equivalent level. Finally, tertiary level trains teachers for

all levels of the national education system. Candidates enroll in this level when they have completed grade 12 or an equivalent level. Table 12 summarizes the national education system.

Table 12: The Mozambican national system of education

source: adapted from (Lopes 1998).

24	6
23	5
22	4
21	3
20	2
19	1

Teacher training

Tertiary Education

18	12
17	11

Pre- University Education

Teacher Training

Medium level Professional education

Pre- university adult education

Accelerated pre-university education

16	10
15	9
14	8

Secondary Education

Teacher training

Basic level Professional

Adult secondary education

13	7
12	6
11	5
10	4
9	3
8	2
7	1

Upper

Lower

Primary Education

Elementary level professional education

Upper

Lower

Adult primary education

6
5
4
3
2
1

Nursery school

Crèche

Population aged 7

Population aged 15 or more

Years of study

Age

Key

⤷ Exit to life/employment

▭ Normal exit route

⬚ Possible exit route

66

Table 12 shows that there is articulation and integration within the national education system. In every level and subsystem of education, it is guaranteed that the student will move from one level to the subsequent one. Moreover, this articulation and integration allows students to move horizontally and vertically within the system.

Besides the regular modality described above, the national system of education offers a special modality which encompasses special education (for children with different sorts of disabilities), vocational education and distance education.

Non-formal education involves providing literacy and professional development programmes outside the formal education system.

6.6. The language policy in the national system of education

Although there was no constitutional mention of national languages until 1990, the 1983 system of education in its article 5 states:

> "The national System of Education must, in the framework of principles defined in this law, contribute for the study and valorization of Mozambican languages, culture and history with the purpose of preserving and developing cultural heritage of the Nation" (RPM 1983).

Considering that the country had just become independent from the Portuguese colonization and that in the colonial period, Mozambican languages were considered dog's languages (Kitoko-Nsiku 2007), the legal provision above was regarded as a giant step towards valorization of Mozambican languages. It contrasted with the colonial policy of assimilation imposed on Mozambicans for 500 years of colonial domination which had forced Mozambicans to believe that their languages and cultures were inferior, a reason for shame and underdevelopment and that such languages and cultures should be abandoned and replaced by Portuguese language and culture.

However, the above provision sounds vague and rhetorical. If Portuguese language was declared the official language, the language of national unity, the sole language of instruction in the education system, the language of power, the media and the courts (Firmino 1998), what else was there for Mozambican languages? Indeed the use of Mozambican languages was prohibited in schools and other government institutions (Lopes 1997; Ngunga 2011).

The first constitutional mention of Mozambican languages was in 1990. Although the 1990 Constitution still declares Portuguese as the only official language of the Republic of Mozambique, it does make provision for Mozambican languages, in its article 5, number 2:

> "The State recognizes the value of the national languages and shall promote their development and increased role as languages which are used in the daily life and in the education of citizens" (Moçambique 1990).

Both the 1990 constitution and the 1983 National System of Education are provisions for Mozambicans to be proud of bearing in mind our previous colonial history. Nevertheless, they are equally vague and not conducive to concrete actions since they do not identify specific measurable undertakings to be carried out by identified actors in a specified period of time. This vagueness or lack of explicitness in the provisions partly contributed to continuity of Portuguese as the only language of instruction in the formal education system of the country for almost three decades into independence.

When the National education System was adjusted to new socio-economic context of the country by force of Article 4 of Law 6/92 of 6 May, the national language issue appeared less ambiguously mentioned but still not explicit enough:

> "Under the framework defined within the current Law, the National Education System must value and develop the national languages by promoting their gradual introduction in the education of citizens" (RM 1992).

This provision evidently supports the UNESCO's (1953) report on the use of vernacular languages in education and the UNESCO's (1996) universal declaration on linguistic rights. However, it is still unclear. There is no specific plan of action. For example, who is expected to do what? Where? When? To what extend should national languages be used in education? Lack of explicitness in such issues often results in inharmonious or no action at all. There are no specifically empowered structures to perform specific measurable actions.

6.7. Conclusion

The colonial education system was not designed to meet the needs of Africans. It was designed to satisfy the purposes of the colonial system as a whole. It discriminated Africans from education by providing them with differentiated second class education to guarantee their submission to the colonial interests of exploitation and domination.

The changes that have taken place in the education system, in almost four decades of independence, have made education available to everyone independent of their socio-racial condition. However, education systems are not finished products. By their nature, education systems require constant adjustments to suit new realities and Mozambique is not an exception. The linguistic landscape of the country requires language in education policy and practices that respect the linguistic reality of the country.

CHAPTER 7: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Overview

This study adopts a qualitative approach to research in order to attain the proposed goals as identified by the research questions, namely, (1) What are the views of parents, pupils, and teachers concerning language education as a means of developing attitudes, values and social capabilities that a child must acquire in order to be functional in the community? (2) What challenges do such views foresee for the implementation of bilingual education in Mozambique (3) What do such views, coupled with current bilingual education theory and practice, suggest should be the most appropriate model of bilingual education for post-colonial Mozambique?

The present chapter provides the methodological orientations underpinning the proposed undertaking. First, the chapter discusses qualitative approach to research with special emphasis on ethnography. Then, it describes the research sites, particularly the selection of the sites, access to the sites, selection of the participants and researcher- researched relationships. Next, it describes data collection procedures, translation and interpretation issues, and ethical issues related to the study. Finally, it provides approaches to data analysis.

7.1. Qualitative approach to research

The adoption of a qualitative approach to research supports an investigation and understanding of a phenomenon taking place in its natural setting. This approach enables the researcher to view the world and the problem through another's eyes (Freedman and Combs 1996; Maxwell 1996; Krathwohl 1998; Denzin and Lincoln 2000). Qualitative research can be defined as "an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem" (Creswell 1998, p.15). In order to meet the purposes of the present study: (1) to explore and understand the views and perceptions of parents, pupils, and teachers concerning language education as a means of developing attitudes, values and social capabilities that a child must acquire in order to be functional in the community, and (2) to propose a model of bilingual education that takes into consideration the views and perceptions of students, parents and teachers and best bilingual education practices worldwide; then ideally a post-positivist research paradigm is important to utilise for inherent in this approach to research methodology is the ability to see the subtleties of people's 'lived experiences' and to explore the internal beliefs and knowledge of participants in their natural setting where the researcher can interact with and learn from them. It is essential in the process of reaching a 'true' description of the context, which includes identifying the norms and values of the participants in a particular setting, that the researcher ascribes to the rich descriptions of participants in context rather than viewing the phenomenon from the outside in (Lincoln and Guba 1985; Denzin and Lincoln 2000).

Although quantitative studies seem to have gained more ground among education planners and decision makes, this study assumes that social, political and economic conditions impacting on educational phenomena are better apprehended through qualitative-interpretive processes (Martin-Jones 2007).

7.2. An ethnographic study

The term ethnography derives from traditional anthropology (Jeffrey and Troman 2004). For many anthropologists from the twentieth century, ethnography involved living in the communities of the people being studied, observing them, participating in their daily activities to one degree or another as well as interviewing them, collecting genealogies, drawing maps of the locale, collecting artefacts, and so on (Hammersley 2006). Today, most ethnographers do not live with the people they are studying, for example, residing in the same place and spending time with them most of the day. Instead, they focus on what happens in a particular work place or social institution when it is in operation. In this sense, their participant observation is part-time (Hammersley 2006). This change in fieldwork behaviour can be partly explained by developments in science and technology with the introduction of portable audio and video recording devices which can produce large amounts of data rapidly and the development of enhanced forms of data analysis. Also, the pressure of modern hectic lifestyle in academia makes it difficult for researchers to do fieldwork that lasts over long periods of time.

Following Ngwaru (2011), ethnography is " an event in which multiple voices, especially marginalised voices, participate in a dialogue that moves towards the inclusion of all voices". For the purpose of this study, we will take Hammersley's (2006) definition of the term ethnography to refer to "a form of social and educational research that emphasizes the importance of studying, at first hand, what people do and say in particular contexts". This study is an investigation and understanding of the bilingual education phenomenon taking place in its natural setting. It is for this reason that ethnography is particularly suitable for the present study as it involves understanding the views of students, parents and teachers, in a rural community, concerning language education as a means of developing attitudes, values and social capabilities that a child must acquire to be functional in the community. Through qualitative-interpretive processes such community views, coupled with knowledge of best bilingual education practices worldwide, will be used to propose a model of bilingual education that best suits the aspirations and perceptions of students, parents and teachers. The present research is a form of intervention and thus not neutral. Its goal is to change bilingual education practices in the community for the better. This study may involve epistemological and ontological assumptions that may be associated with particular political or ethical commitments as it serves the requirements of policymaking and professional practice. Nevertheless, it is not in the service of some political establishment or profession nor an organic intellectual seeking to further the interests of marginalised, exploited, or dominated group as both of these orientations would greatly increase the danger of systematic bias.

Crucial to the present ethnographic undertaking is finding a balance between participant perspectives and researcher analytic perspectives. Ethnographic research insists on the importance of coming to understand the perspectives of the people being studied in order to explain or describe accurately the activities they engage in or actions they adopt. At the same time, there is equal emphasis on developing an analytic understanding of perspectives, activities and actions, one that is likely to be different from or even in conflict with, how the people themselves see the world (Hammersley 2006).

Following Hammersley's rationale, understanding people does not necessarily require sharing their beliefs or being obliged to give them support; nor does it mean assuming what they say as

being true and restraining oneself from assessing its validity (p.11). The use of a combination of data collection tools (in-depth interviews, observation, documentary analysis and research diary) is a way for assessing validity of what participants say or do not say. In other words, it was anticipated, prior to entering the field that participants will not always say what they do or will not always do what they say they do.

7.3 The research sites

7.3.1. Selection of the sites

The criteria used for the selection of the sites for the present study were largely influenced by the criteria used for the selection of schools for introduction of bilingual education programmes in Mozambique and these include: (1) the local Bantu language used in education; (2) the degree of linguistic homogeneity in the communities; and (3) location of the schools.

The local Bantu language used as language of instruction in both schools is Ciutee, a language spoken in the central province of Manica, particularly in Chimoio, the capital of Manica province and surrounding rural communities. According to the 1997 population census, Ciutee is the second most spoken mother-tongue (after Cindau) and the second most frequently spoken language in Manica province. It is the mother-tongue of 22% of the total population of the province (Firmino 2000). Ciutee belongs to the Shona language group in Guthrie's (1967-71) classification of the bantu languages of Africa. It is one of the seventeen standardized Bantu languages of Mozambique (Ngunga and Faquir 2011). Thus, it has a writing system and some literature and is consequently appropriate to be used as language of instruction. Ciutee language was particularly suitable for the present study because, differently from other Bantu languages of Mozambique that are spoken across national boundary (cross border languages) with long tradition of being used as languages of instruction in neighbouring countries (e.g. Shona in Zimbabwe, Changana in South Africa), Ciutee is only spoken in Mozambique and does not have the tradition of being used as language of instruction in formal education. Therefore, it constitutes an excellent source of challenges for the introduction of bilingual education in Mozambique.

The second and third criteria for the selection of sites were the degree of linguistic homogeneity in the communities and location of the schools. Both schools are located in rural communities and in each of the communities; Ciutee is the most spoken mother-tongue. It is the language of the day-to-day interpersonal communications in the communities. It is the language of most homes and the language most heard in the streets, markets and school playgrounds. Non-Ciutee speaker, who are a minority in the communities, feel forced to learn Ciutee in order to communicate with the majority Ciutee speaking community members. It is the language used in local community meetings, the language of the local church, and the language of business in the community. We could comfortably claim that there is a high degree of linguistic homogeneity in the two communities selected for our study.

The two schools selected for this study began implementation of bilingual education programme in 2005 and 2006 respectively. At the time of our first visit to the sites (June 2011), both schools had already had at least one generation of students through the bilingual programme. Since the present study involves understanding the views of students, parents and teachers concerning language education with the ultimate aim of proposing a model of bilingual education that best suits the aspirations and perceptions of the stakeholders involved, selecting schools with valuable experience in the implementation of the current bilingual education programme is a necessary condition for the success of the undertaking. Moreover, the two schools selected represent typical rural primary schools in Mozambique and the findings (challenges) and proposed solutions can be generalized to other rural primary schools where the current bilingual education programme is being implemented, even though generalization is not the aim of the present study.

7.3.2. Access to the sites

Following Cipollone & Stich, securing access to a research site can be a laborious and an uncomforting process, as well as delicate and tenuous. The researcher must engage in a circle of negotiations with a multitude of gatekeepers, each of them needing to be convinced of the inevitability and benefit of the proposed research (Cipollone and Stich 2012). Access is never total and might be seen as "an incremental continuum where the researcher is gradually able to move from the initial permission to enter the building to trusted relationships[... but] access is also always provisional, as permission and trust can be withdrawn at any time" (Walford 2001). Access is something that is continuously negotiated throughout the research process.

Before entering the sites selected for the present study, I had to seek full consent from the relevant educational authorities in a top-down approach. This was achieved through request letters, credentials and face-to-face contacts (copies of letters and credentials are provided in appendices in both Portuguese and English languages). First, I sent letters to the Ministry of education and culture (See Appendices 1a and 1b); and to the National Institute for Educational Development (INDE, we will use the acronym in Portuguese) (See appendices 2a and 2b). The Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC) is responsible for planning, management and monitoring of the National System of Education and INDE is a branch of MEC responsible for curriculum development, monitoring and assessment.

After getting approval of top educational authorities, I then approached the Provincial Directorate of Education and Culture of Manica (See appendices 3a and 3b). At the Provincial Directorate of Education and Culture, I was asked to show permission from MEC before getting their approval. After being authorized to work in the two selected schools, namely: Bindzi Primary School and Madumbe Primary School (for anonymity and confidentiality issues, we will use pseudonyms in the place of school names), I then sent credentials to both schools (See appendices 4a, 4b, 4c and 4d) and I attached permission from MEC and from the Provincial Directorate of Education and Culture. The procedure with the gatekeepers was basically the same. I explained the nature and purpose of the study and explained how ethical issues would be dealt with.

It took me two days to get permission from the Director of Bindzi primary school. When I got to the school, the Director was not in. He was attending a meeting at the District Directorate of Education and since they had told me that he was the only person who could grant permission to work in the school, I had to wait for his return to school the following day. Once back, I had a meeting with the Director and the Pedagogic Director where I explained the nature and purpose of our study in details and how ethical issues including anonymity and confidentiality would be managed. I discussed the sort of contribution I expected from the school throughout the fieldwork. Both the director and the pedagogic director were pleased with my presence at the school. They said their school was becoming widely known and that this was the second research project coming to do fieldwork in their school in two years. The Director asked me to come back the following day to meet representatives from the School Council and the bilingual teachers who I was going to work with. The Director also volunteered to be a participant in the study.

The following day, at the meeting, the Director introduced me to the representatives from the School Council, to the bilingual teachers and to the class leaders of bilingual classes. I had the opportunity to explain to the meeting, in the local language, the nature and purpose of the study. The participants at the meeting were surprised because they did not know that I could speak their local language. Once again, I explained in detail how ethical issues were going to be managed. I told them I would be conducting interviews with parents, students and teachers. At the end of the meeting I had some people volunteering to be participants in the study. One of the representatives from the School Council volunteered to guide me through the community and to introduce me to other parents.

Entry into Madumbe primary school was much faster. When I arrived at the school, at my request, the director had called representatives from the School Council and the bilingual teachers to the meeting. Thus, entry was concluded on the same day. Like in Bindzi primary school, at the end of the meeting, the director of Madumbe primary school and most of the participants volunteered to participate in the study. Students were not called to the meeting but the bilingual teachers volunteered to take me to their classes when necessary.

7.3.3. Selection of participants

A first visit to the schools, in June 2011, revealed that both schools were running two educational programmes in parallel: Portuguese submersion programme and bilingual education programme. In both schools, there were eighteen bilingual classes, fourteen in Bindzi primary school and four in Madumbe primary school. Both schools have School Councils, student representatives and teacher representatives that meet up regularly to discuss problems faced by the school. The participants for the present study were selected among bilingual teachers, students and parents whose children were enrolled in the bilingual education programme. Through participant-driven sampling and judgment sampling (Marshall 1996); and simple random sampling (Kumar 1996) , six teachers, five parents and six pupils were selected for the interviews, three focus group discussions with pupils and five classroom observations were conducted. According to Marshall (1996), judgment sampling, also known as purposeful sampling, allows the researcher to actively select the most productive sample to answer the research question.

When the number of volunteer participants exceeded the sample size decided upon, I used simple random sampling, the fishbowl draw method to select the participants. According to Kumar (1996), in random sampling, each element in the population is given an equal and independent chance of selection. I numbered each volunteer participant using separate slips of paper and I put all the slips into a box, then I picked the slips one by one without looking, until the number of slips selected equaled the sample size decided upon.

Initially, I had planned eighteen individual interviews. However, as previously mentioned, the directors of the selected schools volunteered to participate in the study and I thought it would be unethical not to take their offer. Furthermore, they argued that they were, above all, experienced primary school teachers and that being school director was a temporary position. The decision to include the school director as participants in the study was partly influenced by the role they played not only in making everyone in their schools available for the study but also in involving the communities in the study.

Moreover, in the interviews with teachers and parents of Bindzi primary school, the interviewees kept mentioning the name of a former bilingual teacher who had been transferred to hold the position of director in another primary school. They said he was the most experienced bilingual teacher in the area and they advised me to include him as participant in this study. Also, I thought he would have a lot to contribute to the present study. As the consequence, I ended up conducting seventeen interviews and three focus group discussions with students.

7.3.4. Researcher-researched relationship

Following Wang (2012), in qualitative research, the researcher's engagement in the daily lives of the participants entails creating and maintaining favourable and cooperative field relations. The official permission to conduct research in the site does not necessarily imply that individual study participants will be willing to participate and cooperate. Therefore, there is the necessity for an on-going and inter-personal process of negotiating participation. This continuous negotiation of participation helps to minimise the pressure on participants resulting from the permission granted by the school authorities (Clandinin, Davis et al. 1993) . The participants selected for this study involved children of seven to fourteen years of age, parents, teachers and head teachers. Differences in age and role among the participants made field relations quite challenging. There were young children, adolescents, junior teachers, senior teachers, head teachers, parents and grandparents involved in the study.

Initially, I used Lofland & Lofland's (1995) suggestions for using connections available through friends and acquaintances in the research site. Here, the school directors played a fundamental role. They introduced me to the bilingual teachers, students and representatives from the School Council. Then, I went further by asking the bilingual teachers, students and representatives from the School Council to introduce me to people of their relations in the community. I had teachers introducing me to their students, students introducing me to their parents, teachers introducing me to their students' parents, parents introducing me to other parents and so on. The fact that I used the local language (Ciutee) for inter-personal communications in the field constituted a big advantage for me.

I also used Walford's (1999) suggestions for establishing mutual benefit between the participants and myself. Whenever I introduced my research to participants, I informed them about the potential benefits the community might get from the research findings. I told them of the possibility of improving the model of bilingual education that is currently being implemented in primary schools in Mozambique. I tried to immerse myself in the life of the community. I visited their agricultural fields and the local street market. I played football with the students during break-times. I participated, as an observer, in bilingual group lesson planning sessions and in Bindzi community, I was invited to take part at an informal gathering where community members were infuriated because a local leader who had been recently appointed had destroyed their street market because it was too close to the main road. My taking part in such activities contributed significantly to shorten the distance between the participants and myself. My knowledge of the local language and culture facilitated the creation and maintenance of an environment of mutual trust and cooperation in the field. They viewed me as one of them and as facilitator in helping to find solutions to community concerns. They felt comfortable telling me about aspects of their private lives. They commented about good and bad teachers. They even told me stories of sexual harassment in the local school and how the community was handling the issue (The issue of sexual harassment was later followed through with appropriate education authorities).

The bilingual teachers viewed me not only as a researcher but also as a colleague, someone they could share their professional concerns with. I remember, after observing a lesson, I was chatting with the observed teacher and another bilingual teacher, they wanted to know whether the correct spelling of the local language was "Ciutee" or "Ciwute". They said in some books it is spelt "Ciutee" and in others it is spelt "Ciwute". They were laughing at the alternative "Ciwute" saying whoever had suggested this spelling was definitely not a Ciutee speaker. The teachers knew I was a lecturer at a teacher-training university and some of them came to me for advice on how to apply for university studies. Some of the teachers had done their primary education in a boarding school in the southern district of Sussundenga where a Mr. Mataruca was the boarding school director. Knowing my surname, Mataruca, they wanted to know if there was any kind of relationship with their former boarding school director and wanted to know more about his whereabouts. The informal conversations I had with the teachers helped in shortening the distance between the bilingual teachers and me.

The students viewed me not only as a researcher and teacher but also as an elder brother who could help them find their way out of the rural community into the big city. They wanted to know how life was in the big city and what they should do in order to go and study in big cities like Maputo or Beira. We talked about life in the community, their plans for the future and so on. They also asked me about life in the places I had been to. There were lots of questions about life in Australia. Also, during break-times, many students, individually and in groups, came looking for me asking me to take photographs of them with my digital camera. They simply loved having their photographs taken.

Using connections available through friends and acquaintances in the research field and establishing mutual benefit between the participants and myself, I was able to create and maintain friendly and cooperative relations that lasted beyond the duration of the research project.

7.4. Data collection procedures

The nature of the present study required the use of multiple techniques of data collection such as interviews, observation, documentary analysis and research diary in order to answer the three research questions advanced in Chapter 1. Table 13 shows a summary of the data collection and analysis process.

Table 13: Summary of data collection and analysis

Research data collection

Stages	Stage 1	Stage 2			Stage 3	
Data collection instruments	1. Doc. Analysis	2.unstructured observation (Bindzi primary School)	3. Interviews (Bindzi primary School)	4. unstructured observation (Madumbe primary school)	5. Interviews (Madumbe primary school)	6. More Interviews (Both Bindzi and Madumbe primary schools)
Data analysis	Review literature	Identify topics to explore during interviews	Identify themes/ categories	Identify topics to explore during interviews	Identify themes/ categories	Identify themes/ categories
Research questions↓						
Q. 1	1. What are the views of parents, pupils, and teachers concerning language education as a means of developing attitudes, values and social capabilities that a child must acquire in order to be functional in the community?					
		X	X	X	X	X
Q2.	What challenges do such views foresee for the implementation of bilingual education in Mozambique?					
	X		X		X	
	What do the views, coupled with current bilingual education theory and practice, suggest should be the most appropriate model of bilingual education for post-colonial Mozambique?					
Q3.	X	X	X	X	X	X

In order to search for answers to the first research question, related to the views and perceptions of teachers, parents, pupils and head teachers concerning the bilingual education programme under implementation, data were essentially gathered through interviews. Observations were used either to identify topics to explore during interviews or to check the match between what was said in the interviews and what actually happens in the classroom.

The second research question searched for ways to demonstrate pedagogical, cultural and societal values to individual students as well as to society of implementing bilingual education programmes. It involved an analysis of the views and expectations (in research question 1) in light of current research on mother-tongue/L1 literacy and mother-tongue medium education (MTE). It also involved analysing the transitional model of bilingual education being implemented in Mozambique in light of its design features; potential outcomes and its synchrony with the views and expectations of the pupils, parents and teachers involved in the programme. The data for answering research question 2 were gathered in two stages. First, I analysed curriculum and other institutional documents on bilingual education in Mozambique provided by the Ministry of Education (MEC) and by the National Institute for Educational Development (INDE). We also reviewed literature on bilingual education in Mozambique and beyond. Second, I conducted in-depth interviews with pupils, parents, teachers and head teachers to collect information about their views and perceptions.Once again, observations were used to identify topics to explore during interviews and to check the match between what was said in the interviews and what actually happens in the classroom. As it can be seen, the three research questions are interconnected. The answer to question one fed into question two and this, in turn, fed into question three. This interconnectedness allowed me to use the same data for different analytical purposes.

The third research question aimed to apply theoretically established principles of bilingual education to local practices. It was a search for ways ahead towards improving the present language model so that it can better serve the pupils concerned and by so doing, serve the interest of the community, the government, the economy and the society at large. The data to answer this question were collected from the review of documents on language-in-education policy and practice in Mozambique, in Africa and beyond. I used data from interviews and observations to guide the search for ways ahead.

7.4.1. Ethnographic interviews

This study used ethnographic interview as the main source of data collection. The key idea in ethnographic interviewing is that social behaviour cannot be reduced to predictable variables along the lines of natural sciences (Blumer 1967). Ethnographic approach to research stresses the need for researchers to avoid going into the field with specific hypotheses or theory as these will emerge overtime through interrelated processes of data collection and analysis. As Goldbart & Hustler (2005) stressed, ethnographic research is a constant process of decision-making, in which openness to smaller or major changes in research design is crucial and data-gathering and data-analysis are interrelated and ongoing throughout the process.

With permission from the participants, all the interviews were recorded using Sony V.O.R Powerful Sound 350mW. This allowed me to concentrate on the ongoing of the interviews rather than on note taking.

The interview timings varied between 10 and 65 minutes depending on how much the participants had to contribute to the study. Many participants had a lot to say but quite a few had very little to share either because they had just moved to the area or because they had very little contact with the school and did not know enough about the bilingual education programme.

I used interview guides for conducting the interviews (see appendices 6a, 6b, 6c, 6d, 6e, 6f, 6g and 6h). However, the interview guides were not to be followed strictly. The purpose of the guides was to help me stimulate conversation with the participants. At the end of interviewing, I summarised the data and allowed the participants to immediately correct errors of fact or challenge my interpretations. Sometimes this was not possible because the participants had other commitments immediately after the interview. In such cases, I agreed a time with some participants for them to verify my summaries and interpretations. These stakeholder checks helped assessing trustworthiness of data and subsequent data analysis (Thomas 2003). Table 14 shows the total amount of time spent on interviews and focus groups.

Table 14: Interview timings:

Interview	Date of interview	Timing	Interview duration
Interview 1	28/6/11	17:30-18:25	55 minutes
Interview 2	28/6/11	18:40- 19:35	55 minutes
Interview 3	28/6/11	9:30-9:50	20 minutes
Interview 4	29/6/11	11:25-12:00	35 minutes
Interview 5	30/6/11	9:00-9:56	56 minutes
Interview 6	30/6/11	10:40-11:05	25 minutes
Interview 7	30/6/11	11:30-11:40	10 minutes
Interview 8	30/6/11	12:05-12:30	15 minutes
Interview 9	30/6/11	12:45-12:55	10 minutes
Interview 10	30/6/11	14:00-14:17	17 minutes
Interview 11	1/7/11	8:30-9:20	50 minutes
Interview 12	1/7/11	10:20-10:35	15 minutes
Interview 13	1/7/11	11:30-11:47	17 minutes

Interview 14	1/7/11	12:15-12:45	30 minutes
Interview 15	1/7/11	14:30-15:10	40 minutes
Interview 16	1/7/11	16:00-16:33	33 minutes
Interview 17	7/7/11	14:30-15:25	55 minutes
Interview 18	6/9/11	10:30-10:48	18 minutes
Interview 19	6/9/12	6:30-6:56	26 minutes
Interview 20	6/9/12	7:45-8:04	19 minutes
Interview 21	13/9/12	11:10-12:15	65 minutes
Interview 22	4/9/12	18:15-18:46	31 minutes
Interview 23	5/9/12	14:40-15:14	34 minutes
Interview 24	5/9/12	15:30-16:25	55 minutes
Interview 25	12/9/12	9:30-9:55	25 minutes
Interview 26	18/9/12	9:14-9:43	29 minutes
Interview 27	18/9/12	12:25-12:36	21 minutes
Interview 28	19/9/12	11:41-11:58	17 minutes
	Total interview duration		15 hours 38 minutes

7.4.1.1. Interviewing pupils

I conducted in-depth interviews and focus group interviews with grade 4 to grade 7 pupils at Bindzi primary school. At Madumbe primary school, I conducted interviews with grade 5 and grade 6 pupils because they did not have grade 4 and 7 classes. This is because, in 2010, they did not have enough children enrolling in the bilingual class. There were three focus group interviews (two focus groups in Bindzi and one in Madumbe) and six individual interviews (three at Bindzi and three at Madumbe). There were between four and six pupils in each focus group. All the participant pupils were volunteers selected with the help of the bilingual teachers during my class visits. I decided to work with grades 4 to 7 because at the piloting stage, I realised that grades 1 to 3 pupils (aged 6 to 8) did not have much to say. They resorted to yes/no answers and since the purpose of this study was to capture perceptions of participants, I needed older pupils (aged 11 to 15) capable of expressing their views and perceptions. Moreover, the inclusion of grades 4 to 7 pupils allowed me to capture further challenges related to the shift in language of instruction from the local language (Ciutee) to the official language (Portuguese).

At Bindzi primary school, the interviews were conducted in the school yard. The teachers were given houses in the school yard but most of the houses were unoccupied as the teachers preferred to live outside the schoolyard. The school made the living room in one of the houses available for the interviews. It was a lot quieter than the school playground and we could have the privacy we needed for the interviews.

At Madumbe primary school, the interviews were conducted in the staff room. The school prepared a distant corner of the staff room for the interviews. This minimised possible interruptions by teachers coming in and out. The director had made his office available for the interviews in case I was not happy with the arrangement but I found the staff room good enough.

Individual interviews with pupils lasted between fifteen and twenty-five minutes depending on how much information individual pupils had to share. However, the focus group interviews lasted between 30 minutes and 1h 15 minutes. I found the focus groups quite challenging to manage but very productive. As most pupils had chosen to use the local language in individual interviews and focus groups, they spoke freely and had a lot to share with me. In the focus group at Bindzi, at the end of the focus group meeting, I later saw some of the focus group participants together in the playground still discussing issues from our meeting. A boy said he would be happy to learn just the local language at school and no Portuguese at all. A girl who was standing next to him promptly disagreed and told him that he would never find a decent lady to marry if he did not invest on his Portuguese language.

7.4.1.2. Interviewing parents

Interviewing the parents was a challenging rewarding adventure. Both communities selected for the study are agricultural communities. The parents arranged for the interviews to take place on their farms (day time) or in their homes (early in the evening). I made use of the services of my volunteer community guide who knew the communities quite well to take me to the farms or homes at the arranged times. The interview took place under tree shades, sitting on tree logs. They were happy to interrupt their farming activities for the interviews. Normally they have short breaks for meals while on their farms. Following my guide's suggestion, I tried to make the interview times fit in their break times to avoid wasting their time. Later, I realised that my guide's suggestion concerning interview times was very helpful in creating positive relations with parents. Some of the parents had experience participating in studies and they commented that this study was different because I was going to them instead of calling them to come to the school or to the local authority in order to participate in the study.

On one occasion, a participant lady demanded that she should be interviewed in the presence of her husband. I also had a situation where a male parent asked to be interviewed with his own father, the pupil's grandfather. My knowledge of the local culture forced me to agree with such demands and instead of having a one-to-one interview; I had to involve the spouse or the pupil's grandfather.

Parents were open to share their views and expectations with me. They told stories of their own schooling and schooling in neighbouring Zimbabwe where local languages are used as languages

of instruction in formal education. They shared stories of local people not being able to find jobs in big cities because of lack of Portuguese language knowledge. They talked about local people who had faced problems in the court of justice because of language problems. They spoke of the pride of having their child reading the bible in the local language thanks to the bilingual programme. They were happy to share their appreciation and concerns about education in the local school.

7.4.1.3. Interviewing teachers

Like with the pupils, the interviews with the teachers were conducted in the schoolyard. I arranged with the teachers the interview times that were convenient for them. The teachers were really cooperative and had a lot to share. At times I thought they saw in me an advocate of their concerns and that they believed I could help them change the situation of uncertainty that the education authorities had placed them. They complained about being abandoned and not having in-school support from the bilingual education specialists who had trained them to teach in the bilingual programme. They complained about lack of materials, particularly bilingual dictionaries too help them with translation of technical terms from Portuguese into the local language. They shared survival strategies they use to be able to teach when they cannot find the right local language term for a technical term in Portuguese language. They complained about the amount of time they spend planning a single bilingual lesson which is two or three times more than the amount of time spent planning a monolingual lesson. They were amazed at the quality of student-teacher interaction when the local language is used as language of instruction. The teachers viewed me as someone they could unburden their concerns to. They also viewed me as a go- between in the search for solutions to their concerns.

7.4.1.4. Interviewing head teachers

Interviewing the head teachers was particularly challenging. Although both head teachers were experienced primary school teachers, they frequently pushed the conversation to school management and administration. They were mostly concerned about the quality of bilingual teacher training, the availability of resources (enough teachers, books and funds) to run not only the bilingual but also the monolingual programme. The head teacher at Madumbe primary school showed to have information about the nature and purpose of the bilingual programme that he was managing at his school. However, the head teacher at Bindzi primary school did not know much about the programme. It was strange to see a school director managing an educational programme whose purpose he did not know.

7.4.2. Observation

This study used unstructured observation as the second data collection tool. The researcher sat at the side or back of the classroom and made detailed notes. Some of things recorded during observation were selected from the analysis of data gathered through ethnographic interviews.

Also, aspects recorded during observations were used to identify topics to explore during interviews with teachers. According to Jones & Somekh (2005), observation involves invading other people's space and constructing meanings from the experience of participating in their activities rather than through the filter of their accounts about their activities. During ethnographic interviews, teachers and pupils talked about benefits and challenges of bilingual education in the classroom context. Unstructured observations were used to check the match between what was said in the interviews and what actually happens in the classroom or to seek explanations from pupils about observed behaviour. As Jones & Somekh (2005) put it, interviewees usually make claims of behaving in ways that are not fully corroborated by observation. This means that there may be mismatch between the researcher's construction of meaning from observed data and the participants own constructions of meaning from participating in the activity that has been observed.

I observed five classes taught by the five teachers selected for the interviews in the present study. Three of the classes observed were at Bindzi primary school and the other two at Madumbe primary school. With the permission of the class teachers, all the observations were video recorded using Sony Corp. Digital still camera DSC-W170. The device is the size of a mobile phone. It is so small that teachers and pupils hardly noticed it. The intention was to avoid distracting the participants from the lesson. However, the quality of the recording was very good with regard to both picture and sound.

All the lessons recorded were 45-minute lessons but the class recording times shown below are varied and they correspond to the times when there is interaction in the classroom. The parts of the lesson when students were silent doing activities and there was no teacher-student or student-student or student-teacher interaction are not represented. Table 15 shows the total classroom video recording times.

Table 15: Video recording times

Grade	Timing
Grade One	14minutes 21 seconds
Grade Two	19 minutes 58 seconds
Grade Three	19 minutes 58 seconds
Grade Four	29 minutes 57 seconds
Grade Five	21 minutes 54 seconds
Total recording time	1 hr. 46 minutes 08 seconds

7.4.3. Documentary analysis

Both ethnographic interview and observation were the primary sources of data collection for the present study. Documentary analysis was the secondary source of data collection for the study. According to Jortner (2003), secondary sources of data collection are what others have written about a primary source, such as a book of essays on a text, an interview printed in a newspaper, or results from a lab experiment run by others.

I collected and analysed curriculum documents, government and other unpublished institutional documents from the Ministry of Education, the national Institute for Educational Development, the Provincial Directorate of Education of Manica and from the schools themselves. The analysis of such documents coupled with the literature selected for this study helped me interpret the views and perceptions obtained through interviews and observation with a view to identifying a model of bilingual education that best caters for the expectations of parents, pupils, and teachers.

7.4.4. Research diary

Diaries can be seen as a researcher's companion documenting the development of perceptions and insights across various stages of the research (Altrichter and Holly 2005). In this study, I used research diary to record my daily observations in the field. Field notes or diaries, according to Altricher & Holly (2005), invite miscellaneous entries which otherwise may become lost: short memos or occasional observations can be recorded and linked to interpretive ideas and reflections about research issues. For the purpose of the present study, our diary included ideas and plans for subsequent research steps; contextual information about the ways data were collected; additional items like photographs; data obtained from informal conversations with key informants; and my reflections on research methods.

Right at the end of an interview, class observation or informal conversation, I sat down and took notes on how the interview, observation or conversation went. I noted down details of the place and I took pictures. I took notes on my behaviour and behaviour of the participant that help or made the interview difficult. At the end of my working day, I read my notes and planned for subsequent research steps. My research diary helped me improve my own performance in the field and in every other scheduled interview, observation or conversation I found my performance relatively better than in the previous one.

7.5. Translation and interpretation issues

This study involved three languages, namely Ciutee, Portuguese and English. Ciutee is the local language spoken by the majority of the participants in the communities selected for the study. It was mostly used in interviews with pupils and parents. Portuguese, the official language of Mozambique, was used in interviews with teachers, head teachers as they had opted to use this language in the interviews. English language was used to write the present dissertation.

There were no serious problems with interpretation and translation from and into any of the three languages because I can speak all of them perfectly well. In the field, I used either Ciutee or Portuguese depending on the choice of individual or group participants. In the focus groups, I gave the participants freedom to use either language when addressing to me.

I translated all the interviews from Ciutee and Portuguese into English. Sometimes, when I was not so sure of a certain Ciutee term, I asked two or three other Ciutee speakers to give me synonyms. This helped me feel more confident with my translations.

7.6. Ethical Issues

Ethical issues in educational research generally arise from sources of tension within the research process. According to Cohen & Manion (1994), each stage of the research process can give rise to ethical dilemmas as these may stem from the problem being investigated, the site or context of the research, the data collection methods, the nature of participants or the type of data being collected. Merriam (1998) points out that risks and the researcher and participant relationship differ between quantitative and qualitative research and that in qualitative research studies, ethical issues are most likely to arise in connection with data collection and the dissemination of findings.

The present study was conducted according to the principles of ethics as identified by the Australian Association for Research in education (Bibby 1997; AARE 2000). After having been granted ethical clearance by USQ (see appendix 7) and following the consent letters and credentials sent to the Ministry of Education, the National Institute for Educational Development, the Provincial Directorate of Education of Manica and to the schools themselves, coupled with the first visits to the schools, community members, local authorities, teachers, parents and pupils knew of my presence in the community. They were aware of the nature and purpose of my research. Furthermore, prior to collecting data from any participant, I provided the participant with information concerning the purpose of the research and got their consent (see appendices 5a and 5b). Although repetitive, I found this procedure ethically appropriate. When I first visited the schools, I had thought that some young children would not be able to give their consent themselves and that I should seek consent from their parents or caretakers and for this I designed special consent forms for parents/caretakers (see appendices 5c and 5d). However, this proved unnecessary as all the participant children could read and write comfortably and in case of observations, the class teachers gave their consent.

I informed all the participants about their right to withdraw from the study at any time if they saw the research interfering with their private life and that there would be no adverse effects on participants if they withdrew their consent. Moreover, I told them that participants who withdrew their consent were free to withdraw data concerning themselves.

All responses were kept confidential and anonymous. I used pseudonyms in the place of participants' names. I also used fictitious names in the place of school names. The data collected were stored in a re-identifiable/ coded form and softcopy files containing data were password protected to make sure no one else would access the data. In this way, I managed to keep ethical

and moral standards throughout the process and in the analysis and dissemination of findings. As there was no organization funding the project, the research remained separate from financial and political influence.

7.7. Approaches to Data Analysis

7.7.1. Data preparation: Transcribing the data

As already mentioned in 7.5 above, this study involved three languages, namely Ciutee, Portuguese and English. The transcription process involved two steps. Since the languages used in the field for conducting interviews were Ciutee and Portuguese, the first step of the transcription process involved transcribing the interviews word- for- word, as said by the participants. Word- for- word transcription of the interviews was time- consuming. However, it made the other steps in data preparation and subsequent data analysis relatively more practical as it reduced the need for frequent listening to recorded data. The second step involved listening to the recordings again and translating the transcripts from Ciutee and Portuguese into English, the writing language of the present dissertation. Thus the final interview transcripts used as evidentiary data in this study are organized in two columns. The first column provides the speaker's identification code and the speaker's actual utterances in either Portuguese or Ciutee and the second column presents the English translation, as shown below. "C" is the initial of "Carlos" (the interviewer's name- my name) and MP1 is the code for a male parent identified by number 1.

Extract A: Sample transcript organization	
C: Agora Nharaunda yno i, mitauro irimunu umu, mingani? **MP1**: Ciutee, ndicocakabhata muno kamare,mumarera muno natural wese kamare ciutee. Kunozouya andau. Anogara muno, akatobvao hawo muito muito akazouya ngehondo, ngekutiza hondo kakutouya kuzogara muno. Amuno maning. Cishona cakauyawo ne mazimbabweano so amweni akapinda kwenda kumakwasha yo.	**C**: What languages are spoken in this community? **MP1**: There is Ciutee, the dominant local language, the language of the natives of the community. Then, there is Cindau. The Cindau language came with people running away from war zones. They came to live here. There are a lot of Ndaus in this community. There is Cishona as well. It came with Zimbabweans.

7.7.2. Data exploration and data reduction: thematic analysis

Thematic analysis, also known as thematic interpretive analysis (Braun and Clarke 2006; Markovic 2006), is " a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns or themes within the data" (Braun and Clarke 2006). Data analysis in the present study involved two main steps.
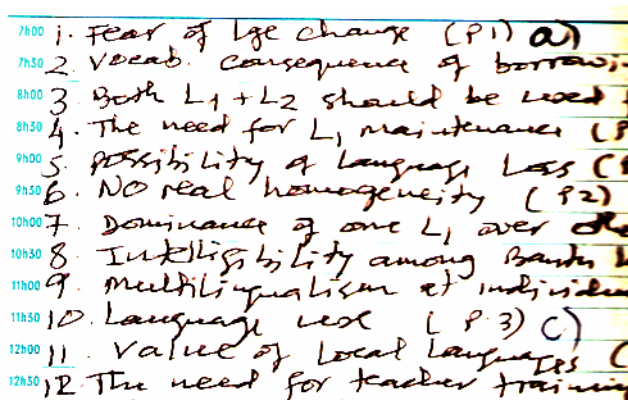
The first step had to do with reading and rereading through the transcripts and trying to make sense of the interview data. Then, I examined the transcripts in order to make sense of what was being said by the participants as a group. This step was facilitated by the fact that I had transcribed the data myself. So, I was familiar with the data quite well. This step was pen and paper work that required writing my first impressions and reflections on data and was quite challenging and messy as Extract B shows.

Extract B: Sample data analysis step 1
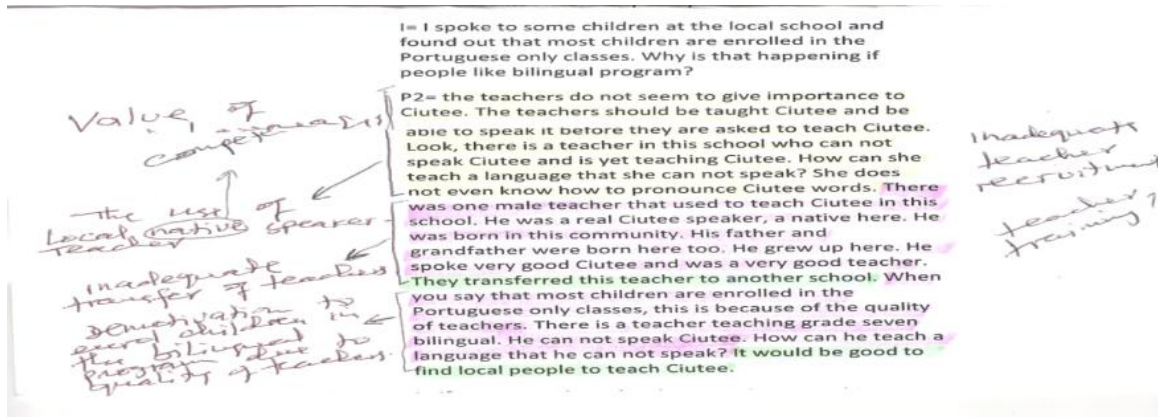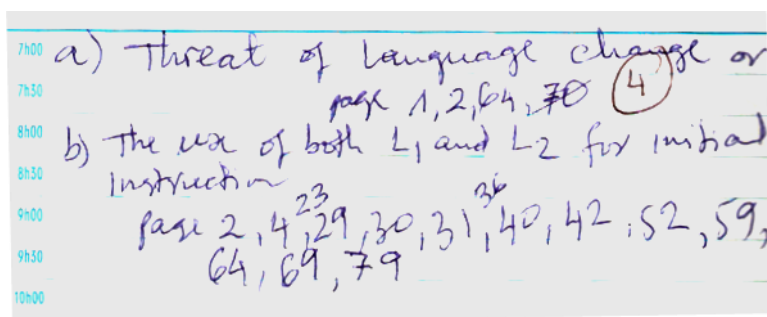
Thematic analysis concerns searching across a data set to find repeated patterns of meaning (Braun and Clarke 2006; Liamputtong 2009) and coding plays an important part. The second step of data analysis involved coding in order to deconstruct data and to put them into codes and find links between them (Hesse-Biber and Leavy 2006; Boeije 2009; Saldaña 2009). This stage relied on more focused coding which allowed for the building and clarifying of concepts. The marking up of the text in step 1 above allowed locating segments that I believed were important for the understanding of participants' perspectives and aspirations with regard to bilingual education. First, I produced initial codes under which I grouped the data collected from the study participants. Here, I tried to summarize what participants said in a phrase or sentence in order to try and make sense of the data. The overall aim was to build categories to which data could be grouped, as Extract C shows.

Extract C: sample data analysis step 2

This allowed me to select segments of data that were important for answering the research questions. Next, I refined the initial codes into broader categories as Extract D shows.

Extract D: Sample data analysis step 3

This step involved examining all the data in a category, compare each piece of data with every other piece in order to develop analytical categories. The data in the present study were analysed under two broad categories or themes: views of students, parents and teachers and; the challenges of bilingual education: views from the field.

7.8. Conclusion

The proposed study used interviewing as the major sources of data collection. Most of the data came from interviews with students, parents, teachers and head teachers. The selection of participants was influenced by the fact that these participants were strictly linked to the bilingual programme. In one way or another, they influenced and were influenced by the bilingual programme on day-to-day basis and no one else could talk about the bilingual programme better than them.

The choice of qualitative approach to research allowed us to get in-depth insight and understanding of bilingual education phenomenon from the perspective of participant students, parents, teachers and head teachers.

CHAPTER 8: THE CHALLENGES OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN MULTILINGUAL POST-COLONIAL MOZAMBIQUE

Overview

This chapter presents and discusses the findings of data generated by interviews and classroom observations focusing on the central questions of our research. The interviews and classroom observations were conducted between June 2011 and September 2012 to gather fundamental data for identifying the challenges facing the implementation of bilingual education in Mozambique.

The chapter is divided into four major parts: views and perceptions of students, parents and teacher; the challenges of bilingual education: views from the field; revisiting the conceptual framework of the study and; conclusions.

8.1. The views and perceptions of students, parents and teachers

8.1.1. Recognition of the multilingual nature of the communities

The community members of both sites selected for this study recognise their multilingual and multicultural nature. Although Ciutee is the mostly spoken language in the communities, there are other national languages spoken in the communities, as evidenced in extract 1.

Extract 1: Interview with a parent (MP1) and a grandparent (MP2)

Language of the interview (Ciutee, Portuguese or English)	English translation
Mabuyo 1 – Abhereki 28/6/11 17:30- 18: 25	**Interview 1 – Parents 28/6/11** 17:30- 18: 25
MP1 – Avó MP2 – Pai; idade: 36; educação: 5a classe; Ocupação: camponês; L1: Ciutee; Número de filhos: 6 (3 vão a escola)	MP1 – male grandparent MP2 – Male parent; age: 36; education: grade 5; Job: peasant; L1: Ciutee; Number of children: 6 (3 go to school)

C: Carlos (entrevistador)	C: Carlos (interviewer)
MP1: Avó (entrevistado)	MP1: Avó (interviewee)
MP2: Pai (entrevistado)	MP2: Pai (interviewee)
C: Agora Nharaunda yno i, mitauro irimunu	C: What languages are spoken in this

umu, mingani?

MP1: Ciutee, ndicocakabhata muno kamare,mumarera muno natural wese kamare ciutee. Kunozouya andau. Anogara muno, akatobvao hawo muito muito akazouya ngehondo, ngekutiza hondo kakutouya kuzogara muno. Amuno maning. Cishona cakauyawo ne mazimbabweano so amweni akapinda kwenda kumakwasha yo.

C: Saka muno umu anhu agingi anotaura mutauro miri, mitatu?

MP1: Kutaura kudhai taonana kudhai, cagingi gingi inini ndiri muutee, pasina (não claro) ndokompanyar hangu kudha kuti anyase kuzwisisa hake ne, inini andiciziio maningi, kundo kompanyar bhasi kuti cimweni candinoreketa canguco, pamweni paya ndotodaptar kureketawo cakeco kuti azvizwisisewo aena.

community?

MP1: There is Ciutee, the dominant local language, the language of the natives of the community. Then, there is Cindau. The Cindau language came with people running away from war zones. They came to live here. There are a lot of Ndaus in this community. There is Cishona as well. It came with Zimbabweans.

C: Are there many bilingual or multilingual speakers in this community?

MP1: Well, when I meet someone and we start a conversation, normally, I study the person to see what language they speak, and then I choose the language that will facilitate the conversation. Sometimes I can manage to communicate using Ciutee and the other person using a different language. If I can, I switch to the other person's language to make things easier for the other person.

Extract 1 shows that besides Ciutee, other national languages such as Cindau, Cishona and Cisena are also spoken as L1 in the community. An interesting fact happening in this community is that there seems to be no battle among the different national languages co-existing in the community. Ciutee is recognised as the language of the natives of the community and the "new comers" are happy to learn Ciutee or even to have their children studying Ciutee language at the local school. This peaceful coexistence among different national languages in the same geographical context is so extensive that when Ciutee native speakers are addressing someone who cannot speak good Ciutee, when they can, they adjust to another national language that the interlocutor can speak better.

8.1.2. The need to preserve the local language

The introduction of bilingual education boosted the community members' self-esteem. Contrary to the feeling of worthlessness and uselessness caused by total neglection of their languages and cultures in the colonial education system and in the education system after independence, the 2003 curriculum brought a new state of affairs in the communities where bilingual education is being implemented. The local languages are no longer considered "dog's languages" as the Portuguese used to refer to them (Kitoko-Nsiku 2007). The communities want their language to be passed on from generation to generation, as extract 2 testifies.

Extract 2: Interview with a parent

(MP4)**Entrevista 8 30/6/11**   12:05- 12:30   **Interview 8 Parent 30/6/11**   12:05- 12:30

MP4 – pai; idade: 43; educação: 7a classe; ocupação: negociante; L1: Ciutee; Número de filhos: 8 (5 vão a escola)	MP4 – Male parent; age: 43; education: grade 7; Job: informal businessman; L1: Ciutee; Number of children: 8 (5 go to school)

C: Carlos (entrevistador)

MP4: pai (entrevistado)

C: Na sua opinião, quais são as vantagens deste programa?

MP4: As nossas crianças vão crescer falando a nossa língua local e não vão esquecer esta língua. Quando aprendem só português, eles vão esquecer a sua língua. É por isso que eu digo que é boa coisa. Muitas vezes, quando as nossas crianças terminam a escola primária, nós enviamos as crianças para estudar na cidade porque aqui não temos escola secundária. O que acontece é que quando eles voltam para aqui, eles só falam português.

C: Carlos (Interviewer)

MP4: male parent (interviewee)

C: What are the advantages of the programme, in your opinion?

MP4: Our children will grow up speaking our local language and they will not forget our language. When they learn Portuguese only, they will forget their home language. That is why I say this programme is good. Often, when our children finish primary school, we send them to study in the city because there is no secondary school here. What happens is that when they come back here, they speak Portuguese only.

MP4 sees bilingual education as the solution to language heritage threats. After successful completion of primary education, local children are forced to move to the city to carry on with their studies at subsequent levels of education because such levels of education are not offered

locally. Once in the city, the children lose contact with the local language and when they return to visit their parents, relatives and communities in general, they no longer speak or want to speak the local language. This can be related to negative attitudes towards the local language that the children acquire in the city. Consequently, bilingual education is seen as a mediator in the transmission of the local language and culture. This phenomenon can also to be connected with language prestige. In a focus group interview with students, they chose Portuguese language as the language they would use for showing off, as extract 3 shows.

Extract 3: Focus group interview with students.

Mabuyo 21 – Afundi 13/9/12 11:10-12:15	**Interview 21 Focus group 13/9/12** 11:10-12:15
Participantes: NLM: aluna; 14 anos; 6a Classe; L1: Ciutee EMM: aluna, 13 anos; 6ª Classe; L1: Ciutee FOM: aluna; 12 anos; 6ª Classe; L1: Ciutee EJA: aluno; 13 anos; 7ª Classe; L1: Ciutee AFM: aluno 11 anos; 4ª Classe; L1: Ciutee MAM: aluno; 12 anos; 5ª Classe; L1: Ciutee	**Participants**: NLM, female student; age: 14; grade 6; L1: Ciutee EMM, female student, age:13; grade 6; L1: Ciutee FOM, female student; age:12; grade 6; L1: Ciutee EJA, male student; age:13; grade 7; L1: Ciutee AFM, male student age:11; grade 4; L1: Ciutee MAM, male student; age:12; grade 5; L1: Ciutee

C: Carlos (entrevistador)

C: Carlos (interviewer)

C: Ok, Pane mubvundzo umwe wandirikudha kuti ndikutaurirei imwimwi, haannn... anhu ane stilo maningui nee? Amwe anodhadha, amwe anodhini... anodhadha nguemutauro upi? Eduardo?

C: Ok. I have another question. Tell me; in what language do people speak when they want to show off? Yes, EJA?

EJA: Anhu agingi anodhadha, anodhadha ngomutauro ocizungu

EJA: Many people speak Portuguese to show off.

C: Zvazodharo nguei?

EJA: Apeni hawo, ngoti awona anopensar kuti isusu tinongatisikakoni, cizunguco uciuya kotidhadhira ngocizunguko, kudhadhira isusu autee.

C: Anhu adhadhi nociutee:

EJA: Nada, anodhadha ngocizungu

C; Adhadhi ngociutee nguei?

EJA: Adhadhi ngociutee ngoti, cizungu ndico cino... ukacikona kucireketa amweni anodhadha naco.

C: Saka mungati apa cizungu mutauro okudhadha?

NLM: Nada, nao é mutauro okudhadha nada so umweni unonga ocukwanisa uya, unouya kogaira isusu kuti imwimwi muri maboi, necizungu amukwanisi, awona oreketa cizungu, isusu tirimaboi zvia tisikakwanisi, otidhadhira mange, tei kwanisa kudhaira cizungu, totodhairawo naco kamare cizunguco.

C: Haaa, mukasakwanisa kudhaira ngocizungu anomudhadhira?

NLM: Hooo, so teikwanisa zvia atidhadhiri ngoti tinodhairana.

C: Why do they choose Portuguese for that?

EJA: I don't know why. They think we don't speak Portuguese so they come and show off speaking Portuguese, showing off to us Ciutee speakers.

C: Don't people show off in Ciutee?

EJA: No, they don't. They show off in Portuguese.

C: Why not Ciutee?

EJA: They don't show off in Ciutee… Portuguese is the right language for that… those who can speak Portuguese, use it for showing off.

C: Can we say that Portuguese is a language for showing off?

NLM: Not really. It is not the language. No. but some people who can speak it, they come and show off because they think we are black (Maboi) and we cannot speak Portuguese. But if you can speak Portuguese, you answer them in Portuguese, too.

C: Ok. So, if you are unable to answer them in Portuguese, they show off.

NLM: Yes. But if we can answer them in Portuguese, they do not show off to us.

Although communities want to see their local language preserved and passed on across generations, Portuguese is still seen as the language of prestige. The community concerns about preserving the local language can be seen as a necessary condition for implementation of bilingual education in the communities. It shows that the communities are happy to see their language taught in the local school and it may also be seen as an indication that they will support the implementation of this form of education.

In an interview with VA, an experienced bilingual teacher, he mentioned other communities that are asking local school authorities to teach the local language in their local school (see extract 4).

Extract 4: Interview with a teacher (Van de Pol, Volman et al.)

Entrevista 11 01/7/11 8:30-9:20   **Interview 11 male teacher 01/7/11** 8:30-9:20

Idade: 47 anos	Age: 47
Nível de educação: 10a Classe	Level of education: grade 10
Experiência na educação: 31 anos	Experience: 31 years
Formação: Nenhuma	Training: untrained
L1: Ciutee	L1: Ciutee
Experiência no bilingue: 11 anos, desde 2001	Experience in Bilingual: 11 years, since 2001

C: Carlos (entrevistador)

VA: Professor (entrevistado)

C: Qual é o sentimento da comunidade em relação ao programa do ensino bilingue?

VA: Este programa valoriza as línguas locais. A nível nacional, as nossas línguas locais não eram dadas nenhum valor. Português era a única língua que era valorizada. Quando o ensino bilingue foi introduzido, as pessoas não queriam suas crianças matriculadas no programa porque diziam que as suas crianças iam aprender "Ciboi" (Língua do preto). Tivemos que ir à comunidade e explicar-lhes a importância da língua local. O que é língua? Língua é identidade. Língua é cultura. Depois explicação, a comunidade ficou mais recetiva ao programa. Crianças precisam ter conhecimentos científicos na sua própria língua. A partir de 2006, as pessoas ficaram mais positivas em relação a educação bilingue. Já houve muitas capacitações para os professores mas precisamos de mais porque esse programa é um processo. Quando os professores se encontram, eles trocam experiências e aprendem uns dos outros. Em termos de recetividade do programa, sinto que a comunidade gosta do programa. Em algumas

C: Carlos (interviewer)

VA: male teacher (interviewee)

C: What is the feeling of the community in relation to bilingual education programme?

VA: This programme gives value to local languages. At national level, our local languages were not given any value at all. Portuese was the only language that was valued. When bilingual education was introduced, people did not want their children to enroll in the programme because they said their children were going to learn "Ciboi" (Language of black people). We had to go to the community and explain to them the importance of the local language. What is language? Language is identity. Language is culture. After this explanation, the community became more receptive to the programme. Children need to have scientific knowledge in their own language. From 2006, people became more positive about bilingual education. There have been lots of training sessions for the teachers but we need more training sessions because this programme is a process. When teachers meet they exchange experiences and they learn from one another. In terms of reception of the programme, I feel the community likes it. In some communities where the bilingual programme is not yet being implemented, we hear parents saying "we want the school to teach our language". They say

comunidades onde o programa do ensino bilingue não está a ser implementado, ouvimos pais a dizerem "queremos a escola ensinar a nossa língua". Eles dizem A NOSSA LÍNGUA. Isso significa que a comunidade está positiva em relação a educação bilingue.

OUR LANGUAGE. This means that the community is positive about bilingual education.

In extract 4, VA shows initial mixed feelings of community members towards bilingual education and their present positive attitudes towards this form of education. There is an evident gigantic improvement in the way communities see themselves, their languages and cultures. Parents are happy that the local school is teaching their language to the children and they see this as a guarantee that their language will not be forgotten as there is an official entity, the school, passing it on from generation to generation.

8.1.3. The local language L1 facilitates understanding of content in the classroom

A further view that is shared among teachers and students is that the use of the students' L1 as the language of instruction facilitates understanding of content in the classroom, as extract 5 testifies.

Extract 5: Interview with a teacher (MH)

Entrevista 6 30/6/11 10:40- 11:05   **Interview 6 Teacher 30/6/11** 10:40- 11:05

Idade- 37 anos	
Experiencia na educação: 10 anos (desde 2002)	Age- 37
Experiencia no ensino bilingue: 7 anos, desde 2006	Experience in education: 10 years (since 2002)
	Experience in bilingual education: 7 years, since 2006
Nível de educação: 12ª classe	Level of education: grade 12
Formação psicopedagógica: Nenhuma	Training: Untrained L1: Ciutee
L1: Ciutee	

C: Carlos (entrevistador)   C: Carlos (interviewer)

MH: Professora (entrevistada)   MH: Female teacher (interviewee)

C: Que diferenças nota entre as duas turmas?   C: What differences have you notice between

the two classes?

MH: Há uma pequena diferença. A turma do bilingue parece mais avançada.

MH: there is a small difference. The bilingual class seems more advanced (than the monolingual class).

C: o que quer dizer com "mais avançada"?

C: What do you mean more advanced?

MH: Em termos de conhecimento, na turma do bilingue, os alunos entendem a matéria facilmente.

MH: In terms of knowledge, the bilingual students understand the lesson easily.

C: Porquê é que isso acontece, na sua opinião?

C: Why does that happen, in your opinion?

MH: Isso é porque estas crianças, na 1ª classe, começaram a falar e escrever na sua língua materna. Isso tornou as coisas fáceis porque as crianças vieram a escola sabendo falar a sua língua nativa, Ciutee, e na escola, elas aprenderam mais Ciutee. Isso ajudou-lhes a melhorar o seu conhecimento da língua local.

MH: This is because, in grade one, these children started speaking and writing in their home language. This made things easy because the children came to school knowing how to speak their native language, Ciutee, and at school they learnt more Ciutee. This helped them improve their knowledge of the local language.

MH teaches two grade five classes. One of the classes is monolingual and the other is bilingual. HM sees the bilingual class students as more advanced than the monolingual class because the bilingual students understand the content of the lessons easily. She does not have to explain the same contents again and again, as is the case with the monolingual class, because the bilingual students understand the language perfectly well. The students themselves find bilingual lessons more interesting (see extract 6).

Extract 6: Focus group interview with students

Mabuyo 21 – Afundi 13/9/12 11:10-12:15	Interview 21 Focus group 13/9/12 11:10-12:15
Participantes: NLM: aluna; 14 anos; 6a Classe; L1: Ciutee EMM: aluna, 13 anos; 6ª Classe; L1: Ciutee FOM: aluna; 12 anos; 6ª Classe; L1: Ciutee EJA: aluno; 13 anos; 7ª Classe; L1: Ciutee AFM: aluno 11 anos; 4ª Classe; L1: Ciutee MAM: aluno; 12 anos; 5ª Classe; L1: Ciutee	**Participants**: NLM, female student; age: 14; grade 6; L1: Ciutee EMM, female student, age: 13; grade 6; L1: Ciutee FOM, female student; age: 12; grade 6; L1: Ciutee EJA, male student; age: 13; grade 7; L1: Ciutee AFM, male student age: 11; grade 4; L1: Ciutee MAM, male student; age: 12; grade 5; L1: Ciutee

C: Carlos (entrevistador)

C: AFM wakatsara bilingue ngue iwewe?

AFM: Inini, inodhakadza kufunda.

C: Cirikumbodhakadza ikona caco i cii?

AFM: Zvatinofundezvo

C: Hooo…, nditaurire cimwe kana kuti zviri zvinonga zvecikudhakadza

AFM: Ciutee

C: Ciutee ...

AFM: Huuummm

C: bhasi-bhasi…

AFM: Matematica

C: Ok…. Ticabuya futi, ndicadzokera ndecikubvundza. Haaannnn, Mateus okatsara bilingue nguei iwewe?

MAM: Inondikadza

C: Carlos (interviewer)

C: AFM, why did you choose to study in the bilingual programme?
AFM: I find the learning interesting.
C: What exactly is interesting?

AFM: Things that are taught.

C: Ok. Tell me one or two things that are taught and you find them interesting.

AFM: Ciutee language.

C: Ciutee…

AFM: Yes

C: Only Ciutee?

AFM: Mathematics.

C: Ok. I will come back to you later. MAM, why did you choose to study in the bilingual programme?

MAM: It is interesting.

C: Ciri kudhadza cii?

AFM: Kufunda mazwi anoreketwa menemo.

C: Manyi?

AFM: Mazwi…

C: Hoooo…urikuti mazwi anoreketwa ndiani?

MAM: Kana ndimufundisi ou amunoerenga,

C: Cikanga ciri ciutee?

MAM: Hummm

C: Agora mazwi anonga ecireketwa nge professor unofundisa ngeciputukezi, adhakadzi nguei?

MAM: Mazwi na onoreketwa ngue professor unofundisa ciutee?

C: Ngueciputukezi
MAM: Ociputukezi… zvimweni zvinophuta, zvimweni zvinoo, ndinozvibhata , antao no ciutee ndinozvibhata zvese

C: What is interesting?

AFM: Learning the words of the language

C: What?
AFM: The words of the language.

C: What words are they?

MAM: The words spoken by the teacher or the words that we read.

C: In Ciutee language?

MAM: Yes.

C: Why aren't words spoken by the teacher teaching in Portuguese interesting?

MAM: Words spoken by the teacher teaching in Ciutee?

C: Teaching in Portuguese.
MAM: In Portuguese, I understand some words but I don't understand other words. In Ciutee, I understand everything.

In extract 6, the students kept saying that the lessons taught in their L1 were more interesting than the lessons taught in Portuguese language. What can be inferred from this interview is that, it is not the content itself that was interesting. It was the fact that the students could understand everything that the teachers were saying that made the lessons taught in L1 interesting. This shows to what understanding matters for students. It is through understanding that the students are capable of relating the content taught in the lesson to their interests and emotional needs and to the world outside the classroom.

VA, extract 7, discusses the challenges that children face when instruction is conducted in an unfamiliar language.

Extract 7: Interview with a teacher (Van de Pol, Volman et al.)

Entrevista 11 01/7/11 8:30-9:20	**Interview 11 male teacher 01/7/11** 8:30-9:20
Idade: 47 anos	Age: 47
Nível de educação: 10a Classe	Level of education: grade 10
Experiência na educação: 31 anos	Experience: 31 years
Formação: Nenhuma	Training: untrained
L1: Ciutee	L1: Ciutee
Experiência no bilingue: 11 anos, desde 2001	Experience in Bilingual: 11 years, since 2001

C: Carlos (interviewer)

VA: male teacher (interviewee)

C: Carlos (entrevistador)

VA: Professor (entrevistado)

C: Do you think that when children start school in their home language they will learn L2 easily?

C: Acha que quando as crianças começam a escola aprendendo em sua língua local irão aprender a L2 facilmente?

VA: Em termos práticos, segundo os pesquisadores, a criança não é uma tabua rasa. Quando a criança nasce, começa a aprender a língua falada pela mãe da criança. A criança escuta, aprende a falar, e aprende a contar nos primeiros dois anos. Isso acontece na língua materna da criança. Quando a criança começa a estudar, a criança não vai enfrentar muitas dificuldades porque a criança estará a aprender como representar graficamente aquilo que a criança já sabe dizer. A criança estará a aprender escrever números mas não a ler porque a criança já sabe dizer os números a partir de casa, antes de vir na escola. O trabalho do professor será somente ensinar a criança a escrever os números. Quando a criança encontra uma nova língua na escola, esta criança levará mais tempo para aprender. O ambiente é novo e a língua usada também é nova para a criança. Esta é a razão pela qual,

VA: In practical terms, according to researchers, a child is not tabula rasa. When a child is born, he starts learning the language spoken by the mother to the child. He listens, learns to speak, and learns how to count in the first two years. This happens in the child's home language. When the child starts school, he will not face many difficulties because he will be learning how to represent graphically what he already knows how to say. The child will be learning how to write numbers but not how to read them because he has already learnt how to say numbers at home, before coming to school. The job of the teacher will only be teaching the child how to write the numbers. When the child encounters a new language at school, this child will take more time to learn. The environment is new and the language used is also new to the child. This is the reason why, in monolingual classes, there is a period of three weeks that the teachers try to make the child feel comfortable in the new environment. This period is not necessary in the bilingual programme because the environment is

nas turmas do monolingue, há um período de três semanas em que os professores tentam fazer a criança sentir-se confortável no novo ambiente. Este período não é necessário no programa bilingue porque o ambiente é familiar para a criança. A criança comunica com o professor. Mas quando o professor ensina em português, primeiro, a criança está preocupada em conhecer o professor, tentar entender o que o professor está a dizer, isso leva muito tempo para o aluno se familiarizar com a nova língua. É um processo que leve muito tempo, é por isso que no programa bilingue, a criança pode comunicar facilmente com o professor, entender o conteúdo. A criança pode ter problemas mas o problema não será causado pela língua. A criança pode ter problemas mentais e ser vagarosa na aprendizagem mas a compreensão do conteúdo é facilitada quando usamos a língua de casa da criança na sala de aulas. Uma aula é como um jogo para a criança. Nós ensinamos e ao mesmo tempo brincamos com a criança, agora, se você falar em Português, a língua que a criança não entende, a criança terá duas atividades: uma é tentar aprender a língua e a outra é tentar aprender o que está a ser ensinado. Existem duas coisas para aprender: a língua e a representação. A minha experiência como professor mostra que ensinar em L1 é mais prático. Depois, ao longo do tempo, fazemos a transição da língua de instrução da L1 para L2. Nesta fase, L1 fica uma disciplina a partir da 4ª classe.

familiar to the child. The child communicates with the teacher. But when the teacher teaches in Portuguese, first the child is worried about getting to know the teacher, trying to understand what the teacher is saying. This takes a long time; time that the teacher should use to teach content. It takes a long time for the student to become familiar with the new language. It is a process that takes a long time. That is why, in the bilingual programme, the child can communicate easily with the teacher, understand content. The child can have problems but the problems will not be caused by language. The child may have mental problems and be slow at learning but understanding of content is made easy when the child's home language is used in the classroom. A lesson is like a play for the child. We teach and at the same time we play with the child. Now, if you speak in Portuguese, the language that the child does not understand, the child will have two tasks. One is to try to learn the language and the other task is to try to learn what you are teaching. There are two things to learn: the language and the representation. My experience as a teacher has shown that teaching in L1 is more practical. Then, along the time, we do the transition of the language of instruction from L1 to L2. After transition, L1 becomes just a subject, from grade four onwards.

Extract 7 shows that the use of L1 as the language of instruction facilitates the teaching and learning process. When the children are taught in an unfamiliar language, the learning process is made more difficult because the children have to learn the language first, and then the content. This makes schooling a real challenge for the children. However, when the children are taught in a familiar language, the challenges are halved and children are more likely to be successful at school.

8.1.4. The local language L1 does not help social mobility

The view that the local language does not help social mobility was repeatedly expressed in the interviews. The participants expressed their consciousness of power differences between the local language and Portuguese language (see extract 8).

Extract 8: Interview with a student (R)

Entrevista 12 aluno 01/7/11 10:20- 10:35	**Interview 12 male student 01/7/11** 10:20-10:35
4; Age: 14; Grade: 7; L1: Cisena	Age: 14; Grade: 7; L1; Cisena

C: Carlos (Interviewer)

C: Carlos (entrevistador)

R: Student (interviewee)

R: Aluno (entrevistado)

C: What kind of jobs can a person who speaks only Ciutee get?

C: Que tipo de emprego acha que uma pessoa que só fala Ciutee pode arranjar?

R: Maybe community radio announcer, but it is not possible to work in a company.

R: Talvez repórter na rádio comunitária, mas não é possível trabalhar numa empresa.

C: Why not?

C: Porquê não?

R: My uncle went to the city to look for a job. The managers of the company asked him questions in Portuguese but he couldn't answer the questions because he spoke Ciutee only.

R: O meu tio foi à cidade para procurar emprego. Os diretores da empresa fizeram lhe perguntas em Português mas ele não conseguiu responder porque só falava Ciutee.

C: What job was he applying for?

C: Que emprego é que ele estava a se candidatar?

R: Electrician. They advised him to go and learn Portuguese first. So he didn't get the job.

R: eletricista. Eles disseram para ele ir aprender Português, primeiro. Assim, ele não conseguiu o emprego.

In extract 8, R talks about his uncle who was unable to get the job of electrician, not because he did not have the necessary professional skills to do the job, but because he could not speak Portuguese. Although R's uncle could speak Ciutee fluently, he was told to go and learn Portuguese before looking for a job.

The focus group interview with students below further confirms the difficulties that people face to get jobs with the knowledge of the local language only, as evidenced in extract 9.

Mabuyo 21 – Afundi 13/9/12 11:10-12:15   **Interview 21   Focus group 13/9/12**

                   11:10-12:15

Participantes:	**Participants**:
NLM: aluna; 14 anos; 6a Classe; L1: Ciutee	NLM, female student; age:14.; grade 6; L1: Ciutee
EMM: aluna, 13 anos; 6ª Classe; L1: Ciutee	EMM, female student, age:13; grade 6; L1: Ciutee
FOM: aluna; 12 anos; 6ª Classe; L1: Ciutee	FOM, female student; age:12; grade 6; L1: Ciutee
EJA: aluno; 13 anos; 7ª Classe; L1: Ciutee	EJA, male student; age:13; grade 7; L1: Ciutee
AFM: aluno 11 anos; 4ª Classe; L1: Ciutee	AFM, male student; age:11; grade 4; L1: Ciutee
MAM: aluno; 12 anos; 5ª Classe; L1: Ciutee	MAM, male student; age:12; grade 5; L1: Ciutee

C: Carlos (entrevistador)

                                           C: Carlos (interviewer)

C; Hann, Mateus bhasi rimwe bhasi rinoitwa ngue munhu unozia ciputukezi cega

                                           C: MAM, tell me one job that someone who speaks Portuguese only can get.

MAM: Anosanganura cientista   MAM: Scientist

C: Cientista   C: Scientist.

MAM: Hum   MAM: Yes

C: Agora ngatimbocinge bicana, mucandipa bhasa rimwe, umwe na umwe nee rimwe, rinoita munhu unobuia ciutee cega bhasi asikabui ciputukezi.

                                         C: Now, tell me jobs that someone who speaks Ciutee only can get.

NLM: Kurima   NLM: Farming

                                           C: Why farming?

                                           NLM: Farming is what we really do. Here,

C: Kurima, nguei kurima?

NLM: Ngoti kurima ndiko quase katinoita kamare, agora munhu unorekata ciutee, tem kuti adhini, unorima maningui.

C: Aiti medico

NLM: Unoita

C: Ecibuia ciutee bhasi

NLM: Ecibuia ciutee, unoita

C: Makambomuwona here medico unobuia ciutee cega cega bhasi munharaunda Ino?

NLM: Iiii nada, atisati tamuona, so unobuya zvese ciutee, cizungu, zvese oreketa.

C: Angabuia ciutee no cizungu, pode kwita aite medico?

NLM: Hooo, pode

C: Hannn?

NLM: Sim

C: Unobuia ciutee cega cega, asikabui cizungu bhasa rangaona munyika ino, ibhasa romukhaindii?

EMM: O rokufundisa ciutee

C: Ndokufundisa ciutee

EMM: Hooo

C: Ok, FOM?

FOM: Kana koita caçador

C: Caçador?

FOM: Hum

C: Unonga wacireketa ciutee cia, uri caçador bhasi? Caçador nee.

FOM: Hum.

someone who speaks only Ciutee has to work on the farms.

C: Can't he be a medical doctor?

NLM: He can.

C: Speaking only Ciutee?

NLM: Yes, it is possible.

C: Have you ever seen a medical doctor who speaks Ciutee only?

NLM; I haven't but I have seen one who speaks both Ciutee and Portuguese.

C: So, someone who speaks both Ciutee and Portuguese can be a medical doctor?

NLM: Yes.

C: Pardon?

NLM: Yes.

C: Tell me more jobs that someone who speaks Ciutee only can get?

EMM: Ciutee language teacher.

C: Ciutee Teacher.

EMM: Yes.

C: Ok. FOM?

FOM: Hunter

C: Hunter?

FOM: Yes

C: So, someone who speaks Ciutee only can be a hunter.

FOM: Yes.

When asked to mention the jobs that someone who speaks only the local language could get, the students in extract 9 mentioned mostly low rank jobs such as farming, hunting and they did not mentioned high rank jobs like pilot, scientist and so on. This is an indication that the students are aware of the need to learn languages other than their own local language in order to get successful jobs in the future.

8.1.5. Importance of Portuguese language for social mobility

Portuguese language is seen as the language of social mobility, the language of wider communication, the language of successful professional careers. Community members are aware of the advantages of being able to speak good Portuguese (see extract 10).

Extract 10: Interview with a parent (MP4)

Entrevista 8 30/6/11 12:05- 12:30   **Interview 8 Parent 30/6/11**   12:05- 12:30

MP4 – pai; idade: 43; educação: 7a classe; ocupação: negociante; L1: Ciutee; Número de filhos: 8 (5 vão a escola)	MP4 – Male parent; age: 43; education: grade 7; Job: informal businessman; L1: Ciutee; Number of children: 8 (5 go to school)

C: Carlos (entrevistador)

MP4: pai (entrevistado)

C: Carlos (Interviewer)

MP4: pai (interviewee)

 C: What advantages do you see when a child learns Portuguese?

C: Que vantagens tem quando uma criança aprende português?

   MP4: The child will be able to communicate with other people who come from other communities, including relatives who come from the city and cannot speak the local language. For example, if a Manhembane comes here, how will a child who speaks only Ciutee communicate? They will not understand each other. That is why it is good to learn Portuguese.

MP4: A criança será capaz de comunicar com outras pessoas que vem de outras comunidades, incluindo familiares que vem da cidade e não sabem falar a língua local. Por exemplo, se um Manhembane vem aqui, como é que a criança que só fala Ciutee vai se comunicar? Não vão se entender. É por isso

   C: If we were to think about better preparation of our children for the future, which languages should they learn?

   MP4: Portuguese is good. It is difficult to

que é bom aprender português.

C: Se estivéssemos a pensar na melhor preparação das crianças para o futuro, que línguas deviam aprender?

MP4: Português é bom. É difícil arranjar emprego se você só fala Ciutee. Se consegue falar português e inglês, é fácil arranjar emprego.

C: Há mais alguma coisa que gostaria de me dizer?

MP4: Acho que a escola devia começar a ensinar Inglês mais cedo. Existem muitos estrangeiros aqui que falam só inglês e nós não podemos comunicar com eles. Com português podemos falar com pessoas aqui em moçambique mas fora de Moçambique, precisamos de Inglês.

find a job if you only speak Ciutee. If you can speak Portuguese and English, it is easy to find a job.

C: what else?

MP4: I think the school should start teaching English earlier. There are a lot of foreigners here who speak only English and we cannot communicate with them. With Portuguese we can speak with people here in Mozambique but outside Mozambique, we need English.

Community members recognize that Portuguese language has power over the local languages. Extract 10 shows that the knowledge of Portuguese allows community members to communicate with people from other communities who speak different local languages. Portuguese is seen as a language for cross-cultural communication. Being the official language of country, Portuguese is recognized as the link language between different communities as well as the Portuguese speaking communities in Mozambique. The knowledge of Portuguese language, and to some extent of English language, opens gates to the employment market. The local language is even seen as the language for the farms, as expressed in extract 11.

Extract 11: Interview with a student (JB)

Entrevista 13 01/7/11 11:30-11:47

Age: 13; Grade: 7; L1: Cindau	Age: 13; Grade: 7; L1; Cindau

C: Carlos (entrevistador)

JB: aluno (entrevistado)

C: Se fosse para permanecermos só com um programa, nesta escola, Qual escolherias, bilingue ou monolingue?

JB: Eu escolheria o programa monolingue.

C: Porquê?

JB: Quando você fala Português, você pode ser funcionário do estado, polícia, administrador, ministro ou presidente.

C: Que empregos pode arranjar se você só falar Ciutee?

JB: Só pode trabalhar na machamba. Se não fala português, só pode trabalhar na machamba.

C: Não pode ser funcionário do estado?

JB: Como pode se você não fala português, Ciutee é uma língua para as machambas. É por isso que eu escolheria o programa monolingue.

C: Carlos (Interviewer)

JB Student (interviewee)

C: If we were to remain with only one programme in this school, which would you choose: the bilingual or the monolingual programme and why?

JB: I would choose the monolingual programme.

C: Why?

JB: When you speak Portuguese you can become a state employee, you can be a police officer, an administrator, minister or president.

C: what jobs can you get when you speak only Ciutee?

JB: You can only work on the farms. If you can't speak Portuguese you can only find work on the farms.

C: Can't you be a state employee?

JB: How can you if you can't speak Portuguese? Ciutee is a language for the farms. That is why I would choose monolingual Portuguese programme.

Extract 11 shows that when someone speaks good Portuguese, they can get jobs such as a state employee, a police officer, an administrator, a minister or a president. The following Table summarises what students said when asked to provide a list of possible jobs that someone who spoke only the local language could get and a list of possible jobs that someone who spoke only Portuguese could get, as Table 16 shows.

Table 16: Possible jobs by language spoken.

Source: Interviews 14, 16 and 21, appendix 10

Speakers of Portuguese only		Speakers of Ciutee only	
1.	Teacher	6.	Ciutee teacher
2.	Medical doctor	7.	Peasant
3.	Pilot	8.	Hunter
4.	Scientist	9.	Money collector (for informal taxi)
5.	Traffic warden	10.	Driver (of informal taxi)

Table 16 shows the extent to which students see Portuguese language as the language of formal employment, the language of success and of social mobility. The knowledge of Portuguese language is not only associated with getting good jobs in the employment market, it is also associated with the kind of partner one can find for marriage. In an informal conversation in the playground at Bindzi Primary School, under the shade of a mango tree, a group of students who had just been in one of the focus group interviews of this study were standing in a circle talking loudly. The girls were trying to convince a boy that if he wanted to find a "decent" girl to marry, he should speak good Portuguese.

8.1.6. The need to teach both languages at the local school

It became evident in the interviews with teachers, students and parents that they want the local school to teach both the local language and Portuguese language to the children. They recognize the importance of learning the local language and culture but they also recognize the importance of Portuguese language for the future (see extract 12).

Mabuyo 20 – Abhereki 6/9/12 7:45-8:04	**Interview 20 (debriefing) parents 6/9/12** 7:45-8:04
MP3: pai; idade: 38; Educação: 7a classe; L1: Ciutee; ocupação: Camponês/ pedreiro; Número de filhos: 7 (4 vão a escola) FP1: Mãe (esposa de MP3); idade 36; educação: 6ª classe; ocupação: camponesa; Número de filhos: 7 (4 vão a escola)	MP3: male parent; age: 38; education: grade 7; L1: Ciutee; Job: Peasant/builder; number of children: 7 (4 go to school) FP1: female parent (MP3's wife); age 36; education: grade 6; Job: Peasant; number of children: 7 (4 go to school

MP3: Pai (entrevistado)

MP3: Male parent (interviewee)

FP1: Mãe (entrevistada)

FP1: Female parent (interviewee)

C: Carlos (entrevistador)

C: Carlos (interviewer)

C: Ticataurira futi patakasia mazuwaia paia kuti tione kuti tidzadzise bicana, makataura kuti hai ana aya uti aende kofunda mubilingue kana kuti mu monolingue, andimwipi munonga mecitsara. Akaenda kublingue aya zvia, akaenda ngkuti skola ndiyo yakatsara. Kudkai mangue makazwi tsarai, maitsarei imwimwi?

C: This conversation builds on our previous interview. The purpose is to clarify issues that I could not understand from reading the typed interview. In our previous conversation, you said it was the school that decided whether to enroll the children in either the bilingual or monolingual programme. If you were given the chance to choose, where would you enroll your children?

MP3: Heee… isusu taitsara kuti zvese, azvidzidze. Afunde zvese… kana ciputukezico neciuteeco asi ciuteeci cinondikana kuti cidhini… cifundwewo ngekuti ndiwo mutauro wedhu wekutanga. ndiwo watinonga teitopfarawo kuti unodhini… unosimbisiswa kuti entao urikufundwa, unodhiwawo pane kuti…atsare, ari kutsara hawo, arikundofundaasi mafundiro arikuita mange…heee… ngezvawo zvisina kufundwa nei…no abherekiwo kuti muri kuzvidha here ou kana kuti amuri kuzvidhapi. Como akazvitsara, asi ngazoenderere mberi, akatotsareko taizvidha kuti zvifundwe , asi ngazoenderere mberi, aiwa kusanangura classe ngo classe , classe i ngaifunde i ngaisasafunde. Tinoti hai rumbwee zvakafundwa atee zvisendze mumbvimbo yese.

MP3: Mmmm... We would want them to learn both languages. We want them to learn Portuguese language and Ciutee language. We want them to learn Ciutee because it is our language. We would be happy to see our language being valued, being taught and being esteemed. The school chooses children to study in the bilingual programme and children are studying but the way they study… heee… it is their business. They don't care if the parents like it or not. It has been decided. But they should carry on. As it has been decided, we want them to learn. What is not correct is choosing this class to study Ciutee and that class not to study Ciutee. We want everyone to study Ciutee so that Ciutee can be used in all places.

C: Why do you want the children to learn

C: Muri kudhireiko imwimwi kuti ana aya afunde ciutee imwimwi?

MP3: Ciutee cinodhiwa ngokuti ndiwo mutauro wana bhabha, ciuteeunou, hino teiudha kuti ufundwe, kuti auzie, ngokuti amweni kagingi teitocibuya icona caio kamare, amweni atocizii, eee… hino kudhai caifundwa kwaiuyawo kana kutori ne gramatica raco, raitouyawo kuti hai cinyase kuzikwana, uye cisenze mumbuto yese emabhasa kuti capindemo kuti hai mbuto yese cireketwe. Atori kana kuti hai musina wakadhusa curso yazvo, pambuto yebhaseio atswake munhu wanodhusisawo curso acireketewo imona kana mumbuto, kagingi tinoti hai munotongua nyaia, ungatama razao umweni uya enquanto ne unerazao, asi ngokuti cinonga ciri ciputukezi cega cirimo, hino azvizobhatsiri kuti uya usikazii ciputuezi, unozodhini? dhikana kuti cisendze imona.

C: Murikudha kuti ana afunde ciutee ngei imwemwi maonero enyu?

MP3: Inini kuona kwangu ndirikudha kuti afunde ciutee ngoti zvese zvinoreruka, newatumawo mwana kuti hai enda… gogoma uende kumacidadeyo ootenga cakati, aguma apatiki nguei ngokuti unonga eireketa ciutee, arimoo anodhairawo ngociutee, kana aenda pambuto yanonga aenda, waguma apona, odhairwawo ngociutee, hino nhasi uno zviri kushupha nguei, ngokuti, kudha kuti utume mwana uende panonga peitengeswa, zvinonesa, ngoti aena waguma apona urikudha kureketa cizungucia, asati acidhini… acifunda ngoti cinofundwa cizungu! Aena mutauro wake wanozia, ndiwo wakabharwa nawo, ngoociutee, azvikwani kuti aende pambuto iona yo ngokuti iena cizungu akwanisi, agora ciutee cikaenda mumbuto dzese, zvedhuwo isusu zvindhini… zvinotirerukira, pakwita kwedhu bhasaredhu rese zvinotirerukira

Ciutee?

MP3: We want Ciutee because it is the language of our parents. So, we want it to be taught, to be known. Some of us really speak it well. Others don't know it. So, if it is taught and if there is a grammar book of Ciutee it would help Ciutee become known. Also, Ciutee should be used in all work places. It should be spoken in all places of work. If there is no one able to speak Ciutee in a certain workplace, they should choose someone to go and study Ciutee. Often, in the courts, people are found guilty of crimes they did not commit because they do not speak Portuguese, the language of the court. This does not help. What are people who cannot speak Portuguese going to do? We want Ciutee to be used in the courts.

C: So, why do you want children to learn Ciutee, then?

MP3: In my opinion, both languages are useful. If you send a child to the city to buy something, the child will understand because he speaks the local language. The child will communicate with you in Ciutee. Things are difficult because when the child gets to the shops, the child needs Portuguese to communicate there. Sometimes, the child has not yet learnt to communicate in Portuguese! The language the child knows is the home language, Ciutee. So, it is no use to send the child to such places because the child cannot speak Portuguese. Now, if Ciutee is used in all places, things become easy for us because all places will be using our language.

ngei…   ngokuti   mbuto   yese   inonga
yeitaurwawo mutauro wedhu.

Evidently, the teaching of the local language in the local school is a case for celebration. Both parents in the extract above and in many other interviews with students, teacher and parents markedly show their satisfaction with the teaching of the local language. MP3 and FP1 show strong sense of identity with both languages. They are happy to see their language being valued, taught and esteemed. They equally recognize the need for their children to learn Portuguese for wider communication. Nevertheless, the domains of local language use are obviously limited. The local language is not used outside the community. It is not used in workplaces, shops and courts. They would like to see Ciutee being used in public and administrative contexts. It is for this reason, among others, that they want the children to learn Portuguese language as well. Portuguese is recognized as a more useful language. It has more domains of use than the local language.

Furthermore, extract 10 shows the lack of involvement of the community in the choice of who studies what. The participation of parents in decision-making about the education of their children is fundamental for gaining community support and involvement if bilingual education is to prevail.

8.2. The challenges of bilingual education: voices from teachers, parents and pupils

8.2.1. Availability and appropriateness of resources

Human resources

8.2.1. 1.Pre-service teacher training and recruitment

Availability and appropriateness of human resources working in the bilingual education programme is a central challenge for successful implementation of bilingual education in Mozambique. Most primary school teachers working in the schools selected for this study are untrained. They did not benefit from any pre-service teacher training. The Table below illustrates the situation.

Table 17: Educational background and experience of participant teachers and head teachers

No.	Code	Age	Level of general education	Pre-service teacher training	L1	Experience in education	Experience in bilingual education
1	K	45	Grade 6	None	Ciutee	27 years	7 years
2	GB	30	Grade 12	None	Cibarwe	7 years	2 years
3	HJ	30	Grade 10	2 years	Ciutee	9 years	5 years
4	MH	37	Grade 12	None	Cindau	10 years	7 years
5	J	31	Grade 10	None	Cindau	12 years	2 years
6	F	29	Grade 10	1 year	Cimanyika	3 years	2 years
7	VA	47	Grade 10	None	Ciutee	31 years	11 years
8	M	48	Grade 9	3 years	Cisena	23 years	2 years

The teachers with most pre-service training, M (3 years) and HJ (2 years), are not actually teaching. They are the head teachers of the schools and are busy doing administrative work. At national, provincial and district levels, there is no differentiation established between the criteria used for recruiting teachers for the monolingual programme and those used for recruiting teachers for the bilingual programme as shown in extract 13.

Extract 13: Interview with The head teacher at Madumbe Primary School

Entrevista 5 30/6/11 9:00-9:56	**Interview 5 Head Teacher 30/6/11** 9:00-9:56
Director da escola	
Idade: 29 anos	Age: 29
Nível de Educação: 10a Classe	Education: grade 10
Experiencia na Educação: 8 Anos, desde 2004	Experience in Education: 8 years, since 2004
Formação: 10+2	
	Training: 2 years (10+2)
L1: Ciutee	L1: Ciutee
Experiencia no ensino Bilingue: 4 anos, desde 2008	Experience in bilingual education: 4 years, since 2008

C= Carlos (entrevistador)

HJ= Diretor da escola (entrevistado)

1   C: Como é feito o recrutamento de professores?

2   HJ: Os professores são trazidos pela direção distrital de educação.

3   C: O que faz quando há falta de professores na escola?

4   HJ: Normalmente, no final de cada ano, como parte da gestão de recursos humanos, cada escola envia as suas necessidades de professores para o distrito, para o ano seguinte. Poe exemplo, nós já enviamos as nossas necessidades para o próximo ano. Se reparar para este quadro, vai ver que nós pedimos ao distrito para nos enviar 2 professores para EP1 e 2 professores para EP2 para o ano de 2012. Este pedido já está na direção distrital da educação mas, infelizmente, nem sempre nos enviam o número certo de professores que pedimos e acabamos caindo no problema da falta de professores.

5   C: É possível dizer ao distrito que precisa de um professor cuja língua materna é Ciutee, a língua da comunidade onde a escola está baseada?

6   HJ: Nunca. Só podemos pedir professores para EP1 ou EP2

C= Carlos (Interviewer)

HJ= Head teacher (Interviewee)

1   C: How does the school recruit teachers?

2   HJ: Teachers are brought to school by the district directorate of education.

3   C: What do you do when there is shortage of teachers in the school?

4   HJ: Normally, at the end of the year, as part of human resources management, each school sends their needs of teachers to the district for the following year. For example, we have sent our needs to the district for next year. If you look at this table (pointing to a table on the wall) you will see that we have asked the district to send us 2 teachers for EP1 (grades 1 to five) and 2 teachers for EP2 (grades 6 and 7) for 2012. This request is already in the district directorate of education but unfortunately, they do not always send us the right number of teachers we ask for and we end up with a shortage.

5   C: Can you tell the district that you need a teacher whose home language is Ciutee, the language of the community where your school is located?

6   HJ: No way. We can only ask for EP1 or EP2 teachers.

Extract 13 shows that the recruitment of primary school teachers in Mozambique is based solely on whether the teachers will be allocated to teach EP1, grades 1 to 5, or EP2, grades 6 and 7. The schools themselves do not participate in the recruitment process. They can simply request the district to send them teachers for EP1 or EP2, as evidentiary paragraphs 4 and 6 testify. The schools cannot specify whether they want teachers for the mainstream monolingual programme or for the bilingual programme.

Both the bilingual and the monolingual programmes, in the schools selected for this study, are heavily dependent on untrained teachers as Table 17 shows. This dependency can be generalised to other parts of Mozambique (Benson 2004; Bartholomew, Takala et al. 2010; Ngunga 2011) and to parts of Africa (Benson 2002; Alidou and Mallan 2003; Alidou and Brock-Utne 2006). According to Ngunga (2011), The increase in the number of bilingual schools in some provinces of Mozambique has resulted in many teachers starting working on bilingual education programme without prior adequate preparation. The basic education teacher training institutes that train primary school teachers do not regard bilingual education as an important and priority one.

The immediate consequence is that primary schools suffer from a serious shortage of teachers for the bilingual programme and are forced to resort to mainstream monolingual teachers, who can speak the local language, to teach in the bilingual programme without having participated in any of the professional development courses normally offered by the Ministry of Education to enthusiastic primary school teachers willing to teach in the bilingual programme (see extract 14, evidentiary paragraph 9). A further challenge is that the number of professional development courses provided by The Ministry of Education is decreasing year after year, as testified in extract 14, evidentiary paragraphs 7 and 9.

Furthermore, there is no replacement policy for bilingual teachers who, for some reason, leave the education system or are transferred to other schools, see extract 14.

Extract 14: Debriefing interview with the head teacher at Madumbe Primary School.

Entrevista 26 18/9/12; 9:14-9:43	**Interview 26** 18/9/12; 9:14-9:43
Idade: 30 anos	Age: 30
Nível de Educação: 10a Classe	Education: grade 10
Experiencia na Educação: 9 Anos, desde 2004	Experience: 9 years, since 2004
Formação: 10+2	Training: 2 years (10+2)
L1: Ciutee	L1: Ciutee
Experiencia no ensino Bilingue: 5 anos, desde 2008	Experience in bilingual: 5 years, since 2008

C= Carlos (entrevistador)   C= Carlos (Interviewer)

HJ= Diretor de escola (entrevistado) HJ= Head teacher (Interviewee)

7   HJ: Em 2011, não houve nenhuma capacitação.

7   HJ: There was no professional development session last year, 2011.

8   C: E este ano?

8   C: Was there one this year?

9   HJ: Este ano 2012, também ainda não houve. Só que por ano, eles passam pelo menos uma vez na escola. Por exemplo, na semana passada, eles estavam aqui, saíram de Maputo para vir ver o grau de desenvolvimento do ensino. Apareceram aqui, na semana passada. Até queriam assistir aulas. O meu pedagógico consultou a eles "seminários? O que está a acontecer com seminários?". O que acontece é que, aqueles professores que são capacitados não podem estar definitivamente, dez, quinze anos na mesma escola. Eles devem ser transferidos para ver outras coisas. Agora, quem fica a dar naquela escola? Uma vez que estão a entrar novos e os novos não tem capacitação. E como corolário disso, temos um colega que está a dar 7ª. Ele não foi capacitado mas está a dar Ciutee na 7ª. Ele dá. Falar, não sei o quê, ele não tem problema. Só que tem problema na escrita. Ele, o que faz? Recorre ao professor capacitado para tentar ser explicado como escrever. Mas falar não tem problemas.

9   HJ: This year, 2012, there hasn't been any. But every year, they [INDE] pass by the school, at least once. For example, last week, they were here. They left Maputo to come and see the degree of implementation. They were here, last week. They wanted to observe classes. My pedagogic director asked them what was happening with the professional development sessions but they didn't say anything concrete. What happens is that the teachers who took part in the professional development sessions cannot be expected to stay in the same school for ten, fifteen years. They need to be transferred to see other realities. Now, who is going to teach in that school? There are new teachers recruited but these new teachers have not been prepared to teach in the bilingual programme. As the result of this, we have a colleague teaching Ciutee in grade 7 but he was not prepared to teach Ciutee. He can speak Ciutee but he has problems with writing. He has to resort to other teaches to help him with writing Ciutee.

10 C: então a escola está a sentir a falta de professores capacitados!

10 C: The school is running short of teachers prepared to teach in bilingual!

11 HJ: Exatamente!

11 HJ: Exactly!

The selection of unprepared teachers to teach in the bilingual programme is not done at random. The school administration selects those teachers who can speak and are enthusiastic to teach in the local language. However, being able to speak and enthusiasm to teach in the local language

cannot be taken as sufficient necessary conditions to successfully carry out the mission. Alidou and Mallan (2003) argue that:

> "Teacher's enthusiasm cannot substitute for qualification required for teaching in mother tongues or official languages. Many bilingual teachers face serious professional challenges. They may be able to speak the language of instruction, but they have not mastered reading and writing in that language" (Alidou and Mallan 2003)

Teacher's enthusiasm needs to be empowered through providing the teacher with the necessary qualifications to do the job. This will enhance the enthusiasm and at the same time guarantee good quality teachers for the bilingual education programme. Moreover, teacher recruitment at the district, province and national level needs to take into account specific needs of the bilingual programme as these are different from the needs of the monolingual programme.

8.2.1.2. Professional development courses for bilingual teachers

The teacher is one of the key elements for successful implementation of the bilingual programme. It is undoubtedly true that Mozambique still needs better-equipped classrooms and educational materials but teacher training constitutes one of the central challenges for successful implementation of bilingual education, in particular, and for improving the quality of education at large.

With the implementation of bilingual education in Mozambique from 2003, the National Institute for Educational Development (INDE), an educational research institution of the Ministry of Education, designed a professional development course to prepare volunteer mainstream primary school teachers to teach in the bilingual programme. The course involves the following subject areas: Bilingual education philosophy; the Bantu languages of Mozambique; L1 to L2 transition methodology; methodology for teaching reading and writing; L2 methodology; methodology for teaching mathematics; methodology for teaching natural science, drawing and physical education (Chambela and Bisqué 2012). The paragraphs last between 7 and 30 days depending on the financial availability of the Province (see extract 15, evidentiary paragraph 14). Extract 15 provides more information about the professional development courses.

Extract 15: Interview with a provincial supervisor

Entrevista 17 Supervisor 07/7/11 14:30-15:25	**Interview 17: Supervisor 07/7/11 14:30- 15:25**
C: Carlos (entrevistador)	C: Carlos (interviewer)
SP: Supervisor provincial (entrevistado)	SP: provincial supervisor (interviewee)
12 C: Fala-me mais sobre as capacitações.	12 C: Tell me more about the professional development courses.
13 SP: Nós usamos professores disponíveis nas escolas primárias. Estabelecemos algumas exigências para os professores serem aceites para ensinar no	13 SP: we invite teachers available in the primary schools. We established some requirements for teachers to be allowed to teach in the bilingual

programa bilingue. Ser falante nativo da língua local é uma vantagem mas deve ser um professor que fala fluentemente a língua local da comunidade e que é capaz de ensinar aos outros. O outro critério é vontade de ensinar na sua própria língua ou língua materna das crianças. Nos cursos de capacitação, existem três áreas principais: 1. Filosofia (situação linguística de Moçambique; modelos de educação bilingue; o modelo adotado para a introdução das línguas locais nas escolas em Moçambique- modelo transicional com características de manutenção); 2. Normalização da ortografia das línguas nacionais (fonética; alfabeto das línguas nacionais; sílabas; palavras e frases; a gramática das línguas nacionais: verbos; substantivos; adjetivos); 3. Metodologia (metodologia do ensino da L1; metodologia do ensino da L2). Os professores são equipados com conhecimentos nestas áreas e este conhecimento vai- lhes ajudar no ensino na sala de aulas usando os materiais produzidos e os programas. Temos programas em português e temos programas traduzidos na língua local. Assim, o trabalho do professor é facilitado e dos alunos também.

14 C: Quanto tempo duram as capacitações?

SP: A duração varia dependendo da disponibilidade financeira da província mas duram entre 15 e 21 ou 30 dias. A primeira capacitação, normalmente dura 15 dias. Existem outras capacitações sistemáticas que duram 7 dias

programme. Being a native speaker is an advantage but It must be a teacher who can speak fluently the local language of the community and who is capable of teaching others. The other criterion is willingness to teach through your own language or the home language of the children. In the professional development sessions, there are three major areas: 1. Philosophy (linguistic situation of Mozambique; Bilingual education models; the model adopted for the introduction of local languages in schools in Mozambique- transitional model with maintenance characteristics); 2. Standardized orthography of national languages (Phonetics; alphabet of national languages; syllables, words and sentences; the grammar of national languages: verbs, nouns, adjectives); 3. Methodology (L1 teaching methodology; L2 teaching methodology). Teachers are equipped with knowledge in these areas and this knowledge is going to help them with their teaching in the classroom using the teaching materials produced and the syllabi. We have syllabi in Portuguese and we have syllabi translated into the local languages. Thus, work is made easy for the teacher and for the students, too.

14 C: How long do the training sessions last for?

SP: the duration varies depending on the financial availability of the province but they last between 15 and 21 or 30 days. The first training sessions normally last for 15 days. There are other systematic training sessions lasting 7 days each. If we

cada. Se tivermos financiamento, nós damos outros 7 dias de capacitação e assim sucessivamente.	have funding, we give another 7 day training session and so on.

Preparing the teachers prior to teaching in the bilingual programme is the way forward. If implementation is successful, the professional development sessions will allow primary school teachers to have the minimum requirements to teach in the bilingual programme. However, as extract 15 shows, it appears that there is no standard duration for the sessions. They can last 7, 15, 21 or 30 days each, depending on the financial availability of the province. Bearing in mind that most of the participants are untrained teachers, it is difficult to guarantee the desired quality in such short professional development sessions. Furthermore, there is uncertainty about the future of these professional development courses. The number of sessions per year has been decreasing drastically. There used to be two sessions per year but now, schools can go for two years without a single session which results in shortage of teachers prepared to teach in the bilingual programme. Extract 16 provides more information about the frequency and nature of the professional development sessions.

Extract 16: Interview with a head teacher

Entrevista 26 18/9/12; 9:14-9:43	**Interview 26** 18/9/12; 9:14-9:43

Idade: 30 anos	Age: 30
Nível de Educação: 10a Classe	Education: grade 10
Experiencia na Educação: 9 Anos, desde 2004	Experience: 9 years, since 2004
Formação: 10+2	Training: 2 years (10+2)
L1: Ciutee	L1: Ciutee
Experiencia no ensino Bilingue: 5 anos, desde 2008	Experience in bilingual: 5 years, since 2008

C= Carlos (entrevistador)

HJ= Diretor de escola (entrevistado)

C= Carlos (Interviewer)

HJ= Head teacher (Interviewee

15   C: na outra entrevista, disse que o INDE estava devagar a abandonar o programa. Como está se manifestar

15   C: In our previous interview, you said INDE, the promoters of bilingual education, were slowly abandoning

esse abandono?

16 HJ: está a abandonar mesmo. O que acontece? Eles, anualmente, no tempo de interrupções, as vezes em Junho, as vezes no mês de Dezembro, pegavam colegas, todos colegas que não têm capacitação. Por exemplo, eu tenho capacitação. Então, os novos, os recém- graduados, também devem ter uma capacitação. Então eles sempre capacitam e na capacitação, quer dizer, acarreta mais custos. Então, o que acontece? Eles, pouco aos poucos estão o Ministério… para a educação.

17 C: Para o Ministério da Educação?

HJ: hum… pouco aos poucos. Agora, os motivos, eu já não sei. Porque está ai Dr. Bisqué, Dr. Sendela… são estes que estão em frente deste programa. Só que pouco a pouco estão a largar. Até o número de seminários está a reduzir. É normal passar um ano sem nenhuma capacitação.

18 C: Houve capacitação este…

19 HJ: Em 2011, não houve nenhuma capacitação.

20 C: E este ano?

21 HJ: Este ano 2012, também ainda não houve. Só que por ano, eles passam pelo menos uma vez na escola. Por exemplo, na semana passada, eles estavam aqui, saíram de Maputo para vir ver o grau de desenvolvimento do ensino. Apareceram aqui, na semana passada. Até queriam assistir aulas. O meu pedagógico consultou a eles "seminários? O que está a acontecer com seminários?". O que acontece é que, aqueles professores que são capacitados não podem estar definitivamente, dez, quinze anos na

the programme. Why did you say so?

16 HJ: In fact, they are abandoning the programme. Annually, at school breaks, sometimes in June or in December, they selected teachers for professional development sessions. For example, I participated in professional development. But new recruits, recently graduated teachers should also go for professional development. Professional development requires resources. INDE are slowly handing the programme to the Ministry… to the education.

17 C: To the Ministry of Education?

HJ: Yes, slowly. I don't know why. Because Dr. Bisqué and Dr. Sendela are leading this process. But they are abandoning it. The number of professional development sessions has reduced. It is now normal to spend the whole year without a single session.

18 C: has there been a session this…

19 HJ: There was no professional development session in 2011.

20 C: This year?

21 HJ: This year, (September 2012), there hasn't been any. But every year, they pass by the school, at least once. For example, last week, they were here. They left Maputo to come and see the degree of implementation. They were here, last week. They wanted to observe classes. My pedagogic director asked them what was happening with professional development sessions but they didn't say anything concrete. What happens is that the teachers who took part in the sessions cannot be expected to stay in the same school for ten, fifteen

mesma escola. Eles devem ser transferidos para ver outras coisas. Agora, quem fica a dar naquela escola? Uma vez que estão a entrar novos e os novos não tem capacitação. E como corolário disso, temos um colega que está a dar 7ª. Ele não foi capacitado mas está a dar Ciutee na 7ª. Ele dá. Falar, não sei o quê, ele não tem problema. Só que tem problema na escrita. Ele, o que faz? Recorre ao professor capacitado para tentar ser explicado como escrever. Mas falar não tem problemas.

22   C: então a escola está a sentir a falta de professores capacitados!

23   HJ: Exatamente!

24   C: Fala me mais sobre esta capacitação. Como é feita?

25   HJ: nesta capacitação, eles indicaram pessoas que conhecem Ciutee.

26   C: de onde são selecionadas as pessoas que conhecem Ciutee?

27   HJ: São selecionadas das escolas. Então, eles trazem consigo, primeiro, o abecedário em Ciutee.

28   C: então há um capacitador que ensina o abecedário em Ciutee.

29   HJ: Sim. Primeiro ensina abecedário. Depois do abecedário, sílabas… é uma semana para aprender tudo isso e é possível! Eu sou um deles. Aprendi lá. Até tenho caderno aqui, de Ciutee. Aprendi abecedário em Ciutee mesmo. Depois… até todos compreenderem. No segundo dia, formação de sílabas. B com A é BA, mas em Ciutee… até acabar. 3º dia, formação de palavras. 4º dia, ditado já, em Ciutee. O 5º dia, leitura de texto mesmo. Já somos obrigados a escrever um texto mesmo.

years. They need to be transferred to see other realities. Now, who is going to teach in that school? There are new teachers recruited but these new teachers have not been prepared to teach in bilingual. As the result of this, we have a colleague teaching Ciutee in grade 7 but he was not prepared to teach Ciutee. He can speak Ciutee but he has problems with writing. He has to resort to other teachers to help him with writing Ciutee.

22   C: The school is running short of teachers prepared to teach in bilingual!

23   HJ: Exactly!

24   C: Tell me more about professional development. How is it done?!

25   HJ: They chose people who knew Ciutee.

26   C: Where did they get the people from?

27   HJ: From the schools. First they teach them the alphabet of Ciutee language.

28   C: So, There is a trainer who teaches the Ciutee alphabet.

29   HJ: Yes. First the alphabet. After the alphabet, syllables… it takes a week to learn all this. I took part in the sessions. I still have the notebook I used there. I learnt the alphabet, first. Then, on the second day, I learnt how to form syllables. The third day, how to form words. The fourth day, dictation in Ciutee. The fifth day, reading texts. We are asked to write texts. The secret is in the alphabet. If you have understood the alphabet lesson, forming syllables and words becomes easy. The rest is vocabulary only, the Ciutee names for things. The

A história, não sei quê… até conseguir mesmo e é muito fácil. O segredo está na parte do…abecedário em Ciutee. Se compreendeu abecedário e formação de sílabas e palavras já não custa. O resto é só a pessoa ficar já a consultar os objetos, nome de quê, quê… mas que você não conhece em Ciutee. Você consulta a escrever logo; consulta a escrever logo. O segredo é muito mais na escrita.

30 C: Essa formação é em língua Ciutee. Para além disso, existe alguma outra disciplina diferente dessa?

31 HJ: porque o que acontece? Muitas vezes, as capacitações têm sido no Chimoio mas para todas línguas da zona centro. Costumam vir pessoas de Dombe, para questão de Ndau, vem os de Macate para questão de Ciutee. Sofala costuma vir os de Sena. Tete costuma vir de Mutarara para Sena. Búzi- costumam concentrar de todas línguas mesmo. Eles concentram todos os da zona centro no Complexo Nhamite.

32 C: Se são tantas línguas assim, como é feita a formação?

33 HJ: Em grupos. Os de Ciutee formam o grupo deles. Os de Ndau vão a parte deles. Os de Sena vão a parte deles, assim mesmo. Então, aqueles ali, grupo Sendela, andam de grupo em grupo. Só que eles assim já sabem que em Gondola temos um António, uma Maria ali, que são bons. Esses, então é que vão monitorar os outros. O de Ndau, em Dombe temos ai um João, um António, um quem lá que faz o trabalho. Então eles só estão ai… só que eles estão ai sempre parados! A controlar passo a passo se se está a trabalhar como deve ser ou não. É

difficulty is in writing.

30 C: apart from Ciutee, is there any other subject?

31 HJ: The sessions take place in Chimoio and they are for all languages spoken in the central region. Some participants come from Dombe for Cindau language; others come from Macate for Ciutee language. Sofala province brings Participants for Cisena language; Tete, Mutarara for Cisena. They bring participants for all language. They bring them to the same training centre.

32 C: There are some many languages! How is training organized, then?

33 HJ: In groups. Ciutee speakers make one group; Cindau speakers from another group and so on. Dr. Sendela moves from group to group but there are monitors. For example, they know that there is Antonio who is good at Ciutee in Gondola; and João in Dombe who is good at Cindau. These monitors will help the groups. Dr. Sendela and others will be standing there controlling step-by-step and making sure all the groups are working.

34 C: This sounds interesting! What would you like to see INDE doing today?

35 HJ: They must produce books. We only have books for grades 1 and 2. We don't have problems with grades 1 and 2. But from grade 3 onwards, we don't have the books. So, they should produce books to facilitate the work of the teachers.

36 C: What kind of books do you want them to produce?

assim como eles fazem.

34   C: Isso é interessante! Agora, o que gostaria de ver INDE a fazer hoje?

35   HJ: Devem fabricar livros mesmo. Porque só temos 1ª e 2ª. Aí não há sombra de dúvida e estão em grande. 1ª e 2ª não temos problemas. Mas de 3ª em diante, não temos livros. Então eles deviam fabricar livros para facilitar os professores.

36   C: Quando diz fabricar livros, que tipo de livros se refere?

37   HJ: Esses livros para os alunos mesmo. E o professor também porque, como eu expliquei, o professor recorre ao programa. Tem temas para lecionar em línguas moçambicanas. Tem que traduzir os temas, planificar, é um pouco complicado. Agora, primeiro encontrar os conteúdos já feitos. A pessoa só planifica a aula.

38   C: Exatamente.

39   HJ: isso facilita. Agora, leva mais tempo para traduzir, para depois… é um pouco complicado.

40   !...Agora, por exemplo, este lado, na capacitação, ali não tem nada a ver se este é Matewe, esse é manyikeze, esse é machuabo… basta você estar a dar aulas em Macate, tem que ser capacitado para dar Ciutee.

41   C: Sem saber falar Ciutee?

42   HJ: Está a ver? Agora… só que as pessoas…. Porque lá dá se muito dinheiro. Durante uma semana, alguém sai com 3 mil… 4 mil… 5 mil, está a ver? Então a pessoa prefere… eu sou chuabo, sou quê, quê… eu estou a entrar!

37   HJ: Students' books and teachers' books too. As I explained, the teachers use the book of programmes. There are contents to teach in Mozambican languages. The teacher has to translate the contents and plan lessons. This is complicated. If the contents are in the local language, the teacher will only have to plan the lesson.

38   C: Exactly.

39   HJ: This would facilitate the work of the teacher. It takes a lot of time to translate and then plan the lesson.

40   ! …Now, in the professional development sessions, they don't care if you speak Ciutee or Cimanyika or Chwabo… if you are teaching in Macate, you will be trained to teach Ciutee.

41   C: Even if you don't speak Ciutee?

42   HJ: You see? Now… this is because you get money for participating in the sessions. In one week of training, you can get 3 thousand, 4 or 5 thousand, you see? So, people prefer to go for the training even if they can't speak the language!

43   C: They go for the sessions?

44   HJ: Yes! To teach Ciutee! So, although the person participates in the Ciutee teaching session, this person cannot teach Ciutee properly because there are other elements missing. He cannot teach in the same way as someone who speaks Ciutee can teach. But we have people here who can speak Ciutee. For example, myself. I cannot say that I am good at Ciutee but I was born and grew up speaking Ciutee. With the professional development session, my performance

43   C: Na capacitação?

44   HJ: Na capacitação para dar Ciutee! Só que já não se… embora a pessoa é capacitada, mas há uma sombra de dúvidas ai e já não dá bem, bem mesmo aquele Ciutee. Agora, esse tipo de indivíduo vir dar… há um pouco de problema. Mas existem pessoas que conhecem Ciutee. Por exemplo, … eu não digo que sou bom a Ciutee mas pelo menos cresci a falar Ciutee. Embora não sou bom, bom mesmo mas pelo menos cresci a falar. Agora, com aquela capacitação, pelo menos mudo. Para quem crescer a falar Chuabo, uma semana é muito pouco. Por isso digo que precisa de um bom professor que vai para sala a saber o que fazer. Porque não é professor que entra na sala. Por exemplo, temos outro professor que entra na sala, que não por questões de Ciutee, questões mesmo de matéria, ele entra na sala dizer que " eu, essa matéria mesmo uh" até ter medo do aluno dizer "quando eu for questionado, como vou responder?" existem estes casos. O professor tem que ser um estratega. Qualquer coisa, você está pronto para responder. Tem que ser dinâmico. Por outra parte, já sabe, nós choramos por emprego, até as vezes há pessoas que vão ao curandeiro para ter emprego. Outros até gastam dinheiro dar o chefe lá para ter emprego mas basta entrar, só os primeiros anos… dois, três, quatro anos é que é bom professor mas depois de ser antigo na escola… sinceramente… se o diretor não está, o pedagógico não está…não dão aulas. Por isso eu disse que quero bom professor. Professor que sabe o que quer. Bom no sentido de conhecer a língua, dominar, conhecer bem e ele não ser um preguiçoso**.**

improved. For someone born and brought up in a Chwabo speaking community, one-week training is not enough to enable them to teach Ciutee. That is why I said you have to be a good teacher to go to the class and know what to do. For example, we have teachers who are sometimes afraid of going to the class to teach because they know they do not have the necessary command in that particular lesson of the day. They don't know what to say when students ask them questions for clarification. A teacher needs strategies. You have to be ready to respond to students' questions. You have to be dynamic. You know? We see teachers crying for employment. Some people bribe authorities or go to the traditional doctor for treatment to get a job. But when they get the job, they only work properly in the first years but as soon as they get a permanent contract…. Sincerely… if the pedagogic director is not at school watching them, they simply don't teach. That is why I said I need good teachers. A teacher who knows what he wants. A teacher who knows the language well and not a lazy teacher.

Extract 16 shows a number of challenges as per the head teacher at Madumbe primary school. HJ feels that INDE are slowly abandoning the leadership for the implementation of bilingual education. There was no professional development session in 2011 and till September 2012, there had not been any session. HJ feels that INDE are now more interested in supervising implementation rather than in preparing teachers to teach in the bilingual programme. As the consequence, HJ has had to allocate an unprepared teacher to teach the local language in grade 7 because there was no one prepared to teach the subject in grade 7.

A further challenge is related to the recruitment of teachers to participate in the professional development sessions. As HJ put it, extract 16, evidentiary paragraph 40, p.139. "In the professional development sessions, they don't care if you speak Ciutee or Cimanyika or Chwabo… if you are teaching in Macate, you will be trained to teach Ciutee". Macate is a Ciutee speaking community and the local language used in education in the bilingual programme is Ciutee.

The allocation of primary school teachers in Mozambique does not depend on local language issues. It is perfectly normal to find primary school teachers, who cannot speak the language of the community, teaching in the community. If teachers who are not competent enough or cannot speak the local language are selected to participate in such short professional development sessions for bilingual teachers, chances are that, when such teachers are allocated to teach the local language, the school administration will be asking them to perform the impossible. They cannot teach through a language in which they do not have the required level of academic literacy (Alidou, Boly et al. 2006). The deficiency in local language competence, as testified in extract 16, evidentiary paragraph 44, is not only manifested among non-native speakers of the local language. It is also a case among native speaker themselves as they did not learn the language in a formal context. It would be desirable to have clear criteria specifically designed for recruitment of bilingual teachers. Specific local language competence tests should be designed to help in the recruitment processes so that only those teachers with the required level of academic literacy in the local language, either native or non-native speakers, get selected to participate in the professional development sessions.

Another challenge is related to paying teachers who participate in professional development sessions. As HJ commented, extract 16, evidentiary paragraph 42, p. 139;

> "You see? Now… this is because you get money for participating in the sessions. In one week of training, you can get 3 thousand, 4 or 5 thousand, you see? So, people apply to go for the training even if they can't speak the language!"

If such payments are not managed appropriately, they may jeopardize the whole process of recruiting quality candidates for bilingual education not only in the schools selected for this study but in the whole country.

A further challenge is concerned with the lack of materials. The schools only have student's books for grades 1 and 2 and they do not have any materials for grades 3 to 7. This lack of materials forces teachers to have to rely on translation of materials from Portuguese language

into the local language which constitutes another big challenge for the teacher, particularly when it comes to translating scientific terms that do not have equivalent terms in the local language.

8.2.1.3. Local language competence of bilingual teachers

An issue that was repeatedly mentioned by parents and also corroborated by teachers was the local language competence of bilingual teachers. Although illiterate or with very little formal education (they scarcely finish primary education), parents know their native language well and have high expectations from the bilingual teachers. They check the children's notebooks or ask the children to read what they have studied at school. This is how they get insights about the quality of the local language the children learn at school. They talk to bilingual teachers and they can evaluate their performance in the local language. This phenomenon is both new and interesting because it rarely happens with the monolingual programme, as the parents can hardly speak Portuguese, but it constitutes a challenge for the bilingual teachers because they know that their performance is constantly being evaluated not only by the school authorities but also by the students, parents and other community members. Extract 17 shows concerns of a couple about local language competence of bilingual teachers.

Extract 17: Interview with two parents (husband and wife)

Mabuyo 20 – Abhereki 6/9/127:45-8:04 | **Interview 20 parents** 6/9/127:45-8:04

MP3: pai; idade: 38; Educação: 7a classe; L1: Ciutee; ocupação: Camponês/ pedreiro; Número de filhos: 7 (4 vão a escola)	MP3: male parent; age: 38; education: grade 7; L1: Ciutee; Job: Peasant/builder; number of children: 7 (4 go to school)
FP1: Mãe (esposa de MP3); idade 36; educação: 6ª classe; ocupação: camponesa; Número de filhos: 7 (4 vão a escola)	FP1: female parent (MP3's wife); age 36; education: grade 6; Job: Peasant; number of children: 7 (4 go to school)

MP3: Pai (entrevistado)

MP3: Male parent (interviewee)

FP1: Mãe (entrevistada)

FP1: Female parent (interviewee)

C: Carlos (entrevistador)

C: Carlos (interviewer)

45   C: Zuwa riya makabuya kuti maprofesor apa anofanira kuti afundewofuti, ciutee aona. Makabuya kudharo nguei, mangamakamboonei?

45   C; In the previous interview, you said the Ciutee teachers themselves should be taught Ciutee. Why did you say that?

46   MP3: Takataura kudharoko nguei, ngokuti hai, zvigingi zvatirikuona maticewo… zvasikadhini…zvasikakomprir kunyasa kudzadzisira ku ana arikwenda kuskoleyo, neci

46   MP3: I said so because there are a lot of things we see about these teachers… things that they don't know well. We see such things in the notebooks of the children who go to school in the bilingual programme. Ciutee language that they are

ciblinguico, carikutico, kurikufundiswa ciutee, acirikutobhudhapi zviro kwazvo, atee totaura kuti gore rakaperero, ndipo pacaifunswa bom, zvino aticatozviooni, aneia acatoui akataura ciutee, ndiri kutonyarara ngokuti, aona zviri kutowanetsawo.

47   C: Maticawo?

48   MP3: Maticawo, aona atozvikoniwo futi, zviri kuwanetsa bom.

49   C: Matica aya… autee here?

50   MP3: Amweni ngauteepi, amweni asena, amweni, makrimane, amweni magrongozi, akandosiana siana. Agora aripo ngairi bhasi ainyasa kureketa Ciutee, prusor Khamba na prusor Valentim, ndiwo autee omuno, ndiwo aitokwanisa kudhini… prusor Khamba ngwee kumanica yo, haann…prusor Valentim ngoopamarerapano apa, ndiwo aitokwanisa kutoreketa Ciutee, agora agingi aripoo… ndi kenkere kenkee bhasi, agora kenkere kenkere kudha kuzomuti hai , taura kuti hai, bhendia marara here, marara akhadhiniwo, masikati akadhini, padina panozwii, azvikoni, azvikoni, puriso ne anewo kamare apana canokwanisa, nekutiko kamare anofundisa bilingue mas airikubhudhapi. Maprusoriwo ndiwo ngamboende kofunda ciuteeco, ozowonawo kupasawo ana adhoko, ngoti aona arikucikwanisapiwo futi.

51   C: Arikufundisa   ciro casikakwanisi…!!!

52   MP3: Casikakwanisi, so ngokutiii, wazvi wabvisa cursoyo ndiprusori tem kuti aghaguejar bhasi, mas kughaguejari kamare, anouya as

teaching is not the correct Ciutee. We can see that. Last year, the teaching was good but this year, things are going really badly. These children no longer speak Ciutee. I do not say anything to them because I know the teachers are facing difficulties, too.

47   C: the Ciutee teachers?

48   MP3: Yes, the teachers themselves. They don't know Ciutee. It is creating them a lot of problems.

49   C: Are the teachers native Ciutee speakers?

50   MP3: Some are not native Ciutee speakers, some are native Cisena Speakers, some are Chwabo speakers, and some are Gorongozi speakers. They are native speakers of different languages. There were two teachers who could speak real Ciutee. These two knew how to speak Ciutee. Now, most teachers who are teaching here cannot speak the language. You can ask them things in Ciutee language and they simply don't know. That is why the children are not able to speak Ciutee well. The teachers should go and study Ciutee and then they can come and teach and pass on the knowledge to the children. The teachers don't know Ciutee.

51   C: So, they are teaching a language they don't know!

52   MP3:   They don't know it. The teachers they say they have done the Ciutee course cannot speak Ciutee. They simply smatter. When you look at the notebooks of the children studying in the bilingual programme, you see that the Ciutee language in their books is not correct Ciutee. It is different from our Ciutee. They either

vezes paiuya no macaderno awo akatarwa Ciutee, udha kuwaringuira, andicopi… catswetana no Ciutee cedhu cino catinoreketa kuno ino. Washaisha, pamweni wakuto mheya kureketa zvisirizvopi, agora anodhikana kuti akohomedzeswewo kufunda aona ouuu… apeno ja estado, governo zvainoita, ou yotora auteewo oita maprusor amweni arimoo onyasa kukohomedzesa aona, ou nao aona magrongoziwo, mushobho ye anhu arimoo, ofunda kuti akwanisewo kufundisa ana edhuia. Tirikuzvidha kamare izvona, mutauro uno urikudhikana kamare kuti tidhini… ana edhuia auziewo.

53   FP1: Ndizvo zvaibuya bhabha awo zuwa riya kuti amweni matica anoti DISO, amweni anoti DZISO, kusiyana komutauro, hino zvinodhikana kubhata kuti Ciutee cinotii… DZISO… I DISO. hino ngatindoti bhasi komozvinoreketa zvimwezvimwezvo, entao ndizvo hazvo, zvatodhudza, wakutozviziawo

54   MP3: Agora haaa… andizvopi, cinodhikana kufunda izvona kamare ou kutora autee wo aite bhasero, zviri nani kutsweta mare, kufundisa munhu umwe ari muutee, ozofundisawo amweni. Wakatoita padhokowo ndizvo zviri kutoenda, enquanto zviri kushata, entao pedzesere zvino parara, azvicaitiki mberiyo, zvicapera, haaa…zvinozoima.

55   C: Kuti imwimwi mufare kamare ngomatica anofundisa ciutee apa, munodha tica okhaindii imwimwi?

56   MP3: Tinodha tica unoreketa ciuuteeco kamare, kana mwana wauyawo nocaderno kuti hai ndatara

make mistakes or teach wrong things. That is why the teachers themselves should go to study Ciutee. These native Gorongozi speakers and others should learn until they know Ciutee so that they can teach it to our children.

53   FP1: This is what my husband said the other day. He said some teachers say DISO (eye) and others say DZISO (eye), different languages. So, it is necessary to tell them that in Ciutee, DZISO is called DISO so that they know it.

54   MP3: Now, no. Things shouldn't be like that. We have to teach them Ciutee or we take native Ciutee speakers to do the job. It is better to spend money training one person who is Ciutee speaker so that he can come back and teach others. If things go the way there are going, one day… haaa… things will come to a dead-end.

55   C: What kind of teachers would you be happy to see teaching here?

56   MP3: We want teachers who can speak the real Ciutee so that when a child comes back home from school and says he studied Ciutee; we can read it and see that it is the real Ciutee. We might not be able to understand some of the Ciutee because each language has its grammar but we can see that … yes, this is Ciutee and we can also improve our knowledge of Ciutee from there. It is good to consult people who know the language better to see… develop… because those who know Ciutee better can show developments. They study a lot of things and write them in books to show others how things work in

ciutee, tocierenga , tociona kuti haann…hooo, tingacikonerwawo isuisu cimweni cia uti hai mutauro sempre unogramatica so tinoona kuti haann… nada, apa-apa, ndipo kamare so apa wazotonditunhudzirawo, kakutozociziyawo, ngokuti kagingi, kana nesu kuno, kataenda kecinoreketwa deretu, haannn… cinonga cecitobhudha cimweni autocizwiwo, hino zviri nani kukwedherera iona aya anociziya maninguia aya, entao onyasa (não claro) zvodhini… zvotodesenvolver. Kagingi ngekuti hai, ciutee ici, hooo… cinotunhudzirwa mumabukhu umu so, kuno anocizia kamare, direto kamare ciutee, anotora zvigingi umona, entao… kakuzoenda naco mubhukhu, koghadzirisa zvecinyasa kuzikwana kuti anhu emuno umu azozie kuti haan… ici ndico kamare

57   FP1: Ngoti ciripo kamare ngocokuti ndabhara mwanangu inini, zvakaitezvi mutete u, ndotanga kumiti vai levar agua, vai buscar agua, ou fogo não sei ke-ke-ke-ke kumureketera cizungu, okura ozwi ngaende koita tica afundise ciutee enquanto aena, kubharwa kwakaita, wakabharwa wikura eireketa cizungucia, agora acizomunetsi here? Cinomunetsa uti afun dise ciutee ngokuti mutauro wasikazi kudhini aena… wasikazi kudjaira, ya mutauro wasikazi kudjaira, ya mutauro wasikazi kudjaira. Ndipo panozotaura DJISO, DISO… Zvasiana já. Agora wakabharwa eizwi enda ocera nvura io, enda wobhesera muriro uo, afunda aena ozodesenvolverizve cda vez mais ciuteeco, auya haaaa…Bom mesmo.

Ciutee… and you can see that it is real Ciutee.

57   FP1:   There are situations when a child is born and we start speaking to the child in Portuguese. When that child grows up and is chosen to be a Ciutee teacher, the Portuguese speaking background will make his job very difficult because he does not speak Ciutee language. Isn't teaching Ciutee going to be difficult for him? It will make his job difficult because he does not know Ciutee. He is not used to speaking Ciutee. That is where they start saying DJISO, DISO… it is different. Now, someone born and raised in Ciutee, when he studies he will develop his Ciutee and when he comes back here… yeah… very good indeed.

MP3 is very critical of the local language performance of the bilingual teachers. He says the teachers don't know the local language well and that the Ciutee language they teach is not the correct Ciutee (see extract 17, evidentiary paragraph 46, p.169). He says the bilingual teachers should go and study Ciutee language and then they can come back and teach (see extract 17, evidentiary paragraph 50, p.169). As MP3 commented, Ciutee language taught at the local school is different from Ciutee spoken in the community (extract 17, evidentiary paragraph 52, p. 170). For MP3, even the teachers who have been to the professional development sessions cannot speak Ciutee well. They either make mistakes or teach incorrect things. That is why they should all go and study the local language before coming back to teach it in the local school.

FP1 comments about bilingual teachers' pronunciation of the word "Dziso" (eye) and makes fun of those teachers who pronounce it as "Diso" instead of "Dziso" (see extract 17, evidentiary paragraphs 53 and 57, p. 171). For FP1, problems of pronunciation do not only occur with bilingual teachers whose native language is not Ciutee. It also occurs with teachers who were born in the community but they were brought up speaking Portuguese. This is an interesting issue because it makes us question how native the native speaker is and reinforces the need for specific local language competence tests in the process of recruitment of bilingual teachers for short, medium or long term training.

In extract 17 above, as in extract 18 below, the interviewed parents question the linguistic competence of the bilingual teachers. They claim that some of the teachers do not speak the local language well enough to teach it (extract 18, evidentiary paragraph 59). This claim can easily be resolved by putting in place appropriate criteria for selection of bilingual teachers. However, the claim that the pronunciation of some of the teachers is different from the pronunciation the local community is used to (extract 17, evidentiary paragraphs 50, 52, 53 & extract 18, evidentiary paragraph 59) requires a more consensual solution. This claim is very serious and needs to be dealt with carefully because it can be related to the issue of which or whose variety to teach. This is an issue that is important for the implementation of bilingual education in Mozambique and in multilingual contexts in general. Failure to deal with this issue appropriately, with community involvement, can constitute a barrier for the implementation of bilingual education in the communities concerned.

Extract 18 provides further criticisms to local language competence of bilingual teachers. MP2 talks about pronunciation problems of a bilingual teacher. MP2 say that this teacher is unable to speak and is yet teaching Ciutee language in the local school. According to MP2, this bilingual teacher does not know how to pronounce Ciutee words. MP2 also comments about another teacher who was recognised as a very good teacher, but unfortunately, this teacher was transferred to another school, as evidenced in extract 18, paragraph 59.

Extract 18: Interview with parents

Mabuyo 1 – Abhereki 28/6/1117:30- 18: 25	**Interview 1 – Parents** 28/6/1117:30- 18: 25
MP1 – Avó MP2 – Pai; idade: 36; educação: 5a classe; Ocupação: camponês; L1: Ciutee; Número de filhos: 6 (3 vão a escola)	MP1 – male grandparent MP2 – Male parent; age: 36; education: grade 5; Job: peasant; L1: Ciutee; Number of children: 6 (3 go to school)

C: Carlos (entrevistador)

MP1: Avó (entrevistado)

MP2: Pai (entrevistado)

58   C: Ndanga ndecibvundza bvundza anaya kuti iwe-we urimuciutee here kana kuti uri muciputukezi, ndaenda koona kuti agingi kamare arimuciputukezi. Ngei mangi?

59   MP1+P2: Kutama kuziya ciutee, ndoenda koona kuti maprusor aya aripi kunyasa kucipasa maningi mbuto yekuti anyase kuti hai, aula yakati ngeeciutee, maprusori onyasa kuciziawo bom bom. Por exemplo tina prusora umweni uri apo unozvi prusora Lucia, natural da beira pakati pakati apa, entao ciuteeco acikwanisiwo aena. Momupasa aula eciutee, ena aykwanisi. So maneira de aguentar so, ne kuci pronunciar acikwanisi uciprnunciar. Mwana unotozia ciutee kupinda prusora so prusor Valentim é natural daqui, wakabharwa apa pamukonde, baba ake tsekuru ake, iena kubharirwa muno. Kakukurira muno ngociutee, saa oenda kobvisazve curso eciutee kakucikwanisa bom, kakucireketadhi bom, (não claro) tika songana naye paguandza apa aite bom dia, não, unoti marara here azukuro, azaia, azuuru, ngociutee, hope dzarotwawo kumbeyo, Kakuti zviazukuruzvo ngazviuye kuno, ndirikudha kutamaba nazvo zvi azukuruzvo. Kakuzvidhaidza kuri kutamba nazvo, kweca azukuru, iwe iwe ndiwe ani, ndiwe djati, mazvarira, Cingore, agora ana

Interview 1 – Parents 28/6/1117:30- 18: 25

C: Carlos (interviewer)

MP1: male grandparent (interviewee)

MP2: male parent (interviewee)

58   C: I spoke to some children at the local school and found out that most children are enrolled in the Portuguese monolingual programme. Why is that happening if people like the bilingual programme?

59   MP2: the teachers do not seem to give importance to Ciutee. The teachers should be taught Ciutee and be able to speak it before they are asked to teach Ciutee. Look, there is a teacher in this school who cannot speak Ciutee and is yet teaching Ciutee. How can she teach a language that she cannot speak? She does not even know how to pronounce Ciutee words. There was one male teacher that used to teach Ciutee in this school. He was a real Ciutee speaker, a native here. He was born in this community. His father and grandfather were born here too. He grew up here. He spoke very good Ciutee and was a very good teacher. They transferred him to another school. When you say that most children are

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edhu e agora acazii kuti Djati ndiani, Cingore Ndiani, Mazvarira Ndiani, Sica Ndiani. Hazvizii. CimoioDzindzero arirhi mwoyo uya u mucinyama quarquer, Arhi, ndie cimoio, omwana kadzi unozvi Sica. Unorha mwoyo wese ndimazvarira, ndi Cingore, omwanarume unozwi Cingore, omwanakadzi unozwi mazvarira. Pane umweni prusor unofundisa setima, ciutee acizii, agora komo unofundisa setima classe, ciutee unociwanisa? So a Valetim, ainda ndie wakabvisa curso ye bilingua futi, dhangani wakazoenda kokandwa kushango, apacina apa, aena mwna omuutee wamukondeo ndie waidhikana kufundisa Ciutee.

60   C: Saka dhai akaona madirgente ari yo kuti imwi muri airi ndimwi machefe ye bilingue iri apa i, maizoidhini bilingue iri apa i/ Maizorganizar sei kuti inyase kufamba bom?

61   MP2: Munhu   wese   uri   kuidha. Organizaçao ye bilingue, aishuphi nada ngei kuti hai, so kuti bhasi kaku organizar kuti ngakutswakwe prusor   aena u unofundisa ciutee bom bom, entao nomabuku akewo, consoante anobuya ciuteeco nokuthumbudzura zvocizunguzvo, entao ngatipinde ngoscola, ana anofunda bilingua ciutee, utofunda ngua ynobuywa kuti hai, nguawa yakati ngeeciutee, itori primeira, ate segunda, ate terceira, ate quarta… Ciutee. Kuzobvira mberi ofunda Cizungu, cinofamba bom, akuna problema inoshatepo

enrolled in the Portuguese only classes, this is because of the quality of teachers. There is a teacher teaching grade seven bilingual. He cannot speak Ciutee. How can he teach a language that he cannot speak? It would be good to find local people to teach Ciutee.

60   C: If you were given the chance to   improve   this   bilingual education programme to suit the needs of the community, what would you do?

61   MP2: It is simple to organize the bilingual education programme. We need teacher who can speak Ciutee. We also need books written in Ciutee for the teachers to use with the students. It must be clear when the children are learning Ciutee, mathematics or other subjects.

The lack of appropriate competence in the local language was also partly evidenced in interviews with bilingual teachers who shared some of the strategies they use, at individual level, to cope with their local language problems. In evidentiary paragraph 63 of extract 19, GB testifies to have experienced vocabulary problems. He knew the vocabulary item in Portuguese language but simply could not translate it into Ciutee language. He uses the students and the elders in the community to help him with the translations.

Entrevista 4 29/6/1111:25- 12:00	**Interview 4 Teacher** 29/6/1111:25- 12:00
Idade- 30	Age- 30
Experiencia na educação: 7 anos (desde 2006)	Experience in education: 7 years (since 2006)
Experiencia no ensino bilingue: desde 2011	Experience in bilingual programme: 1 years since 2011
Nível de educação: 12ª classe	education: grade 12
Formação psicopedagógica: Nenhuma	training :Untrained teacher
L1: Cibarwe	L1: Cibarwe

GB: professor (entrevistado)

C: Carlos (entrevistador)

GB: teacher (interviewee)

C: Carlos(interviewer)

62   C: Que preocupação já teve como professor do bilingue?

63   GB: Eu não sou nativo daqui. Só falo Ciutee um pouco. Estou a aprender Ciutee das crianças e também dos velhos aqui na comunidade. As vezes faço amizade com os velhos aqui na comunidade. Sabe, os velhos são como bibliotecas aqui. No mês passado, eu estava preocupado com o termo usado em Ciutee para dizer "enquanto". Tive que ir à comunidade e os velhos ajudaram-me.

62   C: What concerns have you had as a bilingual teacher?

63   GB: I am not a native here. I speak only a little Ciutee. I am learning Ciutee from the children here and also from the elders in the community. Sometimes I make friends with the elders. You know the elders are like libraries here. Last month I was worried about the Ciutee term for "While". I had to go to the elders and they helped me.

Although MH is one of the most experienced teachers at Bindzi Primary school, she has also experienced translation difficulties when planning her lessons. MH asks help from more experienced bilingual teachers (see extract 20, evidentiary paragraph 65).

Entrevista 9 (Continuação da Entrevista 6) 12:45-12:55	**Interview 9 (interview 6 continued) 30/6/11** 12:45-12:55
Idade- 37 anos	Age- 37
Experiencia na educação: 10 anos (desde 2002)	Experience in education: 10 years (since 2002)
Experiencia no ensino bilingue: 7 anos, desde 2006	Experience in bilingual education: 7 years, since 2006
Nível de educação: 12ª classe	Level of education: grade 12
Formação psicopedagógica: Nenhuma	Training: Untrained
L1: Cindau	L1: Cindau

C: Carlos (entrevistador)

MH: Professora (entrevistada)

64   C: O que faz quando não consegue traduzir um termo técnico de português para a língua local?

65   MH: Peço ajuda dos professores mais experientes. Nesta escola, eu sou o professor mais experiente. Já dei 1ª classe, 2ª classe, 3ª classe e 4ª classe. Este ano estou a dar 2ª classe pela segunda vez.

C: Carlos (Interviewer)

MH: Female teacher (interviewee)

64   C: What do you do when you cannot translate a technical term from Portuguese into the local language?

65   MH: I ask for help from more experienced bilingual teachers. In this school I am one of the most experienced teachers. I have taught grades one, two, three and four. This year I am teaching grade one for the second time.

The strategies used by the bilingual teachers include asking students or the elders in the community (native speakers) for help; and asking more experienced bilingual teachers for help. This is because the schools do not have bilingual Portuguese- Ciutee dictionaries or other materials they can rely on for support. In fact, translation is one of the major challenges that bilingual teachers face when planning their lessons. This challenge, as HJ testifies in extract 21, evidentiary paragraph 67, is faced by both native and non-native speaker bilingual teachers.

Entrevista 5 30/6/11 9:00-9:56	Interview 5 Head Teacher 30/6/11 9:00-9:56
Idade: 30 anos	Age: 30
Nível de Educação: 10a Classe	Education: grade 10
Experiencia na Educação: 9 Anos, desde 2004	Experience in Education: 9 years, since 2004
Formação: 10+2	training: 2 years (10+2)
L1: Ciutee	L1: Ciutee
Experiencia no ensino Bilingue: 5 anos, desde 2008	Experience in bilingual education: 5 years, since 2008

C= Carlos (entrevistador)

HJ= Diretor da escola (entrevistado)

C= Carlos (Interviewer)

HJ= Head teacher (Interviewee)

66 C: Como diretor, que desafio já enfrentou com relação ao programa bilingue?

66 C: as the Head Teacher, what challenges have you faced with the bilingual programme?

67 HJ: Eu estou perseguindo as pessoas que devem produzir livros para este programa. Os professores estão a sofrer mesmo. Imagina ter que traduzir o termo "texto dramático" para Ciutee. Já estou aqui há algum tempo mas é difícil traduzir isso para Ciutee. Mesmo os nativos de Ciutee não sabem como traduzir este termo. O que a gente acaba fazendo é escolher tópicos que são fáceis de traduzir e saltar aqueles que são difíceis. Eu espero até conseguir traduzir o tópico para dar. Temos que tentar elaborar materiais. Este é um grande desafio. O professor é deixado à sua sorte para produzir os planos trimestrais e para traduzir os materiais a usar com os alunos na sala de aulas. Se quer planificar

67 HJ: I am going after people who are supposed to produce books for this programme. The teachers are suffering a lot. Imagine having to translate the term "Dramatic text" into Ciutee. I have been here for some time but it is difficult to translate this into Ciutee. Even the native speakers of Ciutee do not know how to translate this term. What we end up doing is choose topics that are easy to translate and skip the ones that are difficult. I wait until I have been able to translate the topic before deciding when to teach that topic. We have to try and design materials. This is a big challenge. The teacher is left alone to produce the trimester plan, the two-week plan and to translate materials for using with students in

uma boa aula, precisa de muito tempo para a planificação. Tradução é muito difícil.

68   C: A comunidade pode ajudar?

69   HJ: É melhor esquecermos a comunidade. Estamos muito limitados em termos de recursos. Mas sabemos que devemos ensinar. Acho que se tivéssemos materiais, as coisas podiam ser fáceis. Não temos materiais.

the classroom. If you want to plan a good lesson, you need a lot of time for planning. Translating is really difficult.

68   C: Can the community help in any way?

69   HJ: we better forget about the community. We are very limited in terms of resources. But we know that we must teach. I think if we had teaching materials, things would be easy. We don't have any books.

HJ is a Ciutee native speaker. However, he has no idea of the Ciutee language equivalent vocabulary for "dramatic text". Indeed, teachers face a lot of difficulties translating technical, scientific terms because the local language is still at an early stage of its modernization and they don't have textbooks and teachers' guides written in the local language. The need for modernization of local languages is a challenge that can be generalized to other countries in Africa. Kaphesi (2003) discusses the problem of translating mathematical terms from English into Chichewa, a local language in Malawi. As Kaphesi (2003) put it; "Teachers have a problem translating the mathematical vocabulary between English and Chichewa and this brings about pressures and tensions among the mathematics teachers who may not find the equivalent terms between English and Chichewa". (p.277)

Translation problems leave teachers in a difficult position because they have to teach what they are expected to teach. This can take teachers to the extreme of choosing to teach the topics that are easy to translate and skipping the ones that are difficult to translate as evidenced in extract 21, paragraph 67.

Other important issues mentioned by HJ in the interview above and in interviews with other study participants, related to teaching and learning resources, namely textbooks and other teaching and learning materials, financial constraints and the like, are discussed in detail under the section on material and financial resources, page 205.

8.2.1.4. Availability of teachers for the bilingual education programme

Availability of teachers to teach in the bilingual education programme is another major challenge for bilingual education in the schools selected for this study. Both Bindzi and Madumbe primary schools face serious shortage of teachers to teach in the bilingual programme. M is the head teacher at Bindzi primary school. He has two teachers prepared to teach in the bilingual

programme but the school needs 7 or 8 teachers to work with the bilingual classes (evidentiary paragraph 71, extract 22).

Extract 22: Interview with the head teacher at Bindzi Primary school

Entrevista 15 Diretor de escolar 1/7/1114:30-15:10	**Interview 15: Head teacher** 1/7/1114:30-15:10
Idade: 48	Age: 48
Nível de educação: 9a Classe	Level of education: grade 9
Experiencia na educação: 23 anos	Experience of education: 23years
Formação psicopedagógica: 9+3	Training: 3 years (9+3)
L1: Cisena	L1: Cisena
Experiencia no ensino Bilingue: desde 2011	Experience in bilingual education: since 2011

C: Carlos (entrevistador)

M: Diretor de escola (entrevistado)

C: Carlos (interviewer)

M: head teacher (interviewee)

70 C: Que desafios enfrentam os professores do bilingue?

71 M: Não temos professores suficientes para cobrir as turmas do bilingue que temos. Precisamos de 7 ou 8 professores para trabalharem com bilingue. Há também falta de material.

70 C: What challenges do bilingual teachers face here?

71 M: We don't have enough bilingual teachers to cover the number of bilingual classes we have. We need 7 or 8 teachers to work with bilingual classes. There is lack of materials as well.

HJ, the head teacher at Madumbe primary school has had to allocate an unprepared teacher to teach the local language, Ciutee, in grade 7 because there was no teacher prepared to teach the local language in grade 7 (evidentiary paragraph 9, extract 14 p.158). The challenge of shortage of teachers for the bilingual programme is entirely connected with inefficient strategies in teacher preparation for the programme.

Even without prior preparation to teach in the bilingual programme; and with deficient knowledge of the local language, some teachers still adventure teaching in the bilingual programme when selected by the school administration. These teachers face serious local language limitations and resort to code mixing, the use of Portuguese words when they don't know the equivalent Ciutee words (evidentiary paragraph 81, extract 23). However, code mixing

is highly discouraged by educational inspection and teachers who code mix are criticised and low rated in the teacher evaluations conducted by educational supervisors in schools. As the consequence of the criticisms by the educational inspectors, many teachers are reluctant to teach in the bilingual programme when they feel they are not ready to teach in the local language (see extract 23).

Extract 23: Interview with a teacher

Entrevista 22 4/9/12 18:15-18:46 (31 minutes)   **Interview 22**4 /9/12 18:15-18:46 (31 minutes)

Idade- 30	Age- 30
Experiência: 7 anos (desde 2006)	Experience of teaching: 7 years (since 2006)
Experiência no bilingue: desde 2011	Experience in Bilingual: since 2011
Formação psicopedagógica: Nenhuma	Education: Grade 12
L1: Cibarwe	Training: (untrained teacher)
	L1: Cibarwe

C: Carlos (entrevistador)

GB: Professor (entrevistado)

C: Carlos (interviewer)

GB: Male teacher (interviewee)

72   C: explica me mais. O que quer dizer com "o desenvolvimento dos alunos depender do esforço do professor"? O que é que faz um professor que se esforça?

73   GB: O professor que se esforça é menos faltas no serviço, na escola, requer muita presença porque quando professor, por exemplo, numa semana, vai três dias de aulas, o aluno ultimamente estuda Segunda, terça o professor não vem, o professor vem Quarta, Quinta não vem, o professor vem Sexta. O aluno ali fica um pouco sem moral, sim, então a compreensão do aluno já sai um pouco diferente porque ali ele já vai passar a andar com desleixo. Mesmo TPC, quando dá TPC o aluno até cala porque o professor não está diariamente na sala de aulas. O desleixo traz também problema de mentalidade na criança no domínio das matérias. Então é este

72   C: Tell me more. What do you mean by "the development of the students is dependent on the effort of the teacher"? What does a teacher who makes effort do?

73   GB: A teacher who makes effort comes to work regularly; it requires teacher's presence at school. For example, if the teacher is expected to teach five days a week and only comes to school three days a week, the student will have lessons, maybe on Monday, Wednesday and Friday and the rest of the days the teacher is absent. The student will feel demotivated and student comprehension will be affected. The student will be careless, even with homework. Carelessness brings mental laziness to the child. This is the effort I am talking about, when

esforço de que me estou a referir. Quando o professor está sempre na sala, sua presença na sala e debruçando consoante o seu plano de aula. O aluno ali segue o que diz o professor. Cada dia depois de dar aula, eu hei-de dar um exemplo e dar TPC que se chama "mabassa" em Ciutee. Então dá duas perguntas para o aluno lá em casa resolver ou responder. Então o aluno, dia seguinte, tem que apresentar. Então o aluno ao apresentar, é levantar um por um, escrever no quadro. Então é ali onde se avalia o domínio da criança e a compreensão. Domínio da língua Ciutee na escrita e a sua maneira de compreensão.

74 C: Isso faz- me pensar que quando falamos tanto do ensino bilingue como do monolingue podemos falar de bons e maus professores. Podemos dizer que no ensino bilingue existem bons e maus professores?

75 GB: Bem…Neste âmbito é difícil dizer bons professores ou maus professores porque dar L1 como língua materna é complicado de facto. Até porque em algumas vezes outros professores recusam porque aquilo é uma pedra no sapato é complicado sim. Porque quando chega tempo de supervisão, os que dão Ciutee, há muitas críticas! Então as pessoas fogem essa parte. No meu caso… eu aceito porque quando alguém que trabalha não recebe críticas, não desenvolve. Para o meu caso, eu assinei compromisso com o governo e tenho que honrar mas outros, algumas vezes, oiço alguns a dizerem "próximo ano não quero estar com bilingue porque é chato".

76 C: Mas que tipo de críticas faz a

the teacher is always in the classroom, teaching according to his lesson plan. The student will follow what the teacher says. Every day, after teaching I assign homework, we call it "mabassa" in Ciutee. I give two questions for students to answer at home. The following day, when the student comes to school, the student has to show the homework. I ask students to stand up one by one and write on the board. That is when I evaluate student progress and comprehension, performance in writing in Ciutee and comprehension.

74 C: This makes me think of the existence of good and bad teachers in both bilingual and monolingual classes. Can we say that in the bilingual programme, there are good and bad teachers?

75 GB: Well… it is difficult to say good or bad teacher because teaching the mother tongue is complicated, in fact. Some teachers refuse to teach L1 because it is like "pain in the neck". It is complicated, yes. Because when supervision comes, there is a lot of criticism for teachers teaching Ciutee! So teachers run away from the bilingual programme. In my case… I take criticism positively. If an employee does not take criticism positively, this employee will never grow. In my case, I signed a contract with the government and I have to fulfil the contract. I sometimes hear other teachers saying "next year, I don't want to teach bilingual because it is crazy"

76 C: What kind of criticism do

supervisão aos professores de bilingue?

77 GB: A supervisão do bilingue… quando chega na escola, eles faz críticas segundo a sua avaliação da aula. Porque a maioria quando entra… quando chaga a aula de Ciutee, não falam aquele Ciutee perfeitamente.

78 C: A maioria de quem?

79 GB: Dos professores.

80 C: Que estão a dar aulas?

81 GB: Sim. Porque usam aquelas palavras com "portanto" "agora" na aula de Ciutee. Em Ciutee, estas palavras têm seus equivalentes! "Portanto" em Ciutee diz se "hino" enquanto "diz se "nhanguphe". Os professores misturam palavras portuguesas com Ciutee. Quando é para falar Ciutee não se deve misturar. Quando professor usa termos corretos, isso ajuda os alunos a entender. Os próprios Cuités, os donos da língua até falam "Nhangusse". "Nhamgusse handizvopi" o professor corrige "não é Nhangusse, é nhanguphe" "nhanguphe handzvopi". Então é ali que os outros tem dificuldade mas para o meu caso, eu tenho consultado alguns velhos lá na zona, então algumas vezes eu compro peixe de 10 Mt e digo "Sekuru ndayua kuzomuyonai,munotanba here? Se tenho dúvida, eu escrevo no papelinho e começo a conversar com ele para saber "Sekuru" esta palavra quer dizer o quê? Ele me responde e eu logo escrevo. Então cada vez mais eu estou a desenvolver e isso ajuda me aperfeiçoar o meu trabalho e não me sinto a perder.

supervisor make about bilingual teachers?

77 GB: When bilingual supervisors arrive at school, they make criticisms based on observations of lessons. Most of them, when they come into the lesson… when it is time for Ciutee lesson, they don't speak perfect Ciutee.

78 C: Who doesn't speak perfect Ciutee?

79 GB: the teachers.

80 C: The teachers teaching Ciutee?

81 GB: Yes. Because they use Portuguese words in their Ciutee lessons; words like "portanto" (so, for this reason), "agora (Snow, Met et al.). Such words have their equivalents in Ciutee. For example, "portanto" is "hino" and "enquanto" is "nhanguphe" in Ciutee. The teachers mix Portuguese and Ciutee words. When it is to speak Ciutee, we shouldn't mix. When the teacher uses correct terms, this helps the students' comprehension. The native Ciutee speakers, the owners of Ciutee language say "nhangusse", "nhangusse handizopi" the teacher corrects and says it is not "nhangusse"; it is "nhanguphe" "nahnguphe handizvopi". That is where the other teachers face difficulties. In my case, when I have difficulties, I ask the elders in the community. Sometimes I buy fish and offer to the elders when I visit them. I tell them my doubts and they help me. This helps me improve my knowledge of Ciutee and my performance as a teacher.

GB is a bilingual teacher at Bindzi primary school. He recognizes that his performance in the local language is not adequate but he takes criticisms by supervisors positively. He says teaching in the local language is "pain in the neck" but he is determined to improve his knowledge of the local language through asking the elders in the community to help him. Conversely, there are teachers who do not take criticism so positively and simply decide to give up teaching in the bilingual programme (evidentiary paragraph 75, extract 23).

It appears, according to evidentiary paragraphs 75, 77 and 81 of extract 23, that the education inspectors are more interested in evaluating the performance of the teacher in the classroom for administrative purposes rather than in assisting them to perform better in their teaching. This is rather paradoxical because the teachers, most of whom are untrained and poorly prepared to teach in the bilingual programme, are evaluated and yet get no assistance to help improve their performance. According to Traoré (2001) , it is crucial that all education supervisors and managers obtain not only administrative training, but also pedagogical training that helps them develop a knowledge base about bi/multilingual education and how to help teachers in such programmes.

In both schools, there is shortage of teachers to teach in the bilingual programme due to inefficient bilingual teacher preparation. As extract 16 shows, evidentiary paragraphs 19, 20, 21, 22 and 23 (p. 163), there are not enough teachers prepared to teach in the programme because of the decrease in the number or total absence of professional development courses run by the National Institute for Educational Development (INDE). Furthermore, the few teachers who volunteer to teach without prior preparation feel intimidated to teach in the local language because of the consequences of negative evaluation by educational inspectors. If teachers get negative evaluation results by supervisors, they run the risk of losing their jobs and since they are aware of their weak performance in the local language, they prefer not to teach in the bilingual programme (extract 23, evidentiary paragraphs 75 to 81, p.181).

8.2.1.5. The need for bilingual education specialist assistance in schools

Another major challenge for the implementation of bilingual education in Mozambique, considering that this form of education is at its initial stage, is the need for bilingual education specialist assistance in schools. If the teachers are poorly prepared with very limited pedagogical materials to use with their students, then specialist assistance in schools is fundamental.

In the interviews with teachers and head teachers, the interviewees kept mentioning the difficulties they face due to lack of assistance in lesson preparation and delivery. Teachers face difficulties with lesson preparation because they do not have course books and other literature to help them with lesson preparation. Frequently, teachers find materials written in Portuguese, the official language in Mozambique, and they are expected to translate the materials from Portuguese into the local language, Ciutee. As the local language has not yet been modernized enough, it is common for teachers not to find equivalents in the local language for the scientific terms they find in Portuguese language, as extract 24 shows.

Entrevista 24 5/9/12 15:30-16:25   **Interview 24** 5/9/12 15:30-16:25

Idade: 47	Age: 47
Educação: 10a Classe	Level of education: grade 10
Experiência: 31 years	Experience: 31 years
Formação psicopedagógica: Nenhuma	Training: untrained
L1: Ciutee	L1: Ciutee
Experiência de bilingue: 11 anos, desde 2001	Experience in Bilingual: 11 years since 2001

C= Carlos (entrevistador)   C= Carlos (Interviewer)

VA= Professor (entrevistado)   VA= Male teacher (Interviewee)

.

82   C: Numa fase da nossa entrevista, falou muito da necessidade de… falou que os especialistas da educação bilingue deviam estar próximos das escolas para monitorar a implementação do programa. Fale me dessa necessidade.

83   VA: Porque eu, como professor, também tenho as minhas dificuldades e as minhas dificuldades não podem ser resolvidas só por mim. As minhas dificuldades podem ser resolvidas a partir de uma ajuda de outros. Então, quando a gente fala de especialistas, também podemos falar dos especialistas entre aspas. Porque não só aqueles que vêm de Maputo, localmente pode haver alguém, de entre dez, pode aparecer um; de entre dez podem aparecer dois ou três pessoas mais abalizadas na matéria para fazer a supervisão, para poder fazer essa supervisão, para dirigir, para encaminhar esse processo. Porque o meu saber não é o saber do outro. Eu tenho o

82   C: In our previous interview, you said specialists in bilingual education should be close to the schools to monitor implementation. Tell me more about this.

83   VA: As a teacher, I have my own difficulties and I cannot resolve my difficulties by myself. Other people can help me resolve my difficulties. When I speak about specialists, we could speak of specialists in inverted comers; not only those who come from Maputo. Locally, we can find people who know a bit more than the others. People, who can help supervise, lead the process. My knowledge is not the same as the knowledge of the others. There are people locally who can help this process. Things seem a bit upside down, why? Because we

meu saber, mas de entre esses saberes, há quem sabe um pouco mais que o outro. Este pode ajudar a encaminhar o processo. Então é um pouco ao contrário. Porquê? Porque podemos ver que o próprio supervisor da área pode ser uma pessoa que não conhece aquela língua e quando ele chega no terreno para assistir, vai assistir tudo errado e achar que está certo! Por isso, os especialistas, para mim, não são aqueles mais formados, existe para além destes, aqueles que não são formados para língua Ciutee mas pode existir alguém um pouco mais próximo que conhece um pouco mais que os outros para ajudar esses, os mais fracos para poderem ser fortes. Vão aprendendo dos outros e amanhã serão eles a encaminhar o processo. Porque trata se da língua que é uma inovação. Então, como uma inovação, precisa duma atenção. Precisa de uma atenção e a atenção esta de que aquele que um pouco mais conhece deve estar próximo ou ao nível da ZIP, pode ser assim. O distrito é grande, porque agora está… como já se disse que o ensino bilingue já é uma realidade, o distrito toma conta mas para além do próprio distrito, podia se ver outras estratégias. Se alguém existe lá no distrito, mas não é falante daquela língua, não sabe, não está devidamente capacitada esta pessoa, ele chega no terreno, vai assistir uma pessoa a falar uma língua que não é… a escrever de uma maneira contrária porque ele também não sabe… então estão todos no mesmo barco… então é nesta óptica que eu estava a dizer que o especialista devia estar mais próximo, não falar daquele! Mas entre os especialistas há quem talvez esteja mais próximo que tem algum conhecimento localmente. Porque a gente está… eu tenho assistido algumas coisas mas sinto pena. É por isso que disse no início que os professores do ensino bilingue, nesta fase de experimentação, não podiam ser, de qualquer maneira, transferidos. Deviam

can see that the supervisors of bilingual education cannot speak the language and when they arrive at school to observe lessons, they will see wrong things and think they are correct. That is why, for me, specialists are not only those people that have been highly trained , but also those who do not have higher education training but there could be someone close to the school who knows a bit more than the others and who could help the teachers. We are talking about an innovative process. We need to be attentive. This district is big. I have said that bilingual education is now a reality. If the person responsible for bilingual education at the district level is someone who cannot speak the language, when the person goes to schools to observe classes he can hear wrong pronunciation or see wrong spelling, this person will do nothing because he does not know the language. He will be in the same boat as the teacher making the mistakes in the classroom. It is for this reason that I said specialists should be close to the schools. Sometimes I see things that make me feel ashamed. Bilingual education teachers should not be transferred easily. They should guarantee implementation of this programme. Orders are orders, they transfer bilingual teachers… it is not about privatizing them. It is true that teachers should feel free to go and work wherever they want but we also have the responsibility of training new teachers. The professional

assegurar o funcionamento. Bem, as ordens são outras, transferem se, mas prontos, nós também não é a questões de privar os professores. Enquanto queremos libertar os professores, transferir para onde eles querem, também temos a responsabilidade de capacitar os outros. Essa capacitação devia ser abrangente, qualquer professor estar com noções, a partir dos materiais. Se a gente não tem material, como já referenciei, então é outro problema.

development courses should be more inclusive. Every teacher should be prepared to work with bilingual children.

Specialist assistance in schools, as noted in extract 24 above, evidentiary paragraph 83, does not necessarily have to be provided by people holding degrees in linguistics and other language related fields. Assistance can be given at the level of pedagogy and at the level of language itself. At the level of language, it may well be provided by local people who have sound knowledge of the local language and are willing to assist teachers in the schools or in the ZIPs (Zones of Pedagogic Influence) where teachers from different schools belonging to the ZIP meet regularly to prepare their lessons. Such meetings occur every fortnight and if pedagogy and language issues are not solved at such meetings, everything is left to the responsibility of the class teacher. If the group of teachers in all the ZIP cannot reach a consensus concerning equivalent terms between Portuguese language and the local language, very little can be expected from individual teachers and there is no guarantee of harmonized local language terms used in different schools teaching through the medium of the same local language. Extract 25, evidentiary paragraph 85, provides further comments on difficulties teachers face due to lack of support.

Extract 25: Interview with a teacher

Entrevista 11 professor 01/7/11 8:30-9:20 **Interview 11 male teacher** 01/7/118:30-9:20

Idade: 46 anos	Age: 46
Nível de educação: 10a Classe	Level of education: grade 10
Experiência na educação: 30 anos	Experience: 30 years
Formação: Nenhuma	Training: untrained
L1: Ciutee	L1: Ciutee
Experiência no bilingue: 10 anos, desde 2001	Experience in Bilingual: 10 years, since 2001

C: Carlos (entrevistador) C: Carlos (interviewer)

VA: Professor (entrevistado) VA: male teacher (interviewee)

84 C; Que desafios enfrentam os professore do bilingue?

85 VA: …O que acontece é que os professores encontram-se quinzenalmente e traduzem os conteúdos que vão ensinar, de acordo com os programas. Esta situação é muito difícil porque nós não aprendemos a língua local na escola. Nós, como professores, tentamos encontrar solução desta situação. Enfrentamos dificuldades na tradução de certos termos. Às vezes pedimos apoio de professores com mais experiência. Eu costumava dar bilingue aqui e ajudava muitos colegas. Há falta de material nas escolas e esperamos que esse problema seja resolvido brevemente. Temos algum material para 1ª e 2ª mas não há material para as restantes classes. Também, quando produzimos materiais para 1ª classe, nós não tínhamos experiência na elaboração de materiais. Quando os livros saíram, vimos que existem alguns erros que precisam ser corrigidos. Especialistas de educação bilingue deviam estar perto das escolas para monitorar a implementação do programa. Às vezes o distrito envia um supervisor mas esse supervisor não sabe falar a língua local. Como é que esse supervisor pode ajudar os professores? O supervisor devia ter bom conhecimento da área para poder ajudar os professores. Deve haver bem professores formados para ensinar na língua local, mesmo que eles não sejam falantes nativos. Em cada escola ou zona, devia haver um especialista para ajudar os professores. No início do programa bilingue, eu estava a trabalhar aqui e depois fui transferido para uma outra

84 C: What challenges do bilingual education teachers face?

85 VA: ... What happens is that the teachers meet every fifteen days and they translate the contents they are going to teach, according to the syllabi. This situation is very difficult because we did not learn the local language at school. We, as teachers, try to find our way out of the situation. We face difficulties with translation of some terms. Sometimes we resort to more experienced teachers. I used to be a bilingual teacher here and I helped a lot of colleagues. There is lack of materials in schools and we hope this problem gets resolved soon. We have some materials for grades one and two but there are no materials for the rest of the grades. Also, when we produced grade one materials we did not have much experience of material design. When the books came out we could see that there are some mistakes that need correcting. Specialists in bilingual education should be near the schools to monitor the implementation of the programme. Sometimes the district sends a supervisor but such supervisor does not speak the local language. How can this supervisor help the teachers? The supervisor should have good knowledge of the area in order to help the teachers. There should be trained teachers who speak the local language well enough to teach in that language even if they are not native speakers. In each school or area there should be a specialist to help the teachers. At the start of the bilingual programme, I was working here and then I was transferred to another school. It would be good to avoid transferring more experienced

escola. Seria bom evitar transferir os professores mais experientes do bilingue. Quando um professor do bilingue é transferido, às vezes, não existe ninguém para o substituir e a escola será forçada a colocar um professor que não foi capacitado para trabalhar com turmas do bilingue. Esse comportamento cria problemas na implementação deste tipo de educação.

bilingual teachers. When a bilingual teacher is transferred, sometimes there is no one to replace this teachers and the school will be forced to allocate a teacher who has not been trained to work with bilingual classes. This behaviour creates problems in the implementation of this type of education.

A distinction needs to be made here between supervision and inspection. Interviewed teachers and head teachers mentioned supervisors, inspectors and bilingual education specialists who visit the schools. The term "bilingual education specialist" or simply "specialist", as used by the participant teachers and head teachers, refers to linguists, sociolinguists and other language education academics from the National Institute for Education Development (INDE). These specialists are, in fact, the promoters of bilingual education in Mozambique. They designed and conducted the bilingual experimental project (PEBIMO) from 1993 to 1997 (Benson 2000; Ngunga 2011). They are the promoters of the introduction of the 2003 transitional bilingual education programme in Mozambique. They designed and ran the professional development courses to prepare teachers to teach in the bilingual programme. In the views of interviewed teachers and head teachers, these specialists are responsible for the decrease in or total absence of professional development sessions (extract 14, evidentiary paragraphs 7 and 9; extract 16, evidentiary paragraphs 16 and 21) and for the consequent shortage of teachers prepared to work in the bilingual programme (extract 14, evidentiary paragraphs 9, 10 and 11 (pp.158-159); extract 22, evidentiary paragraph 71 (p.178)).

The other two terms mentioned by participant teachers and head teachers are "inspector" and "supervisor". Although, at times, used interchangeably by the study participants, these terms are different. Both inspection and supervision are instruments used to determine and promote good education (Krashen 1982). Inspectorate activity in school administration appears to carry a negative connotation as it is more likely to be a reproachful, fault-finding attitude whereas supervision, according to Lambert and Tucker (1972), can be defined as a democratic, strategic, resourceful and coordinating process in which supervisors and teachers come together to stimulate discussions and suggestions, incite reflective thoughts and remove deficiencies in the educational setting.

The schools selected for this study are regularly visited by national and provincial supervisors. Class teachers do not feel comfortable with the presence of supervisors in their classes because of their fault-finding attitude which threatens the renewal of their job contracts as teachers. Instead of observing lessons and providing positive feedback that helps teachers improve their performance in the classroom, the supervisors appear more interested in criticising and evaluating/ classifying teachers for administrative purposes (extract 23, evidentiary paragraphs 75 and 77, p.181). Furthermore, teachers claim that some of the bilingual education supervisors do not have adequate knowledge of the local language and consequently, they cannot help the

teachers (extract 24, evidentiary paragraph 83 (p, 184); extract 25, evidentiary paragraph 85 (p.187)).

When teacher preparation is as deficient as it presently is, the job of supervision needs to be clearly defined and specific criteria designed for selection and preparation of supervisors that will effectively help teachers improve their performance in the classroom. These supervisors would provide assistance in the schools and also in the ZIPs when teachers prepare their lessons every fortnight. Regular visits to schools are important but it is crucial to guarantee that teachers get adequate assistance in their lesson planning and teaching.

Material and financial resources

8.2.1.6. Material resources

Material resources constitute another major challenge for the implementation of bilingual education in Mozambique. The implementation of bilingual education at Bindzi Primary School and at Madumbe Primary School began in 2005 and 2006 respectively. However, it was only in 2010 that the schools received the first bilingual education materials when the first groups of bilingual children were already in grades 6 and 5. Moreover, the materials received were student's books for Ciutee language (the local language) and Mathematics in Ciutee for grades 1 and 2. So far (September 2012), the rest of the grades (3, 4, 5, 6 and 7) have not received any materials. Figure 5 shows the course books for grades 1 and 2.

Figure 5: Bilingual student's books for grades 1 and 2
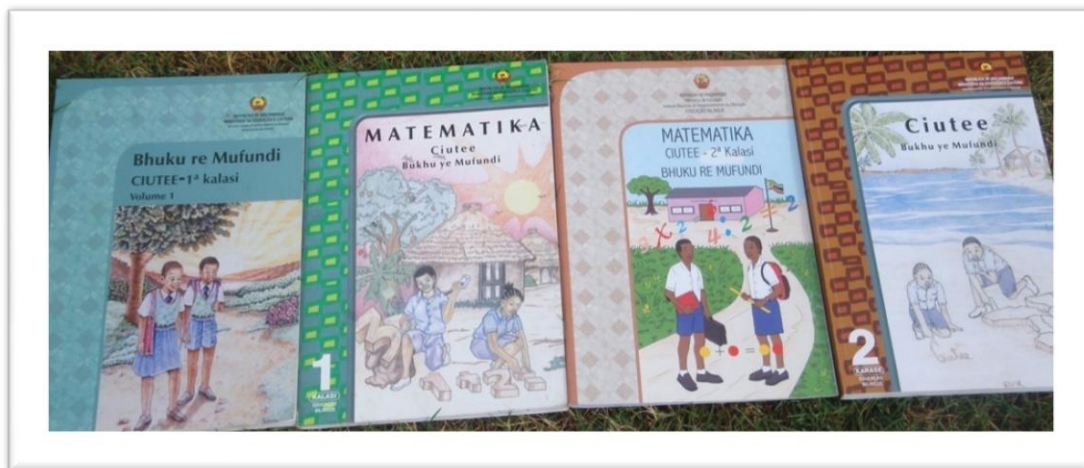
The students' course books for bilingual grades 1 and 2 include:

1.   Almeida, V; Wassiquete, I.& Manejo, I. (2007).Bhuku re Ciutee, bhuku re mufundi, 1ª Kalasi. Kuala Lumpur: BHS Book Printing Sdn. Bhd. (*grade 1 student's course book for Ciutee language)*

2. Wassiquete, I; Almeida, V; Manejo, I. & Ribeiro, B. (2007). Bukhu re Matematika, karase ya kusumingura, Bukhu ye mufundi Ciutee. Kuala Lumpur: BHS Book Printing Sdn. Bhd. *(grade 1 student's course book for mathematics in Ciutee)*

3. Wassiquete, I. & Monjane, B. A. R. (2007). Bukhu re mufundi re Matematika- 2a Kalasi para Educação Bilingue. Kuala Lumpur: BHS Book Printing Sdn. Bhd*. (grade 2 student's course book for Mathematics in Ciutee)*

4. Almeida, V; Manejo, I. & Maquessene, M. P. (2007). Bukhu re Ciutee. Educação Bilingue 2a Karase, Bukhu re mufundi. Kuala Lumpur: BHS Book Printing Sdn. Bhd.*(grade 2 student's course book for Ciutee language)*

There are no teachers' guides to help the teachers in their lesson preparation and there is no additional literature in the local language. These students' books are the only resources that grades 1 and 2 students and teachers use in their learning and teaching. Teachers teaching subsequent grades have no materials written in the local language. However, since they have access to course books written in Portuguese language (used with monolingual classes), they are expected to translate content written in Portuguese in order to teach that content in the local language, as shown in extract 20, evidentiary paragraphs 64 and 65; and extract 21, evidentiary paragraphs 66 and 67. Extract 26 provides further comments on lack of materials for bilingual education.

Extract 26: Interview with the head teacher at Bindzi Primary School

Entrevista 25 12/9/12; 9:30-9:55   **Interview 25**   12/9/12; 9:30-9:55

Idade: 48 anos	Age: 48
Educação: 9a Classe	Level of education: grade 9
Experiência: 23 anos	Experience: 23years
Formação psicopedagógica: 9+3	Training: 3 years (9+3)
L1: Cisena	L1: Cisena
Experiência no ensino Bilingue: 1 ano, desde 2011	Experience of bilingual: 1 year; since 2011

C= Carlos (entrevistador)

M= Diretor de escola (entrevistado)

C= Carlos (Interviewer)

M= Head teacher (Interviewee)

86	C: Também mencionar o problema da falta de material para o ensino bilingue. Fala me mais sobre este aspeto.

86	C: You also mentioned the problem of materials for bilingual education. Tell me more about this aspect.

87	M: Nós começamos… o bilingue dura todo o ensino básico. A gente começa na 1ª classe… tem que ir até 7ª classe com bilingue. Mas o que eu notei agora… eu não sei se os professores tem capacidade de produzir isso ou não, porque nem fui formado em ensino bilingue, os colegas que estiveram cá antes podem explicar, mas a partir de 3ª classe, 4ª, 5ª, eu nunca vi um livro de bilingue. Nunca vi. Os livros que tem são da 1ª e 2ª classe.	87	M: Bilingual education runs throughout primary education. It starts in grade 1… and goes till grade 7. What I have noticed is … I don't know if the teachers are prepared to produce materials… but I was not trained in bilingual education, the colleagues who have been here longer can explain this but I have never seen a book for grades 3, 4, 5. Never! We only have books for grades 1 and 2.
88	C: Que livro tem?	88	C: What kind of books do you have?
89	M: Na 1ª temos matemática e o próprio Ciutee e na 2ª também. Mas temos 3ª bilingue, 4ª bilingue, porque essa turma continua bilingue até lá.	89	M: In grades 1 and 2, we have mathematics in Ciutee and Ciutee language books.
90	C: Que tipo de livros se refere? Livros para o aluno?	90	C: What kind of books are they? Student books?
91	M: para o aluno.	91	M: They are student books.
92	C: Tem livros para o professor aqui?	92	C: Do you have teacher's books?
93	M: também não tem.	93	M: No, we don't.
94	C: Esses livros de matemática e de Ciutee são só livros para o aluno ou tem livros do professor para acompanhar os livros do aluno?	94	C: These are students' books. Do you have the teacher's books that go with the student's books?
95	M: São livros para o aluno mas o professor também aproveita!	95	M: They are students' books but the teachers use them, too.
96	C: Então o professor não tem seu próprio livro?	96	C: So, the teachers don't have a real teacher's book?
97	M: Não, não tem. A única coisa é que esses professores foram participar em vários seminários e provavelmente tenham aprendido algumas técnicas lá. Mas livro do professor do bilingue não tem. Eu nunca vi. Isso não significa que eu	97	M: No, they don't. The only thing is that these teachers participated in a lot of professional development seminars and probably learnt some techniques there. But we don't have teacher's books for bilingual education. I have never seen one. They never gave us teacher's books.
		98	C: So, when you talk about lack of materials, you are talking about

nunca procurei ver, eu procurei mas nunca me deram esse livro.

98   C: Então, quando fala da falta de material está a falar da falta de livros para o aluno e para o professor. Existe algum outro tipo de material aqui, como por exemplo, romances, histórias em Ciutee, revistas em Ciutee?

99   M: Não, só são estes dois livros para o aluno.

100   C: Essa situação de falta de livros no ensino bilingue também se verifica no ensino monolingue?

101   M: Yah. A partir de uma dada altura, sim. Começou a se sentir quando começou a política de reposição.

102   C: Que política é essa?

103   M: A política de reposição significa: suponhamos que eles deram, por exemplo, em 2006, 500 livros de língua portuguesa para 7ª classe, à escola. Então, a partir do ano seguinte…

104   C: 2007, neste caso.

105   M: Sim. Eles começam a repor apenas 30% dessa quantidade. Eles contam sempre que, bom, dos 500 livros, pelo menos 30% destes livros estragaram- se. O que significa que dos 500 livros, eles calculam que mais ou menos 150 estragaram- se. Então, no ano seguinte, eles repõem 150, no outro ano 150, a pensar sempre que a base é esta mas na realidade na é isso.

106   C: Na sua experiencia, qual é a percentagem dos livros que se estraga?

students' books and teachers' books. Are there any other kinds of materials like novels, stories, magazines in Ciutee language here at school?

99   M: No, we only have those two student's books.

100   C: Do you also have lack of books in the monolingual programme?

101   M: Yes, from a certain stage, yes. This problem started when the policy of replacement started.

102   C: What is that policy?

103   M: The policy of replacement means that, suppose they gave your school, in 2006, 500 books for Portuguese language for grade 7 students, from the following year…

104   C: You mean 2007, in this case.

105   M: Yes. They replace 30% of the total amount of books previously given. They gave you 500 books and they believe that 30% of the books will be damaged. This means that in 2007, they will give your school only 150 new books and another year 150 books and so on.

106   C: In your experience, what percentage of books gets damaged?

107   M: The percentage of damaged books depends on the quality of the books and on conservation. Children in grades 6 and 7 can help conserving the books. Now, children in grade 4, 5… they come from very far away… they have no schoolbags… around 75% of the books get damaged. This policy of replacement has been implemented for a long time. This means that the

107 M: A percentagem dos livros que se estraga depende da qualidade do próprio livro e da conservação. Para os alunos da 6ª, 7aclasse, ainda conseguem conservar. Agora crianças da 3ª, 4ª … saem de longe… pegam o próprio livro e fazem de pasta… quase que 75% dos livros vão se embora! E essa questão de reposição já vem há muito tempo. Então, isso significa que os 500 livros já não existem. Depois de 3, 4 anos, aqueles 150 livros da reposição ficam os únicos livros que a escola tem!

108 C: Portanto, o problema da falta de livros existe nos dois programas!

109 M: Aqui temos que saber diferenciar as coisas. Existe o que chamamos falta de livros e existe o que chamamos insuficiência de livros. No ensino básico temos livros para monolingue mas são insuficientes por causa da reposição. Estragam se mais e o que é reposto é pouco. Agora, para o caso do bilingue, os livros existem para 1ª e 2ª. Da 3ª para diante já não existe isso. Nessa altura vamos falar de falta de livros. Na turma de monolingue vamos falar de insuficiência. Mas para consulta, numa turma de 40 alunos é possível dar 15 alunos português, dar outros 15 m atemática e trocarem estes livros entre eles. Agora no caso de não existirem, como vamos fazer?

110 C: Quando não existem a situação é difícil.

111 M: Sim. Eu nunca vi livro de Ciutee para 7ª classe mas temos professores a darem Ciutee na 7ª classe!

500 books no longer exist. After 3, 4 years, the 150 books that we receive from the replacement policy become the only books that the school has.

108 C: So, lack of books is in both bilingual and monolingual programme!

109 M: We need to distinguish two things here. There is lack (not to have) of books; and there is insufficiency of books. In primary education, we have books for the monolingual programme but they are insufficient because of the replacement policy. The books get damaged and the replacement policy brings very few books. Now, in the bilingual programme, we have books for grades 1 and 2. We don't have books for the rest of the grades: 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7. So, we speak of lack of books. In the monolingual programme, we speak of insufficiency of books. For example, in a class of 40 students, it is possible to give 15 Portuguese language students' books; 15 mathematics books and the students exchange the books among themselves. However, if there are no books, what can we do?

110 C: Without books it is difficult.

111 M: Yes, it is. I have never seen Ciutee student book for grade 7!

In extract 26, evidentiary paragraph 109, M compares availability of pedagogical materials between the monolingual and the bilingual programme and stresses the need to distinguish insufficiency of course books from not having course books at all. For M, the monolingual programme has course books for all grades (1 to 7) but they are not enough to cover all the students at school due to an inefficient replacement policy. The course book replacement policy predicts that, every year, 30% of books distributed to primary school children will be damaged and so; this number of books will be replaced every year. Nevertheless, this figure is not realistic because, in practice, around 75% of books get damaged every year (see extract 26, evidentiary paragraph 107). For the bilingual programme, according to M, the school does not have any books except for grades 1 and 2.

Lack of pedagogical materials is seriously impacting negatively on successful implementation of bilingual education in Mozambique, especially since this form of education is still at its initial stage and most of the teachers do not have adequate knowledge of the local language and have not been adequately trained to work with bilingual children. Dependency on such teachers for the design of their own pedagogical materials is a burden too heavy for them to bear and the results will be detrimental to quality of education.

The Ministry of Education has a relatively well-organised structure that controls the design and production of pedagogical materials for the monolingual programme. If the same treatment is not given for the design and production of pedagogical materials for the bilingual programme, bilingual education will be a source of inequalities instead of promoting equal opportunities of education for all children regardless of their first language.

8.2.1.7. Financial resources

Financial constraints constitute a challenge for the implementation of the bilingual education and these constraints are intertwined with all the other challenges already discussed. Professional development sessions have decreased or even disappeared because there is no money to run them. Course books for bilingual education have been designed but have not been printed because there is no money to meet printing expenses. It appears that all the course books for all bilingual classes (grades 1 to 7), including dictionaries, have been produced but what the schools have received, so far, are student's course books only for grades 1 and 2 (extract 27, evidentiary paragraph 117). In extract 27, VA, a bilingual teacher and bilingual material designer, comments:

> "We designed the materials and the materials were kept in drawers. The top is the problem! (Meaning the Ministry of Education is to blame) It is the head that is the problem! We don't believe it when they say that there is no money for education. Do they want to convince us that there is money to design materials only to be kept in drawers and no money to print the materials and send them to schools? Well, that might be the case but what about the materials that they bring for the monolingual programme? They are the same people! So they could well bring materials for bilingual education, too. What is their excuse?" (VA, extract 27, evidentiary paragraph 117).

Extract 27: interview with a teacher and course book designer for bilingual education

Entrevista 24 5/9/12 15:30-16:25	**Interview 24** 5/9/12 15:30-16:25
Idade: 47	Age: 47
Educação: 10a Classe	Level of education: grade 10
Experiência: 31 years	Experience: 31 years
Formação psicopedagógica: Nenhuma	Training: untrained
L1: Ciutee	L1: Ciutee
Experiência de bilingue: 11 anos, desde 2001	Experience in Bilingual: 11 years since 2001

C= Carlos (entrevistador)

VA= Professor (entrevistado)

112 C: Ok. Aqui são várias questões. Eu gostaria que me desse mais detalhes sobre o assunto dos materiais produzidos. Porquê é que estes materiais não estão a chegar na base?

113 VA: Ya. Este é um problema da cabeça. Quando falo da cabeça estou a falar do próprio Ministério. Porque nós somos a cauda, nós somos o rabo mas a cabeça é lá no Ministério. Porque para mim, não há razão mesmo de os materiais elaborados levarem mais tempo… eh… cinco seis anos. Nós começamos a produzir livros em 2001, 2002. Portanto, estes dois anos só conseguimos… hoje estamos em 2012 para dizer que, mais ou menos temos dez onze anos e só temos livros de 1ª e 2ª, só!

114 C: Quais são os livros que tem para 1ª e 2ª?

115 VA: Temos a própria L1 que é Ciutee para o nosso caso e a Matemática!

C= Carlos (Interviewer)

VA= Male teacher (Interviewee)

112 C; You mentioned a lot of aspects here. I would like you to give more details about materials. Why aren't the materials in schools?

113 VA: This is a problem of the head. When I say the head, I am talking about the Ministry of Education. We are like the tail but the Ministry is the head. For me, there is no reason why the materials already designed should take so much time… five, six years to get to the schools. We started designing materials in 2001, 2002. Today we are in 2012… almost ten, eleven years after; we only have books for grades 1 and 2 in schools.

114 C: What grade 1 and 2 books do schools have?

115 VA: Ciutee and mathematics in Ciutee.

116   C: Quando é que estes dois livros chegaram aqui?

117   VA: Estes dois livros levaram mais de quatro anos. Estes dois livros devia ser 2007, 2008 ou qualquer coisa. Foi em 2008 que apareceram; desde 2001! Todos estes anos! E agora fizemos os livros em 2003. Em 2003 fizemos da 3ª classe, 2004 fizemos da 4ª classe, 2005 da 5ª, 2006 da 6ª, 2007 fizemos da 7ª e 2008 fizemos o dicionário… entre 2008 e 2009 fizemos o dicionário da língua Ciutee, matemática e ciências naturais. Esses materiais até aqui não aparecem, não estão aqui no terreno. Já fizemos este trabalho. Nós próprios autores, quer dizer, aquele trabalho que nós fizemos, nós não temos pelo menos uma cópia, não temos nenhum material daquilo que nós fizemos. Elaboramos e ficou nas gavetas, então, qual é o problema? O problema são eles lá em cima! Na cabeça! Porque dizer que não existe dinheiro… para educação… porque isso é para educação! Dizer que não existe dinheiro mas existe dinheiro para elaborar materiais e guardar… para mim não há assim uma grande razão. Pode ser alguma razão mas aqueles que estão a dar materiais para o ensino monolingue… são os mesmos que também tem os materiais para o ensino bilingue! Agora dizer que há razão? Eu não sei se há ou não há razão mas os materiais, a gente espera do Ministério.

116   C: When did these books get to the schools?

117   VA: these books got to the schools in 2007 or 2008. It was in 2008 that they got to the school. After having been designed in 2001! All these years! In 2003 we designed books for grade 3; 2004 for grade 4; 2005 for grade 5; 2006 for grade 6; 2007 for grade 7 and 2008 we wrote a dictionary of Ciutee language, mathematics and natural science. These materials have not got here yet. We, the authors, do not have copies of the materials that we designed. We designed the materials and the materials were kept in drawers. The top is the problem! It is the head that is the problem! We don't believe it when they say that there is no money for education. Do they want to convince us that there is money to design materials to keep in drawers and no money to print the materials and send them to schools? Well, that might be the case but what about the materials they bring for the monolingual programme? They are the same people! So they could well bring materials for bilingual education, too. What is their excuse? I don't know. We only have to wait for the Ministry to bring bilingual materials to schools.

Financial constraints, as evidenced in extract 27 above, are evoked as the reason why most of the books and other materials that have been designed have not yet been printed and sent to the schools. This is worrying because the materials were designed many years ago, the schools still suffer from serious shortage of pedagogical materials and the teachers who designed the materials fear that the manuscripts may eventually get lost.

There is no special budget given by the Ministry of Education to run the bilingual programme in the province. Nevertheless, the province counts on two partners; GTZ-PEB and Save the Children (extract 28). GTZ-PEB helps primary schools in general, both bilingual and monolingual. Save the Children helps children in general. It spreads information about the rights of the child through the local language. The partners do not provide financial assistance as such but they help the Provincial Directorate of Education with the photocopying of materials to use in professional development sessions or to send to schools.

Extract 28: interview with a provincial supervisor for bilingual education

Entrevista 17 Supervisor 07/7/1114:30-15:25

C: Carlos (entrevistador)

SP: Supervisor provincial (entrevistado)

118   C: A província recebe algum financiamento de algum tipo de parceiros?

119   SP; Não temos parceiros que nos dão assistência financeira mas temos parceiros que nos ajudam com fotocópias de materiais, como disse anteriormente. Estes parceiros são GTZ-PEB (programa para educação básica) e SAVE THE CHILDREN. GTZ-PEB é uma instituição que ajuda escolas primárias em geral. Por isso, ajuda tano o programa bilingue como o monolingue. SAVE THE CHILDREN é uma instituição que ajuda crianças no geral. Ela divulga informação sobre os direitos da criança. As crianças aprendem sobre seus direitos através da sua língua local. É por isso que SAVE THE CHILDREN nos ajuda. A introdução da língua materna do aluno na escola é como um direito da criança.

120   C: Fala-me mais sobre assistência

Interview 17: Supervisor 07/7/11 14:30-15:25

C: Carlos (interviewer)

SP: provincial supervisor (interviewee)

118   C: Does the province get financial assistance from any sort of partners?

119   SP: We don't have partners that provide us with financial assistance but we have partners who help us with the photocopying of materials, as I mentioned previously. These partners are GTZ- PEB (programa para educação básica) and SAVE THE CHILDREN. GTZ-PEB is an institution that helps primary schools in general. So, it helps both bilingual and monolingual programme. SAVE THE CHILDREN is an institution that helps children in general. It spreads information about the rights of the child. The children learn about their rights through their home language. That is why SAVE THE CHILDREN helps us. The introduction of the child's home language at school is also a right

financeira.

121 SP: Não posso dizer precisamente mas posso-lhe dizer que todas atividades na educação básica, bilingue ou monolingue, são planificadas da mesma maneira. Então, não há orçamento enviado pelo Ministério da Educação especialmente para educação bilingue. O orçamento vem como um todo para o ensino básico e a província planifica o orçamento segundo as necessidades da província.

122 C: Acha que educação bilingue pode sobreviver sem fundos adicionais aos provenientes do orçamento do estado?

123 SP: Acredito que pode porque desde que começamos com o programa, nunca recebemos assistência financeira de fora. Sempre trabalhamos com os fundos disponibilizados anualmente pelo estado. Parceiros vem nos ajudar com outros assuntos. Acho que temos capacidade para fazer o programa sustentável dentro dos nossos recursos financeiros sem nenhum problema. No entanto, nós sabemos que o orçamento flutua anualmente mas nós articulamos isto a nível provincial. Também contamos com nossos parceiros que estão sempre prontos para nos apoiar mas a maior parte dos fundos vem do Ministério da Educação através da direção provincial.

of the child.

120 C: Tell me more about financial assistance.

121 SP: I cannot say precisely but I can tell you that all activities in basic education, monolingual or bilingual, are planned and implemented in the same way. So, there is no budget sent by the Ministry of Education specifically for bilingual education. The budget comes for the whole of basic education and the province plans the budget according to the needs of the province.

122 C: Do you think that bilingual education can survive without any additional funds other than the money from the state budget?

123 SP: I believe it can because ever since we started the programme, we never got any financial assistance from outside. We have always worked with the funds made available annually by the State. Partners come to help with other issues. I think we have capacity to make the programme sustainable within our own financial resources without many problems. However, we know that the budget fluctuates every year but we articulate this at provincial level. We also count on our partners who are always ready to help but most of the funds come from the Ministry through the provincial directorate.

The financial situation of the schools has been deteriorating. The schools do not have any financial partners and, in the last years, for example, the State has reduced dramatically the annual budget of Bindzi Primary School from around USD 5,000 to USD 500. This constitutes a major challenge for the management of the school (see extract 29, evidentiary paragraph 129).

Extract 29: Interview with head teacher at Bindzi Primary School.

Entrevista 15 Director de escolar 1/7/1114:30-15:10	**Interview 15: Head teacher** 01/7/1114:30-15:10
Idade: 48	Age: 48
Nível de educação: 9a Classe	Level of education: grade 9
Experiencia na educação: 23 anos	Experience of education: 23years
Formação psicopedagógica: 9+3	Training: 3 years (9+3)
L1: Cisena	L1: Cisena
Experiencia no ensino Bilingue: desde 2011	Experience in bilingual education: since 2011

C: Carlos (entrevistador)

M: Diretor de escola (entrevistado)

124   C: A escola tem parceiros para apoiar na implementação do programa bilingue?

125   M: Não, não temos. O único parceiro que temos é a comunidade local.

126   C: Qual é o papel da comunidade?

127   M: A comunidade dá-nos os seus filhos e ajuda-nos na construção de salas de aulas com material local e na proteção da escola.

128   C: A escola tem algum tipo de assistência financeira do distrito?

129   M: Não vou falar do distrito porque o distrito não é independente, financeiramente. O distrito é alocado fundos a partir do Orçamento do Estado. No passado tínhamos

C: Carlos (interviewer)

M: head teacher (interviewee)

124   C: Does the school have any sort of partners to help with the implementation of the bilingual programme?

125   M: No, we don't. The only partner we have is the local community.

126   C: What is the role of the community?

127   M: The community gives us their children and they help building classrooms with local materials and protection of the school.

128   C: Does the school have any sort of financial assistance from the district?

129   M: I am not going to talk about the district itself because the district is not independent, financially. The

escolas que estavam financeiramente bem, tais como escolas agrícolas. No início do ano, eles dizem que a sua escola pode gastar até X. mas agora, por causa da contenção de custos, o orçamento de muitas escolas foi drasticamente reduzido. Algumas escolas tiveram uma redução de 90% no seu orçamento. Escolas que tinham um orçamento de 150,000 MZM por ano, agora estão a receber 15,000 MZM. O distrito não pode fazer nada a não ser distribuir o que recebe do Estado. Às vezes a escola recebe o dinheiro ocasionalmente. No início do ano eles dizem-nos quanto podemos gastar e nós requisitamos o dinheiro e recebemos através do SISTAF. No entanto, este montante não satisfaz as necessidades da escola. Existe um novo fundo que foi criado recentemente que tem ajudado muito a escola. Chama-se apoio direto às escolas. Este fundo vem aqui duas vezes por ano. No início do ano e no fim do ano. Este fundo ajuda a satisfazer algumas necessidades da escola especialmente material. Nós recebemos o dinheiro e temos que usar e justificar num espaço de tempo muito curto. Temos quinze dias para usar e justificar onde os fundos foram usados. Quando recebemos o dinheiro, a escola reúne-se com a comunidade para discutir as necessidades da escola. Depois, usamos o dinheiro para comprar o que foi acordado na reunião. Mas este fundo não pode ser usado para pagar a conta de energia. Para uma escola como esta, é impossível trabalhar só com orçamento do estado. Temos 30 turmas, temos energia elétrica, mais de 30 professores, 15,000MZM não

district is allocated funds from the State Budget. In the past we had schools that were financially well off such as agricultural school. At the start of the year they would say your school can spend up to X amount. But now, because of contention of costs, most school budgets were drastically reduced. Some schools had a 90% reduction in their budget. Schools that had a budget of 150,000 MZM (around 5,000 USD) per year are now getting 15,000 MZM (around 500 USD). The district cannot do anything other than distribute what they get from the State. Sometimes the school gets the money occasionally. At the start of the year, they tell us how much we can spend. We request the money and get it through SISTAF (an electronic payment system). However, this amount does not satisfy the needs of the school. There is a new fund that was created recently which has been helping the school a lot. It is called direct assistance to schools. This fund comes here twice a year. At the start of the year and at the end of the year. This fund helps meeting some needs especially material needs. We get the money and we have to use it and justify in a very short period of time. We have fifteen days to use the funds and justify where the funds were used. When we get the money, the school meets with the community and discusses what is necessary for the school. Then, we use the money to get what was agreed at the meeting. But this fund cannot be used to pay the electricity bill. For a school like this one, it is impossible to work only with State Budget. We have over thirty classes,

| é nada. | we have electricity, over thirty teachers, and 15,000 MZM is nothing. |

Inadequacy of resources both in terms of availability of trained teachers and adequate teacher training facilities as well as pedagogical materials for use in classrooms may lead to total failure in implementing language planning programmes (Heugh 2006). According to Traoré (2001), teacher training programmes ought to be revised to integrate bilingual education and the specific needs of bilingual teachers. It is also crucial that all school supervisors and managers receive not only administrative training but also pedagogical training which helps them develop a knowledge base about bilingual education and how to help teachers in these programmes.

If bilingual education is the way forward in Mozambique, resources must be put in place to guarantee successful implementation of the programme. Professional development courses that INDE have been running to prepare teachers to teach in the bilingual programme are helpful at initial stages. However, there has to be a more solid structure within the Ministry of Education to adequately train teachers for this programme. This could be achieved by establishing teacher training institutes to recruit and train bilingual teachers taking into account the sociolinguistic profile of the candidates. Supervisors who visit schools need to be trained in bilingual education so that they can assist teachers in the schools and ZIPs. Teachers need to be provided with course books, teacher's guides, dictionaries and literature written in the local language for use in classrooms. Financial resources need to be channeled to the things that really matter and considering that education is the key for the development of a country proper resources need to be channeled to this vital area.

8.2.2. Pedagogical challenges

Pedagogy is one of the most outstanding challenges identified in the lessons observed. As it turned out to be a recurring issue, we thought it was worthwhile giving it deserved consideration. We can have the best teaching and learning resources such as infrastructures, textbooks, curriculum, and school equipment but if the pedagogy is not up to the desired standards, we can hardly attain the much needed quality education in Mozambique.

Pedagogy can be seen as a general designation for the art of teaching (Hall 1905). Drawing on concepts from the work of the Bakhtin Circle (Bakhtin 1981), a distinction needs to be made between 'pedagogical dialogue', in which someone who knows and possesses the truth instructs someone who is ignorant of it and in error and "dialogical pedagogy" or 'internally persuasive discourse', in which students are encouraged to their own experiences to the classroom and share their understandings with the other students in a collaborative knowledge creation environment.
All the lessons observed can be seen as instances of 'pedagogical dialogue', in which the teacher (someone who knows the truth) instructs the students (someone who is in error), and which are characterised by a tendency towards the use of authoritative discourse on the part of the teacher. This phenomenon was outstanding and, to some extent, disquieting due to our belief that a

dialogical pedagogy would be better suited to enhancing students' independent powers of comprehension than are approaches which emphasise repetition.

This section provides the description of two of the five lessons observed for the present study. We chose to describe grade one and grade five classes in order to get pedagogical challenges at the beginning and end of junior primary school.

8.2.2.1. Description of grade one lesson

Grade one lesson took place on 30th June. The lesson lasted for 45 minutes as it is the practice in primary schools in Mozambique. The children were sitting on benches and each bench can accommodate three children. The lesson was about the letter "R" in Ciutee language alphabet and the material used by the teacher was page 46 from grade one student's course book for Ciutee language by Almeida, V; Wassiquete, I.& Manejo, I. (2007), edited in Kuala Lumpur by BHS Book Printing Sdn. Bhd, see Figure 6. All the children had copies of the course book.

Figure 6: A copy of page 46 of Ciutee student's course book used for the lesson observed
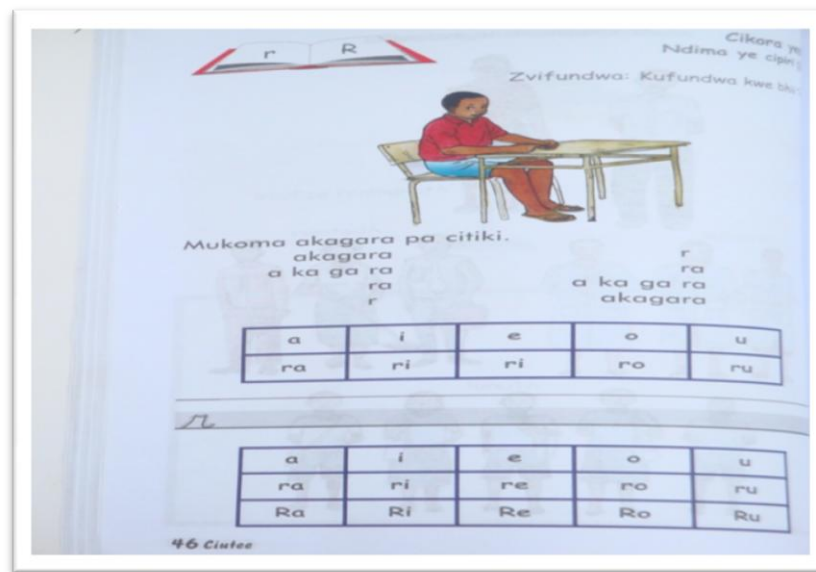
The lesson began with the teacher greeting the children. The kind of greetings was not a common one because, instead of the common "Good morning class; how are you?" the teacher asked "Are you here?" (Example 1, Line 1) and the children answered "Yes" (Example 1, line 2). This might have been because it was 10 o'clock in the morning and the same teacher had been with the class since 7 o'clock. So we could assume that the common greeting had happened in the first lesson of the day and at 10, he simply wanted to check that everyone had come back from break time.

Example 1

1   T; Tire tese ne? <Are you here?>

2   SS: Sim <Yes>

Next, the teacher asked the children to sing a song and picked a child to start singing (Example 2, lines 3 to 30).

Example 2

3   T: Ndiani arikudha kuemba? <Who wants to sing?>

4   S1: Ndini <Me>

5   T: Ceura tizwe <Start>

6   S1: (silence)

7   T: Ceuraizve... <Start…>

8   SS: Zuwa rabuda < the sun has risen >

9   Tiyende kucikora < for us to go to school>

10   Koofunda kuyerenga < to learn how to read>

11   Kuucikora < at school >

12   Kune shamuari inondibetsa< There is a friend who can help me >

13   Kune shamuari inondibetsa< There is a friend who can help me >

14   Kune shamuari inondibetsa< There is a friend who can help me >

15   Kuyerenga< with my Reading >

16   Zuwa rabuda< the sun has risen >

17   Tiyende kucikora< for us to go to school >

18   Koofunda kutara < to learn how to write >

19   Kuucikora < at school >

20   Kune shamuari inondibetsa< There is a friend who can help me >

21   Kune shamuari inondibetsa < There is a friend who can help me >

22   Kune shamuari inondibetsa< There is a friend who can help me >

23   Kutara< with my writing >

24   A B C

25   D E F

26   G H I

27   J K M

28   N O P

29   R S T

30   U V W

The song is about alphabet. It was an excellent starting point as motivation before introducing the subject of the lesson. The song stresses the need to learn the literacy skills of reading and writing at school with the help of a friendly teacher. It constituted a moment of relaxation for the children and also a revision of the alphabet. The song was in Ciutee language but the children said the alphabet in Portuguese language. It would have been interesting to hear the children singing a Ciutee song saying the alphabet in Ciutee language. An interesting issue noticed in the song is the absence of the letter "L". When asked, the teacher explained that Ciutee language does not use the letter "L".

Not really satisfied with the tone of children's singing, the teacher joked with them asking whether they had had breakfast before coming to school and talked about the importance of breakfast (Example 3, lines 32 to 43).

Example 3

32   T: Makaremba ne? Amuzii kurha? < Are you tired? Didn't you have breakfast?>

33   S2: Tarha< We had>

34   T: Haaan < What?>

35   SS: Tarha < We had>

36   T: Haaa, amuzi kurha. Haaan, kutama kuemba kwenyuko, kutama kuembeseko, zviri kubuya kuti imwimwi amuzi kurha macibhese andizvopii. Munodhikana kuti murhe macibhesemuia mese, kufumira kamare kacimutaa dii, morha, mopera kurha, mouuya kuskola andizvopi? < No, you didn't have breakfast. The way you sing shows that you did not have breakfast. You must eat every morning and after eating, you come to school, isn't it?>

37   SS: Ndizo < Yes, it is.>

38   T: Ndizvo andizvopi? < Isn't it?>

39   SS: Ndizvoo< Yes, it is.>

40   T: Mobvundza anamama kudharo kuti hai todha kwenda kuskolazvia, amufundisi ati hai, akatsa kuti munodhikana kubhikirwa cimutaa mumacibhesemuia, morha. Zvimadioka, zvimadumbe...< You must tell your mums at home that the teacher said you must eat before coming to school. Tell them to prepare something for you to eat in the morning.>

41   S3: Mama inini ndasiya eitereka < When I left home mum was still cooking.>

42   T: Haaaa, agora anonoka mama. Atswari enyuwo, atswari enyuwo anonoka kubhikeko. Anodhikana kufumirisa mani... kufumiri....kufumirisa meju< That is a good mother. Your parents must cook something very early for you to eat.>

43   S4: Ndasiya eidha kubhika < When I left home, my mother was getting ready to cook.>

When jokes are selected and used constructively, they can serve to break the routine and link classroom to life outside the classroom. This joke was particularly constructive because the teacher noticed that the children were tired and tiredness, in the local culture, is viewed as strictly linked to being hungry. The teacher was sharing strategies for the children not to feel tired at 10 O'clock in the morning. He wanted them to have breakfast every morning before coming to school.

Next, the teacher started stage 1 of the lesson of the day (Example 4, Lines 44 to 105).

Example 4

44   T: ngatifungure bhukhu redhu... Mas, nada, amboimirai munozofungura nguwa imweni. Ndatimunozofungura nguwa imweni. < Let us open our books… but no, we will open them later on>

45   T; Ngatierengue, tererai ininii, mazwa? < I want you to read this sentence after me.>

46   SS: Hoooo < Yes>

47   T: Mukoma< Elder brother>

48   SS: Mukoma< Elder brother>

49   T: Akaghara < is sitting>

50   SS: Akaghara < is sitting>

51   T: Pa< on>

52   SS: Pa < on>

53   T: Citiki< the chair>

54   SS: Citiki < the chair>

55   T: Mukoma< Elder brother>

56   SS: Mukoma< Elder brother>

57   T: Akaghara < is sitting>

58   SS: Akaghara < is sitting>

59   T: Pa< on>

60   SS: Pa < on>

61   T: Citiki< the chair>

62   SS: Citiki < the chair>

63   T: Mukoma< Elder brother>

64   SS: Mukoma< Elder brother>

65   T: Akaghara < is sitting>

66   SS: Akaghara < is sitting>

67   T: Pa< on>

68   SS: Pa < on>

69   T: Citiki< the chair>

70   SS: Citiki < the chair>

71   T: Pa< on>

72   SS: Pa < on>

73   T: Citiki< the chair>

74   SS: Citiki < the chair>

75   T: Mukoma< Elder brother>

76   SS: Mukoma< Elder brother>

77   T: Akaghara < is sitting>

78   SS: Akaghara < is sitting>

79   T: Pa< on>

80   SS: Pa < on>

81   T: Citiki< the chair>

82   SS: Citiki < the chair>

83   T: Nanguisai kuno < Look here(pointing to the board)>

84   T: Mukoma< Elder brother>

85   SS: Mukoma< Elder brother>

86   T: Akaghara < is sitting>

87   SS: Akaghara < is sitting>

88   T: Pa< on>

89   SS: Pa < on>

90   T: Citiki< the chair>

91   SS: Citiki < the chair>

92   T: Kubvira apa. Akaghara. < From here. Is sitting>

93   SS: Akaghara < is sitting>

94   T: Haaan < What?>

95   SS: Akaghara < is sitting>

96   T: Akaghara < Is sitting>

97   SS: Akaghara < is sitting>

98   T: Mukoma< Elder brother>

99   SS: Mukoma< Elder brother>

100   T: Akaghara < is sitting>

101   SS: Akaghara < is sitting>

102   T: Pa< on>

103   SS: Pa < on>

104   T: Citiki< the chair>

105   SS: Citiki < the chair>

First, the teacher wrote the sentence "Mukoma akaghara pa citiki" < Elder brother is sitting on the chair>. The teacher read individual words of the sentence (one at a time) and asked the children to repeat after him (chorus repetition, Example 4, lines 47 to 82). Next, the teacher

pointed at words on the board (one by one), read the word and asked children to repeat after him (Example 4, lines 83 to 105).

Looking at the topic of the lesson (letter R), it was difficult to locate the contribution of the above part of the lesson. It was full of chorus repetition and consequently really noisy. The children can speak the local language perfectly well and they obviously had no pronunciation problems. If they were learning a new language, appropriate repetition practice exercises could have been useful to check pronunciation. The children were repeating the things they already knew, again and again because they were being told to do so by the teacher, the authority in the classroom.

The next stage of the lesson started with the teacher showing the picture of a boy sitting on a chair (Figure 6) to check if the children understood the meaning of the sentence "Mukoma akaghara pa citiki" < Elder brother is sitting on the chair> (Example 5, lines 106 to 113).

Example 5

106   T: Mukoma akaghara pacitiki. Ndizvo nee? < Elder brother is sitting on the chair, isn't it?>

107   SS: Ndizvo < Yes, it is.>

109   SS: Hoooo< Yes>

110   T: Munokuzia? < You know?>

111   SS: Hooo< Yes>

112   T: Munokuzia? <You know? >

113   SS: Hooo< Yes>

The children told the teacher that they understood the meaning of the sentence. The teacher asked whether the children understood the meaning of the sentence three times and the children insisted they understood the meaning of the sentence. It should have been obvious to the teacher that the children would know the terms "elder brother", "sit" and "chair" because they are native speaker of the language of instruction, Ciutee. However, the teacher kept on checking understanding of the same vocabulary and pronunciation (Example 6, lines 114 to 156).

Example 6

114   T: Imwimwi makaghara... makaima? < Are you sitting or standing?>

115   SS: Takaghara... < We are sitting>

116   T: Makaghara papi? < What are you sitting on?>

117 SS: Pacitiki < on the chair>

118 T: Haaann< What?>

119 SS: Pacitiki < on the chair>

120 T: Hino pano, Mukoma akaghara pacitiki. < Now, elder brother is sitting on the chair>

121 SS: Mukoma akaghara pacitiki < Elder brother is sitting on the chair>

122 T: Mukoma akaghara pacitiki, amboimirai ndimupanguidzei mukoma anewo atirikutsewo kuti mukoma akaghara pacitiki. Ndimbomupanguidzei mukoma akaghara pacitiki. < Let me show you the picture of elder brother sitting on the chair>

123 T: Haha, andizikubuya mumalivro enyuwo, amuna umo. Hna, mukoma akaghara akhona ndi aya. Nanguisai kuno hna, iwe Albino ndati fungurai? Nanguisai kuno. < You see, here in your book. Elder brother sitting on the chair is this one, You, Albino, I didn't ask you to open the book, look here.>

124 T: Murikuwaona mukoma akadhini? < What is elder brother doing?>

125 SS: Akaghara pacitiki < He is sitting on the chair>

126 T: Mukoma akadhini? < What is elder brother doing?>

127 SS: Akaghara pacitiki < He is sitting on the chair>

128 T: haaann < What?>

129 SS: Akaghara pacitiki < He is sitting on the chair>

130 T: Akaghara pacitiki? < Is he sitting on the chair?>

131 SS: Hoooo < Yes>

132 T: Ndizvo nee? < Is it?>

133 SS: Ndizvo < Yes>

134 T: Mukoma akaghara pacitiki < Elder brother is sitting on the chair>

135 T: Haaann, akaghara < What? He is sitting…>

136 SS: Pacitiki < on the chair>

137 T: Ndizvo nee? < Isn't it?>

138 SS: Ndizvo < Yes, it is.>

139 T: Mukoma akaghara **pacitiki**< Elder brother is sitting **on the chair**.>

140 SS: Pacitiki < on the chair>

141 T: Ngatite akaghara < repeat after me "is sitting">

142 SS: Akaghaara< is sitting>

143 T: Akaghara < is sitting>

144 SS: Akaghara < is sitting>

145 T: Huumm, ngatinyase kuita. Akaghara < What? Say it louder "is sitting">

146 SS: Akaghara < is sitting>

147 T: Mukoma Akadhini? < What is elder brother doing?>

148 SS: Akaghara< He is sitting>

149 T: Akadhini? < What?>

150 SS: Akaghara < He is sitting>

151 T: Mukoma akaghara < Elder brother is sitting>

152 SS: Mukoma akaghara < Elder brother is sitting>

153 T: Pacitiki < on the chair>

154 SS: Pacitiki < on the chair>

155 T: Akaghara < is sitting>

156 SS: Akaghara < is sitting>

Example 6 shows the teacher checking understanding of vocabulary by asking questions such as "where are you sitting?" (Example 6, Line 114); "what are you sitting on?" (Example 6, Line 116). Although the children had answered correctly all the vocabulary questions, the teacher still continued to show them the picture of elder brother sitting on the chair and asked further questions about the very same vocabulary items (chair and sit). Moreover, the children had made no pronunciation mistakes but the teacher insisted on unnecessary chorus repetition, just like in the previous stages of the lesson.

Next, the teacher started saying individual sounds (Aaaa; Kaaa; Ghaaa and Raaa) and asking the children to repeat them after him (Example 7, lines 157 to 237).

Example 7

157 T: Aaaa < Aaaa>

158 SS: Aaaa< Aaaa>

159 T: Kaaa< Kaaa>

160 SS: Kaaa < Kaaa>

161 T: Ghaaa< Ghaaa>

162 SS: Ghaaa

163 T: Raaa< Raaa>

164 SS: Raaa< Raaa>

165 T: Raaa< Raaa>

166 SS: Raaa<Raaa >

167 T: Ngatierengue < Let us say it again>

168 T: Aaaa < Aaaa>

169 SS: Aaaa< Aaaa>

170 T: Kaaa< Kaaa>

171 SS: Kaaa < Kaaa>

172 T: Ghaaa< Ghaaa>

173 SS: Ghaaa

174 T: Raaa< Raaa>

175 SS: Raaa< Raaa>

176 T: Raaa< Raaa>

177 SS: Raaa<Raaa >

178 T: Pakagumisira kudhini? < What is the last sound?>

179 SS: Raaa< Raaa>

180 T: Haann< What?>

181 SS: Raaa<Raaa >

182 T: Raaa< Raaa>

183 SS: Raaa< Raaa>

184 T: Aaaa < Aaaa>

185 SS: Aaaa< Aaaa>

186 T: Kaaa< Kaaa>

187   SS: Kaaa < Kaaa>

188   T: Ghaaa< Ghaaa>

189   SS: Ghaaa

190   T: Raaa< Raaa>

191   SS: Raaa< Raaa>

192   T: Raaa< Raaa>

193   SS: Raaa<Raaa >

194   T: Aaaa < Aaaa>

195   SS: Aaaa< Aaaa>

196   T: Kaaa< Kaaa>

197   SS: Kaaa < Kaaa>

198   T: Ghaaa< Ghaaa>

199   SS: Ghaaa

200   T: Raaa< Raaa>

201   SS: Raaa< Raaa>

202   T: Raaa< Raaa>

203   SS: Raaa<Raaa >

204   T: Apana... akaghara < Here…. Is sitting>

205   SS: Akaghara < Is sitting>

206   T: Nanguisai kuno, A-ka-gha-ra < Look here, is-sit-ting>

207   SS: A-ka-gha-ra < is-sit-ting>

208   T: Aaaa < Aaaa>

209   SS: Aaaa< Aaaa>

210   T: Kaaa< Kaaa>

211   SS: Kaaa < Kaaa>

212   T: Ghaaa< Ghaaa>

213   SS: Ghaaa

214   T: Raaa< Raaa>

215   SS: Raaa< Raaa>

216   T: Raaa< Raaa>

217   SS: Raaa<Raaa >

218   T: Raaa< Raaa>

219   SS: Raaa<Raaa >

220   T: Phindaizve tizwe. Raa < Again! "Raaa">

221   SS: Raaa< Raaa>

222   T: Raaa< Raaa>

223   SS: Raaa<Raaa >

224   T: Waegha u. Ra <Now this letter alone "Raaa" >

225   SS: Raaa< Raaa>

226   T: Raaa< Raaa>

227   SS: Raaa<Raaa >

228   T: Haann < What?>

229   SS: Raaa< Raaa>

230   T: Raaa< Raaa>

231   SS: Raaa<Raaa >

232   T: Haann < What?>

233   SS: Raaa< Raaa>

234   T: Haann < What?>

235   SS: Raaa< Raaa>

236   T: Raaa< Raaa>

237   SS: Raaa<Raaa >

This stage of the lesson was really tiring and boring for the children. The sounds being drilled were not particularly difficult that one could believe the children would have problems saying them. They are native speakers of the language and were in fact saying the sounds without any

correction from the teacher. They said the sounds again and again, not because there were pronunciation problems that needed mending, but because their teacher was telling them to do so. This stage was particularly tiring and noisy because it was all just about chorus repletion. In the next stage of the lesson, the teacher alternates chorus repletion with individual repetition (Example 8, Lines 238 to 29).

Example 8

238   T: U ndiani u egueu u? < What letter is this?>

239   S3: Raaa< Raaa>

240   T: U ndiani? < What?>

241   SS: Raaa< Raaa>

242   T: Kuti u ndiani, todhai? < What letter is this?>

243   S4: Riii < Riii>

244   T: Ndiani? < What?>

245   SS: Riii < Riii>

246   T: Ndiani? < What?>

247   SS: Riii< Riii>

248   T: Ndiani? < What?>

249   SS: Riii< Riii>

250   T: Riii na A < Riii and A equals…?>

251   SS: Riii na A < Riii and A>

252   T: Haan< What?>

253   SS: Riii na A <Riii and A>

254   T: Uno erenga kutii? < How do you say them together?>

255   T: Unoerenga Kudhini? < How do you say them together?>

256   S5: Raaa< Raaa>

257   T: Unoerenga Kudhini? < What?>

258   SS: Raaa< Raaa>

259   T: Unoerenga Kutii? < What?>

260   SS: Raa< Raaa>

261   T: Riii na A, unoerenga Kutii? < How do you say Rii and A together?>

262   SS: Raaa< Raaa>

263   T: Mukoma< Elder brother>

264   SS: Mukoma< Elder brother>

265   T: Akaghara < is sitting>

266   SS: Akaghara < is sitting>

267   T: Pa< on>

268   SS: Pa < on>

269   T: Citiki< the chair>

270   SS: Citiki < the chair>

271   T: Apa munopedzesera pese apa moti, Mukoma Akaghara Pacitiki < You say it all
        together, elder brother is sitting on the chair>

272   SS: Tikii< the chair>

273   T: Ngatierengue < Let us read>

274   SS: Mukoma akaghara pacitiki < Elder brother is sitting on the chair>

275   T: Huumm, ngatierenguezve tizwe... < Again?>

276   SS: Mukoma akaghara pacitiki < Elder brother is sitting on the chair>

277   T: Mukoma akaghara pacitiki < Elder brother is sitting on the chair>

278   T: Maona? < You see?>

279   SS: Hooo< Yes>

280   T: Ndaisa muezaniso, wei, we bii raurikunderi rinozwi ri, haaan, re. Rinozwi ciny? < I
        have given another example where the letter Riii is used. How do you say it?>

281   SS: Reee < Reee>

282   T: Rinozwi ciny? < What?>

283   SS: Reee < Reee>

284   T: Rinozwi ciny? < What?>

285   SS: Reee < Reee>

286   T: Haaan < What?>

287   SS: Reee <Reee >

288   T: Reee< Reee>

289   SS: Reee< Reee>

290   T: Mazwa nee? < Do you understand?>

291   SS: Hooo < Yes>

Example 8 shows the teacher pointing to the letter "R" on the board and picking individual students to read it and then asking the whole class to repeat the letter. S4 (Example 8, line 243) pronounced the letter wrongly. The teacher asked the class to say the letter but the class repeated the wrong answer as given by S4. Believing that the students would self-correct the error, the teacher asked them to read the letter again but they still repeated the wrong answer twice, in chorus (Example 8, Lines 247 and 249). Then, the teacher decided to give the children some help "Riii and A equals…?" (Example 8, Line 250) but the class, in chorus, said "Riii and A equals Riii and A" (Example 8, Lines 251 and 253). Eventually, S5 got the right answer and the teacher asked the whole class to repeat the correct answer. The teacher gave another combination "Riii and E equals...?" and the students, in chorus, got it right (Example 8, Lines 280 to 289). Then, the teacher asked if the students had understood and they answered "Yes", in chorus. Next, the teacher read a word that was on the board and circled the letter "R". He then asked individual students to go to the board, read one of the words on the board and circle the letter "R" as the teacher had done. There were words on the board all of which contained the letter "R" (Example 9).

Example 9

292   T: Ndaita muezaniso, imwimwi modhini, munodhini...? < I gave you an example. What are you going to do now?>

293   S6: Khopera < We are going to copy the example>

294   T: Munokhopera zvandaerenguezvo. Udha kuya kuno uya, ouya kuzokanda cinhi, zanda, kutara zanda mumuceto mo ree uya, urikuona, iri ndi bii rinozwi ree nee... unozokandawo apa, haaann, kandawo apa, kandawo apa pakatarwa, pano bii riya zanda muceto maromo, andizopi? So rakanyorwe kuti bhasi ree. < You copy what we you have read. Then you come to the board and draw a circle round the letter "r". You see the letter and you draw a circle round it. Do you understand?>

295   T: Iwe urikutunhudzira ani? Ngaghare mukati muzaanda andizvopi? Ndati ree ngaghare mukati mo zanda. Zanda ndiro rinoitira nyumba yaro ree wo, ndizvona kamare, iwe shamwari kasika... iwe Paulo urikuitei? Haaann, unoti wakawata kani? < You! Don't put anything else in the circle, just the letter "r". My friend Paulo, what are you doing? Are you sleeping?>

296   T: Wakona azii? < Did he get it right?>

297   SS: Wakooona < Yes>

298   T: Wakona aziii< Did he get it right?>

299   SS: Wakoona < Yes>

300   T: Yerenghazve, tirikudha kuzwa kuti ndiani, herengha tizwe, ndiani u? Ndiani zina rake? Anozwi cii? < Now, read the letter you have circled. We want to know if you can read it. What is the letter?>

301   S7: Reee< Reee>

302   T: Hunhuunn, musiei aerengue egha. Unoziya maingui u. Unozwi ani? Unozwi ani? Erengazve, tirikudha kuzwa < Mmm, let her alone. She is very intelligent. What is the letter? Read it! We want to hear you read it.>

303   S8: Riii < Riii>

304   T: Anozwi ani? < What?>

305   SS: Riii < Riii>

306   T: Reee, anozwi ani? < Reee, what is it?>

307   SS: Reee< Reee>

308   T: Anozwi ani? < What?>

309   SS: Reee<Reee >

310   T; Anozwi ani? < What?>

311   SS: Reee<Reee >

312   T: Ngatimuemberere mawoko, amukoni kupururidza kani? ..... Huunnhunn, muna anarume arikutedzera. Umweni ucaendawo, Adelina, cimboendai koghara pasi. Apa pakatarwa apa, apa apacina umweni. Apawo? Mwese mucaenda, dhakutora akawanda maningui apa, dhakuona ndiani asikakoniwo. < He got it right! Let us clap hands and ululate. Don't you know how to ululate? Some people are imitating… let us send someone else to the board. Adelina, you can go and sit down. In this word here, isn't there another letter "r" here? Everyone will go to the board. Is there anyone who doesn't know the letter?>

313   S9: Haaaa, Aziiibha u< That one doesn't know.>

314   T: Haaann. Ndizvo andizvopi? < Is this right?>

315   SS: Ndizvoo< Yes>

316 T: Ndizvo, andizvopi < Is it right or not?>

317 SS: Ndizvo < It is.>

318 T: Erenga tizwe, unozwiii? < Read. What is this letter?>

319 S10: Riii < Riii>

320 T: Unozwii< What?>

321 S10: Riii <Riii>

322 T: Hai, unozwii u? < Sure? What is this letter?>

323 SS: Riii <Riii>

324 S11: Raaa < Raaa>

325 T: Unozwi < What?>

326 SS: Raaa< Raaa>

327 T: Unozwii < What?>

328 SS: Raaa < Raaa>

329 T: Reee. Unozwii? < Reee. What is it called?>

330 SS: Reee < Reee>

331 T: Unozwii < What?>

332 SS: Reee < Reee>

333 T: Ngatimuemberere nyara. Pururidzai. Ya imirai nditare umweni <He got it right. Let us clap our hands and ululate. Now, I am going to write another word >

334 T: Huunnn, pana ani? Ungaende, enda kokanda zanda kuna bii rinozwi roo< Who can go to the board and circle the letter "roo"? You go.>

335 S12: Wakanyanya kurebha< He is too tall! (to a short student)>

336 T: Haaann, wakanyanya kurebha... apa na apa, tswanga pano bii rinozwi reee, okanda zanda, otenderedza, haaann, kutenderedza no zanda haaann. Amweni anokanda zanda kundza. Erenga tizwe... purtanai tizwe, haaannn. Resa tizwe, erenga tizwe, ya... erenga tizwe... < Is he too tall?... here look for letter "ree" and circle it… read it… everyone listen… yes, read it…>

337 S13: Reee< Reee>

338 T: haaann, erenga tizwe< Can you read it again?>

339   S13: Reee< Reee>

340   T: Itaiwo imwimwi, itai < Everyone repeat!>

341   SS: Reee< Reee>

342   T: Mueembererei Nyara... < Clap your hands and ululate for him>

343   SS: Reee< Reee>

344   T: Mueembererei nyara. Pururidzai..., umweni ngaendewo < Clap your hands and ululate. Another student to the board!>

345   T: Iwewe ndiwe urikundza kamare. Wakona azii? < You really don't understand. Is this right?>

346   SS: Azii <No>

347   T: Iwewe auzii nguei Joao, imira uone... Joao ghara pasi bhasi uone umweni wako, atenderedze bii rinozwi ree. < João, why don't you know? Wait… João, sit down see someone else identifying and circling the letter "reee>

348   T: Waona... akona azii, < "You see… this is right, isn't it?>

349   SS: Wakoona. < Yes, it is.>

350   T: Erenga tizwe Paulo, erenga tizwe bii rawa rawa cekero. < Now, Paulo, read the letter you have circled>

351   S14: (silence)

352   T: I Erengesa kani, amweni anga asika erenguesi? < Read. Didn't you hear others reading?>

353   S14: Riii< Riii>

354   T: Reee< Reee>

355   SS: Reee< Reee>

356   T: Haann< What?>

357   SS: Reee< Reee>

358   T: Haann< What?>

359   SS: Reee< Reee>

360   T: Ngatimuemberere < Let us clap our hands and ululate for him>

361   T: Joao wakuona, haaann, bii ratirikufunda ndi iri. Haann, bii ratirikunfunda ndi iri, haann, bii, ratirikufunda ndi iri. Rinozwi reee, buya tizwe... < João, you see? The letter we are

studying is this one. It is called Reee. Find it here and circle it….>

362   S13: (João goes back to the board)

363   T: Mukazwe Joao. Rinozwi ciny< Did João get it right? What is the letter? >

364   SS: Reee< Reee>

365   T: Haaann< What?>

366   SS: Reee < Reee>

367   T: Reee, watenderedza apa.Gharai pasi ee... Izaura ghara pasi, waona apa watenderedza, watenderedza apa bii rinozwi ree, hingana iri. Hino kutanguisazve apa, riripo rimweni? Riripo, riripo zvia otenderedzawo, haaann, riripo, wariona. Iri rakaita hingana iri? Wariona, tenderedza tione. < Reee. You have circled it. You can sit down… Izaura, you can sit down. You have circled the letter Reee. From here, is there any other Reee? Have you seen it? Circle it for us to see it.>

368   T: Wakona, azii< She got it right, didn't she?>

369   SS: Wakooona< She did>

370   T: Wakona, azii< Didn't she?>

371   SS: Wakooona< Yes, she did>

372   T: Hino, casara cimwe bhasi, enda koerenga kuti bii iri rinozwiii, rinozwiii bii irona iro < there is only one thing missing. Read the letter you have circled>

373   S14: Reee < Reee>

374   T: Herenguesa, anhu arikudha kuzwizwa < Say it louder>

375   SS: Reee < Reee>

376   T: Watiii <Again? >

377   SS: Reee < Reee>

378   T: Watii < Again?>

379   SS: Reee < Reee>

380   T: Mueembererei nhyara, ngatimuemberere <Clap your hands for her >

Example 9 shows individual students going to the board to circle the letter "R" in a word and reading the word aloud. When the student had circled the letter "R", the teacher asked the class if the student was right or not. When the student was right, the teacher often praised the student by asking the class to either clap hands (Example 9, Line 380) or clap hands and ululate (Example

9, Lines 312, 333, 342 and 344). Giving positive feedback to the students who had got the right answers was quite stimulating and made students feel positive about their performance. However, having the whole class clapping hands and ululating made the class really noisy, especially when most of the students got the answers correct.

In the final stage of the lesson, the teacher was eliciting what the children had learnt in the lesson (Example 10, lines 381 to 404).

Example 10

381   T: Ya, tafunda ciny? < What did we learn today?>

382   S15: Reee < Reee>

383   T: Tafunda ciny? < What?>

384   SS: Reee < Reee>

385   T: Tirikufunda bii rinozwi Reee. Tirikufunda bii rinozwi ciny? < What letter are we studying? >

386   SS: Reee   < Reee>

387   T: Rinozwi ciny? < What?>

388   SS: Reee < Reee>

389   T: Tirikunda bii rinozwi reee. Mwese mapera kunyora bii, rinozwi ree, andizvopi? < We are studying the letter Reee. Now, I want everyone to come and write the letter on the blackboard. Do you understand?>

390   SS: hoooo < Yes>

391   T: Haaann < What?>

392   SS: Hoooo < Yes>

393   T: Tikasama kuri dhini? < What should you do?>

394   S16: Kuritara < Write the letter>

395   T: Kuritara bii irona iro. Kuritara, totanga kuri tara, anoresa ndiwo andingo... Andisoadhi inini, anoresa kamare unorebha muromo nee? Ndakabuya kare dia ia. Andizii kubuya? < You have to write the letter. You write the letter… the children who make noise will grow a big mouth, didn't I tell you about it?>

396   S17: Makabuya < You did>

397   T: Haaann< What?>

398   SS: Makabuya < You did>

180

399   T: Ndakabuya kuti munhu unoresa, mwana mudhoko akaresa manigui unorebha muromo. Tazwana... < I have told you that when someone makes noise, when a child makes a lot of noise, he will grow a big mouth. Do you understand?>

400   T: Ya, ngatitare bii rinozwi ciny? < Ok, what letter should you write on the blackboard? >

401   SS: Reee < Reee>

402   T: Iri, ku quadro kuno. Umwe na umwe euya ecitara kuri kuhwirira, towo.towona kuti hai, wakona here kana kuti azii kukona. Tara bii rakaita hingana iri, ree, tara. Akapedza ndi Izaura, musirewo kani Izaura, cipo yabvira kare-kare, haaann... Mo, muisi... Musireiwo oni mukana, oni Izaurewo. < This letter, on the blackboard. One by one, come and write it so that I can see if you are able to write the letter or not. Write the letter Reee. When you finish, give Izaura the change to write also.>

403   S18: Tara wako < Here, write>

404   T: Tara Wako, usatare wo amweni. < Don't write where someone else has written.>

First, the teacher elicited, from the children, what they had learnt "What did we learn today" (Example 10, Line 381). The students said they had learnt the letter "R" (Example 10, Line 382). Then, the teacher asked the students to go to the board, one by one, and write the letter "R" on the board (Example 10, Lines 400 and 402). A lot of children were making noise and the teacher made a joke about children who make noise "I have told you that when someone makes noise, when a child makes a lot of noise, he will grow a big mouth. Do you understand?" The joke helped the teacher managing the problem of noise caused by children going to the board, in a less organised way, to write the letter "R". The bell rang while some children were still writing the letter "R" on the board. The teacher gave permission for the children to go for break.

8.2.2.2. Description of grade five lesson.

Grade one lesson took place on 29th June. The lesson lasted for 45 minutes. The children were sitting on benches and each bench accommodated three children. The lesson was about verb forms (present continuous, present perfect simple, past simple and future). There was no course book for Ciutee language for grade five. So, the lesson was based on the teacher's notes. When the bell rang for the start of the lesson, the teacher and the students got into the classroom and the teacher started writing notes on the board while the students watched him. The teacher did not start with any form of motivation to arouse the students' interest in the lesson. He got in and started writing on the board. He did not allow the students to copy what he was writing on the board and there was no specific activity for the students at this stage and the students became quite noisy as the teacher had his back turned to the students for some minutes, see Figure 7.

Figure 7: A teacher writing notes for the lesson on the board
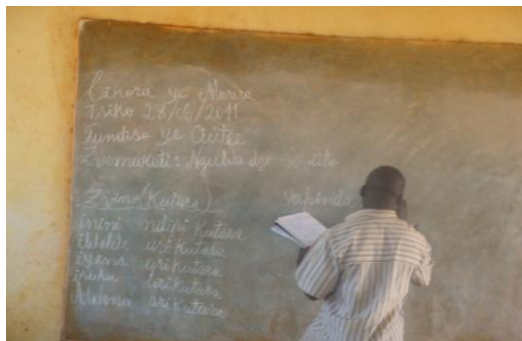
The teacher divided the blackboard into four parts (present continuous, present perfect simple, past simple and future) and in each part, he wrote the parts of the verb "writes" for the five grammatical persons in Ciutee language grammar, as Figure 8 shows:

Figure 8: Organization of teacher's notes on the blackboard

Swino *(present continuous)*

1.   Inini ndirikutara *(I am writing)*
2.   Iwewe urikutara *(you are writing)*
3.   Iyena urikutara *(he/she is writing)*
4.   Isusu tirikutara *(we are writing)*
5.   Awona arikutara *(they are writing)*

Nguwa yapinda swino *(present perfect simple)*

1.   Inini ndatara *(I have written)*
2.   Iwewe watara *(you have written)*
3.   Iyena watara *(he/she has written)*
4.   Isusu tatara *(we have written)*
5.   Awona atara *(they have written)*

Yapinda kare *(past simple)*

1.   Inini ndakatara *(I wrote)*
2.   Iwewe wakatara *(you wrote)*
3.   Iyena wakatara *(he/she wrote)*
4.   Isusu takatara *(we wrote)*
5.   Awona akatara *(they wrote)*

Nguwa icawuia *(future)*

1.   Inini ndicatara *(I will write)*
2.   Iwewe ucatara *(you will write)*
3.   Iyena ucatara *(he/she will write)*

4.	Isusu ticatara *(we will write)*
5.	Awona acatara *(they will write)*

After writing the notes on the board, the teacher turned his face to the class and started explaining that, in verbs forms in Ciutee language, there are five grammatical persons. He said each of the grammatical persons aloud and elicited the present simple forms of the verb "do" from the students. (Example 11, Lines 1 to 24).

Example 11

1   T: Dzese dzangadziri nguwa dzevziito. Panguwa dzezviito, tine anhu ashanu, apanguwa dzezviito, anhu ashanu anonga ecidha mabhasa. Notanga nekuti inini ndingoita. Tazwana? < When we speak about verb forms, there are five persons. The first person is "I". I do. Do you understand?>

2   SS: Hooo < Yes>

3   T: Inini ndigoita. iwewe... <I do. Ou?>

4   SS+T: Unoita <You do>

5   T: Iena < he/she>

6   SS: Unoita < does>

7   T: Awoana... < they>

8   SS; Anoita < they do>

9   T; Nao é...? < isn't it?>

10   SS; Sim <Yes>

11   T: Hum, Inini... <I>

12   SS; Ndingoita <I do>

13   T: Inini <I>

14   SS; Ndingoita <I do>

15   T: Inini ndini ndingoita. iwewe... < I do, you>

16   SS: Unoita <you do>

17   T: Bvisa cinyoro mukanwa. iwewe... < Take the pen out of your mouth. You…>

18   SS; Unoita < You do>

19   T: Iena < he/she>

20   SS; Unoita < Does>

21   T: Isusu < We>

22   SS: Tinoita < We do>

23   T: Awona < They>

24   SS: Anoiiita< They do>

First, the teacher said the first person singular "I" and gave the respective present simple form of the verb "do" (Example 11, Line 3). Then, he said the other grammatical persons and elicited the forms of the verb "do". The students answered in chorus. Interestingly enough, the students had not yet been taught the present simple but they got all the forms of verb "do "right. This must have been because the students speak the language well but simply did not know the grammar terminologies.

Next, the teacher introduced the verb "write" to the class and told them that there are many other verbs and gave other examples of verbs. He then told them that, in that lesson, they were going to speak about forms of the verb "write" (Example 12, Lines 25 to 32).

Example 12

25   T: Nezvino tinonguwa dzezviito dzekutara... haann... nonguwa ee... kutara. Nguwa ezviito, zviito zve <let us speak about the parts of the verb "to write". Forms of the verb… >

26   SS: kutaara, < to write>

27   T: ciito ce... < forms of the verb…>

28   SS; Kutara < to write>

29   T: Tinonguwa dzezviito dzakawanda nee.... < there are many verbs, aren't there?>

30   SS; Hooo < Yes>

31   T: Tinonguwa ezviito zve kutara, kutenguesa, kurha, kucaia bola, kutema, kudhaindza. Zvino tiribuia ciito... nguwa ezviito zvee... <There is the verb "write", "buy", "eat", "play", "cut", "call". Now, we are going to speak about the forms of the verb…>

32   SS+T: Kutara < to write>

After giving examples of other verbs (Example 12, Line 31 above), the teacher started talking about the forms of the verb "write" as per the notes he had written on the blackboard (Example 13, Lines 33 to 58).

Example 13

33   T; Kutara, inini ndingo tara. Agora ukanga kuti urikutaura, urikubuya zvino inini zvino, zvino, inini ndiri... < I write. When you say "you are writing" you are talking about present continuous; I am…>

34   SS: Kutara < writing>

35   T: Inini ndiri < I am…>

36   SS; Kutara < writing>

37   T: Nguwa iona yo, inguwa ikuti zvino, urikuita. Ndikabhata cinyoro, ndobhata caderno i, ndecinyora, ndecitara nee...agora ndikanga ndecitara apa, ndinotii... Inini ndiri... < In the present time. If I am writing, I take the pen and the exercise book, I start writing, and I say I am…>

38   SS: Kutara < writing>

39   T: Inini ndiri... < I am…>

40   SS; Kutara < writing>

41   T; Inini ndiri kutara zvino, nao ee... Andzvopi? < I am writing now, isn't it?>

42   SS: Ndizvoo < Yes>

43   T: Ndirikutara zvino, ndirikutara nguwai, nguwa yapereio? < I am writing now. Am I writing in the past?>

44   SS: Não <No>

45   T: Nguwa iamanguana.... < Am I writing tomorrow?>

46   SS: Nada < No>

47   T: Zvinoo, ndati inini ndiri... < Now, I am…>

48   SS: Kutara < writing>

49   T: Iwewe uri < You are…>

50   SS: Kutara < writing>

51   T: Tino zvindho, zvi... Cidho ici... Zvino kutara. Inini ndir kutara. Iwewe uri... < The verb "to write". I am writing. You are…>

52   SS; Kutara < writing>

53   T: Iena uri... < he/she is…>

54   SS: Kutara < writing>

55	T: Isusu tiri... < we are…>
56	SS: Kutara < writing>
57	T: Awona, ari... < They are…>
58	SS; Kutara <writing>

Example 13 shows the teacher introducing the present continuous; "When you say: you are writing; you are talking about present continuous" (Example 13, Line 33). The teacher gave prompts for students to provide present continuous forms of the verb "write" for the grammatical persons: I, you and we. He asked questions to check comprehension of present continuous such as "I am writing now, isn't it?" (Example 13, Line 41); "Am I writing tomorrow?"(Example 13, Line 45). The prompts given by the teacher left no room for students to get it wrong. Look at Table 18 showing teacher's prompts and students' answers.

Table 18: Teacher's prompts, students' answers and expected answers

Teacher's prompts	Students' answers	Expected answers
Inini ndiri kutara *(I am...)*	kutara *(writing)*	Inini ndirikutara *(I am writing)*
Iyena uri kutara *(he/she is...)*	kutara *(writing)*	Iyena urikutara *(he/she is writing)*
Isusu tiri kutara *(we are...)*	kutara *(writing)*	Isusu tirikutara *(we are writing)*

Column 2 of Table 18 above shows that students had to say the same thing every time the teacher gave them a prompt. Also, the teacher had written all the forms of the verb "write" at the start of the lesson and students could have just looked at the board and read the answers from the board. At this stage of the lesson, there was no thinking being required from the students as everything was obvious. They knew the language of instruction perfectly well, the teacher had written all the answers on the board and the teacher gave prompts from which the students only had to repeat the same answer " Kutara (writing)" (Example 13, Lines 34, 36, 38, 40, 48, 50, 52, 54, 56 and 58). There were no practice exercises for the students to practise the new knowledge.

Next, the teacher introduced the past simple (Example 14, 59 to 174).

Example 14

59   T: Tino nguwa iapinda, hum, nguwa yapinda, nguwa yapinda tinobuya papi? Zvino tikanga tiri nguwai? Tikanga tiri duas horas nee... Nguwa mbiri dzemasikati. Isusu pa masikati tinotanga papi. Pa di... < when it is past time, what do we say? What time is it now? If it is two O'clock in the afternoon, when does afternoon start? We start at twel…>

60   SS: ...na < …ve>

61   T: Pa dina nee< at twelve, isn't it?>

62   SS: Sim < Yes>

63   T: Tikagumisa pa imwe dzomasikati, mbiri dzomasikati. Agora tikaguma panguwa mbiri dzomasikati, dina... dina rii, ndingu... inguwa kuti icauya inguwa yapinda... < If it is one or two o'clock in the afternoon, is twelve o'clock future time or past time? >

64   SS: Yapinda < It is past>

65   T: Yapiii... < It is pa…>

66   SS:... Nda <…st>

67   T: Zuro inguwa iakapiii... < yesterday is pa…>

68   SS: ...nda < …st>

69   T; Zona inguwa yapi... < the day before yesterday is pa…>

70   SS: ...nda < …st>

71   T: Zona uwo... Inguwa yapii... < And the day before that is pa…>

72   SS;...Nda <…st>

73   T: Sabhudhu rakaperero iro, bhiningu rapero i nguwa yapiii... < Last Saturday and last Sunday are in the pa…>

74   SS:...nda < …st>

75   T: Gore raperero, inguwa yapii... < Last year is in the pa…>

76   SS:... nda < …st>

77   T: Yapinda. Yapinda zvino inini ndatara, inini... < Finished time. So you say: "I have written". I…>

78   SS; Ndatara <have written>

79   T: Ndatara, iwewe... < have written. You…>

80   SS: Watara <have written>

81   T: Iyena? < he/she?>

82   SS; Watara < has written e>

83   T: Iena... < he/she>

84   SS: Watara <has written>

85   T: Isusu... < we>

86   SS: Tatara <have written>

87   T; Awona < they>

88   SS: Ataaara <have written>

89   T: Uye, toendazve futi kuno nguwa dzezvito, nguwa yapinda kare, yapinda... < We can also talk about past time. Past…>

90   SS: Kaaare < time>

91   T; Pinda kare. Yapinda kare urikubuia yapinda kare, zuro, bhiningu raperero, mwedzi waperewo, gore rakaperero, nomakore akaperewo. <Past time means yesterday, last Sunday, last month, last year.>

92   T: Ukangue urikubvundziswa, iwe nai, amufundisi ako akambbuia here ngoo... akambobuya here ngo ngano ya Ngungunyana, ngano ya.... < when someone asks you if your teacher ever spoke about Ngungunyana. If your teacher ever spoke about….>

93   SS: Ngungunyana < Ngungunyana>

94   T: Munomuzia Ngungunyana, ndiani? < Do you know Ngungunyana? Who is Ngungunyana>

95   SS: (silence)

96   T; Tinomuzia? < Do you know him?>

97   SS: Atimuzii < No, we don't.>

98   T; Mataka, munomuzia? < Do you know Mataka?>

99   SS; Humm < Yes>

100   T: Hann < What?>

101   SS: (silence)

102   T: So munozia Mataka... Ou imperio de mwe, de mwenemutapa? < So, you know Mataka or the Empire of Mwenemutapa?>

103   SS: Sim <Yes>

104   T: Imperio de Mwenemutapa nee... < The Empire of Mwenemutapa, isn't it?>

105   SS: Sim < Yes>

106   T: Imperio eee... Mwenemutapa nee... < Empire of Mwenemutapa, isn't it?>

107   SS: Sim <Yes>

108   T: Agora mwenemutapa, pangano dzia dzakarwa hondo, angasiripi egha. Angarimuno Moçambique, Nyka edhu ino i, manga muna ngungunyana, tanga tina Khupula Munyu, tanga tina Molide Vulai, haann, Mucazowafunda mberio Khupula munyu ndiani, Molide Vulai ndiani, haaann, Agora pangana idzona idzo, munozobvundzisana, amufundise enyu akambobuya here? Kana kuti o makambotara here kutii mwenemutapa, mwenemutapa kaitonga ndikupi? Isusu tinozia kuti mwenemutapa waitonguera kupi, kupi? Kupi? Sure kwenyka nee? Kupi, Ga... < When mwenemutapa fought wars, he was not alone. He was here in Mozambique, here in our country. There was Ngungunyana also; there was Khupula Munyu; there was Molide Vulai, isn't it? You will learn about them later on. Who is Khupula Munyu? Who is Molide Vulai? They will ask you if your teacher taught you about these people or whether you have ever written anything about mwenemutapa and his reign. We know that mwenemutapa was king of Ga…>

109   SS: ...za <…za >

110   T: Ga. <Ga…>

111   SS:... Za < …za>

112   T: Agora anozobvundzisa kuti, mwenemutapa makamutara here mwenemutapa? Hooo inini ndaka... < Your teacher will have you whether you ever wrote anything about mwenemutapa. What will you say? You will say I….>

113   SS: Tara < wrote>

114   T: Inini ndakamutara. Haann, iwewe unonga eciedzurira, ndakatara inini? i hwo ndakazvitara. Wakamutara gore ripi? Nguwa ipi? Inguwa ikapii… <I wrote. You will think: did I write? When did I write it? I wrote it in the pa… >

115   SS: ...nda < …st>

116   T: Yakapinda. 1 de Junho, zuwa ree... < The first of June is children's…>

117   SS+T: Ana adhoko, anditi... < Children's day, isn't it?>

118   SS; Hooo <isn't it? >

119   T: Nee? Andizvopi < isn't it?>

120   SS: Ndiiizvo < Yes, it is.>

121   T: Izuwa ree... < It is…>

122   SS: Ana adhoko <Children's day. >

123   T: ana adhoko, 1 de Junho nee... < Children's day, 1 June is…>

124   SS: Sim < Yes>

125   T: Ndikabvundzisa, 1 de Junho wakarhei? < What did you eat on 1 June?>

126   S11: (silence)

127   T: Wakarhei? < What did you eat?>

128   S11: (silence)

129   T: Ausi kudhaira ngokuti wanga uri < You didn't eat anything because you were…>

130   SS: Kurwara < ill>

131   T: 1 de Junho Wakarhei? < What did you eat on 1 June?>

132   S12: Massa espargueta no. <Spaghetti and>

133   T: Wakarha ciny? < What did you eat?>

134   SS: Macarao , peixe < Spaghetti and fish>

135   T: Macarao ne < Spaghetti and >

136   SS+T: peixe. < fish>

137   T: Peixe... dzinodhaidzwa cii muciiutee? < How do you call fish in Ciutee?>

138   SS: (silence)

139   T: Hoo... < Fi…>

140   SS: We<...sh>

141   T: Hoo... < fi...>

142   SS; We<...sh>

143   T: Ndakarha macarao ne ... < I ate Spaghetti and…>

144   SS: Howe< Fish>

145   T; Macarao ne < Spaghetti and >

146   SS: Howe < fish>

147   T: Howe. Agora ndinoti, iena oti ndaka... < Fish. So, you say: I…>

148   SS: ...rha <…ate >

149   T; rini? < When?>

150   SS; 1 de Junho <On 1 June>

151   T: 1 de Junho iripi? < Which time?>

152   SS: Yakapinda < Past time>

153   T: Yakapii... < pa…>

154   SS:... nda < …st>

155   T: Agora ndidzo nguwa, nguwa yaka... < The time is pa…>

156   SS; panda < …st>

157   T: Haann, yapinda kare. Pona ndipo kudha kuti inini ndakarha. Inini ndakarha, ndakarhei? Masa esparagueta nee... < That is past time. That is when you say I ate. I ate what? Spaghetti and>

158   SS: Hoo < fi…>

159   T; nee < and?>

160   SS; Howe < fish>

161   T: Iwewe ... kuti iwewe wakarhei, sadza ne dhe... < Andy you, there. What did you eat? You ate mealie meal and okr…>

162   SS: Dherere. <Okra>

163   T: Touya futi, Isusu takarha nee... Isusu taka... < once again, we a… >

164   SS; Rhaa <ate>

165   T: Takarhei? < What did we eat?>

166   SS: Mupunga < rice>

167   T: Mupu... <ri… >

168   SS: Nga <…ce>

169   T: Apa, ndizvona hinga apa, inini ndakatara, wakatara rini? Kare, haann... wakatara munguwa yaka... < here, you say "I wrote", when did you write? Log ago… you wrote in the pa….>

170   SS: Pinda < …st>

171   T; Haann ... ie..., iwewe wakatara, iena wakatara, isusu takatara, awona akatara. Nguwa icauya, nguwa icauya, inguwa kuti pamweni isusu manguana, riripo bhasa rekuti ticaita... pa bhasepo, bhasa aciitopi? < Yes… you wrote; he. She wrote; we wrote; they wrote. Now, future time is time to come. Maybe tomorrow, if there is work for us to do. Work is activity, isn't it?>

172   SS: Ciito < Yes>

173   T: Ciito nee... < It is activity, isn't it?>

174   SS: Hooo <Yes>

Example 14 shows the teacher introducing the present perfect tense. The teacher's explanation of the present perfect was confusing (Example 14, Lines 59 to 77). The explanation was about past simple but the examples he gave were of present perfect. He then prompted the students to give forms of the present perfect. The students had very little to say because the teacher gave them half the answer (Example 14, Lines 77 to 88) or half the word (Example 14, Lines 109 to 111; 139 to 142) for them to complete. The situations and contexts that the teacher created did not help in the teaching of present perfect. In Example 14, lines 92 to 111, the teacher gave wrong historical facts. Mwenemutapa and Gaza were two different empires and it is incorrect to say that Mwenemutapa was the king of the Gaza Empire. The teacher asked past simple questions (Example 14, Lines 125, 127, 131 and 133) while he should have asked present perfect questions. Furthermore, in the exchanges about food, the teacher asked students to say what they had eaten on 1st June. Being a special day, the students told the teacher the kind of food that they usually have on special days like Christmas, New Year, etc. However, in Example 14, lines 161 and 162, the teacher picked a student and asked him what he had eaten on 1st June. Without giving the student enough time to answer the question, the teacher answered the question for him "You ate mealie meal and okra". All the students laughed at the student who had been picked because mealie meal and okra are not food eaten on special occasions. Most rural children do not like mealie meal and okra because they are pejoratively considered food for poor people. It might have been the intention of the teacher to tell a joke to the class but he clearly created a context for the class to laugh at one individual student deliberately picked by the teacher for the purpose of being laughed at. This must have been really embarrassing for the student.

Finally, the teacher introduced the past simple. This was done in a similar way as the previous tenses. The teacher said or elicited the future forms of the verb "write" the students answered or repeated in chorus, see example 15.

Example 15

175   T: Kutara, kurha, kuwaka nyumba, kugogomerana, tinozotii... Manguana na manguana. Manguana tinonga tecibuya cii? Ndica... < to write, to build, to run, we can do it… we do it every day. So, we say, tomorrow, I will…>

176   SS: ...Iita< do>

177   T: Kuri kurha... Kuri kurha, manguana ndica... < if the verb is "eat", we say tomorrow I will… >

178   SS: ... rha … < eat>

179   T: Manguana ndica... < tomorrow I will…>

180   SS: ... Rha <eat>

181   T: Manguana ndicarha. Tinonga teciti takurha nao ee.. < Tomorrow, I will eat. We are talking about eating isn't it?>

182   S1: Hooo < Yes>

183   T: Manguana ndica... < tomorrow, I will…>

184   SS: ... Rha < eat>

185   T: Ndicarha, iwewe manguana uca... < I will eat; you will…>

186   SS: ... Rha < eat>

187   T: Iena, manguana uca... < he/she will…>

188   SS: ...Rha < eat>

189   T: Isusu mangua tica... < tomorrow, we will…>

190   SS: ... Rha < eat>

191   T: Awona, awona aca... < they, they will…>

192   SS: ... Rha < eat>

193   T: Inini …awona manguana acarha, acarha awona, haannn, acarha awona, inguwa ezviito kuti ucadha kurha munguwa icatera, < I…. tomorrow they will eat. You will eat at a time to come>

194   SS+T: nguwa ica... < at a time in the…>

195   SS: ...Tera < Future>

196   T: Munguwa icatera, kana kuti manguana, hwedza, bhiningu ramanguana, bhiningu rinoterazve irooo, kana kuti mwedzi wamanguana, mwedzi wamanguana okutizve. Andizvopi? < Future time can be tomorrow, the day after tomorrow, next Sunday, the Sunday after next, next month. Isn't it?>

197   SS: Ndiiizvo < Yes>

198   T: Ndiizvo, nyore ndaitora apa nee? < That is it, isn't it?>

199   T: Apa tinociito, nociito co... Kutara. Nguwa yakauya, inini ndica... < Here we have an

action "to write". In the future we say: I will…>

200 SS: ... Tara < write>

201 T: Ndica... < I will…>

202 SS: Tara < write>

203 T: Agora, ndi rini nyamasi, bhiningu nee... bhiningu nee... < Now, it could be today, Sunday, isn't it?>

204 SS: Hooo < Yes>

205 T: Manguana cipoo.... < Tomorrow, Mon…>

206 SS: ...Si< …day>

207 T: Mnguana ndicatara amufundisi akauya zvia. Amusobui? < Tomorrow, I will write when the teacher arrives. Don't you say so?>

208 SS: Tinosobuia < We do>

209 T: Amusobui? < Don't you?>

210 SS: Tinosobuya < We do>

211 T: Wakatara... Haaann, tataa mama. Anamwi nai itai TPC ekuskola kani? Amuzi kupuwa bhasa kuskoleio... Haaa ticatara. Uripo unozodhaira unozodhaira mai akhona atswari, haaa... Ndicatara. Zvingoita? < They wrote goodbye mum. Others should do their homework, isn't it? Haven't you been given homework…? Well, we will do it. When mum asks for homework, they say: I will do it, isn't it?>

212 SS: Azviiti < No>

213 T: Zvingoiita < Does it happen?>

214 SS: Azviiti <No>

215 T: Mai anodhairwawo, ndicatara... < will you say this to your mother?>

216 SS: Nada <No>

217 T; Zvinoita? < Won't you say it?>

218 SS: Azviiti < No>

219 T; Wenewo tikamuzwa, unoita bhasa rokutuka mai, mazvizwa nee <Don't say swear words to your mum, do you understand? >

220 SS: Hooo <Yes>

221 T: Inini ndicatara, iwewe ucatara, iena ucatara, isusu ticatara. Isusu... < I will write; you

will write; he/she will write; we will write. We….>

222   T: SS: Ticatara< will write>

223   T: Isusu kubuya tese nee... < we are talking, isn't it?>

224   SS: Honde < Yes>

225   T: Andizvopi? < Isn't it?>

226   SS: Ndizvo < Yes>

227   T: Isusu kubuya tee... < We are …>

228   SS... Se <talking>

229   T: Tese, Tese ticatara. Zvozoti awona, awona ani... Awona, aya, aya ese aya acatara. Inini ndoima pamusuwo apa, se manera andaibuya na mufundisi andanga ndakaima nawo, amufundisi emwanakadzi, mawona nee? < We will all write; they… all of them will write. I will stand by the door where the female teacher was standing.>

230   SS: Hooo< Yes>

231   T: Ndowabvundza, haaann, amufundisi awona acatara nee... < And ask: will the teacher write?>

232   SS: Honde < Yes>

233   T: Ndoti awona aca... < so, I say: she will…>

234   SS: Tara <write>

235   T: Acatara, se manera ozwa obuya, atereka hari dze dhoro, munoazia nee... A pedagogico nee? < She will write; she will come and tell you. Do you know the pedagogic director?>

236   SS: Hoo< Yes>

237   T: Diaia ndabuia, dia yakauuya akabuya kutii? Takabuya kutii, a...a amufundisi akabuya kutii? < What did he say about plants the other day?>

238   SS: Acadhirira < He said they will water them>

239   T: Andizvopi? < Isn't it?>

240   SS: Ndizvo < Yes>

241   T: Acadhirira, Aca... < They will…>

242   SS: Dhirira < water the plants>

243   T: Rini, nguwa icatera ou manguana ou mberiyo, andizvopi? < When? Future time.

Tomorrow or in the future, isn't it?>

244   SS: Ndizvo < Yes>

245   T; Ipona ndiyo notii nguwa... icaa <that is future… >

246   SS/T: Uuya < time>

247   T: Nguwa icaaa... < future…>

248   SS: Uuya < time>

249   T: Tazwana? < Do you understand?>

250   SS: Hooo <Yes >

251   T: E tinonguwa zvezviito, tamboedzesa nguwa ezviito, yoku... < We have verb forms. We have seen forms of the verb to… >

252   SS: Rha <"eat" >

253   T: Yokurha. Tinonguwa ezviito yokudhinini? < To eat. What are the parts of the verb to eat? >

254   SS: (silence)

255   T: Yokuerenga, kuerenga caderino, kana kuerenga bukhu, i ndinguwa yangu. Andizvopi? <of the verb to read, to read your exercise book or read a book. It is my time now, isn't it? >

256   SS: Ndizvo < Yes>

257   T: Mazviita. Mazvita iaya Bhiningaa... < Thank you Bhimingaa…>

258   S2: Hum. < Not at all>

259   T: Hum, Wazvita Sara... <Thank you Sara>

260   S3: Hum < Not at all>

261   T: Isusu tingonamata, muceci anobuya kutii? Muceci anobuya kutii? Wodha kuerenga zvia tsamba, amufundisi omuceci arikudha kudhini? Noti ticaerenga, andizvopi? < We go to church. What do the pastors say there? They say we will read a scripture by whom? They say we will read, isn't it?>

262   SS: Ndizvo < Yes>

263   T: Ticaerenga tsamba, yaaaa....ya, ya Ruka... Ruka pazviiri. Asobui? < They say we will read the scripture by Lucas verse 2, isn't it?>

264   SS: Anosobuia< Yes, it is>

265   T: Ticaerenga tsamba yamateu zvinomwe pa zvinomwe. Asobui? < We will read the scripture by Mathews verse nine, isn't it?>

266   SS: Anosobuya < Yes>

267   T: Zvirokwazvodhi, Mateus 7-7. Andizvopi? < Mathews 7:7, isn't it?>

268   SS: Ndizvo< Yes>

269   T: Ticaerenga tsamba Mateu, < we will read Mathews>

270   SS+T: 7-7, Pazvinomwe, pazvinomwe < 7:7>

271   T: Agora ticaerenga, kubuya kutii? < What does "will read mean"?>

272   SS: (silence)

273   T: então, cona canga ciri... Canga ciri ciny? Ciito, cokuerenga. Cokuu... < What is "will read"? It is the action of reading. The action of…>.

274   SS: Erenga < reading>

275   T: Zvino ngatinyore zviito. Tese tazvizwa? < Let us copy the actions. Do you understand?>

276   SS: Hooo < Yes>

277   T: Emilio, watanga kunyora ausati wabvunzwa kuti nyora. Hum, prova i ngue iani? Terezinha Maneca.... 6, cengueta 6 wakoo. Ngatinyore < Emilio, why are you copying before being asked to? Mm, whose test is this? Terezinha Maneca… 6 marks, keep your 6. Let us see...>

Example 15 shows the teacher talking about the future. There were no practical exercises for the students to produce the structure learnt. It was basically students repeating what the teacher was saying or reading from the notes on the blackboard or, orally, completing sentences or words using prompts given by the teacher. In fact, in the entire lesson, students were never given a chance to think about the structures and produce their own sentences to show their understanding of the structures. At the end of the lesson, the teacher asked the students to copy the notes he had written on the board (Example 15, Lines 275 to 276) while the teacher was moving around the classroom to see what the students were writing. He made a joke about a student who had got a negative mark in a test (Example 15, Line 277).

8.2.2.3. Insights from pedagogy

Language never occurs outside of a context, (Genesee 1991)

Campbell and Green's (2006) citation above is a criticism to traditional approaches to language teaching. Traditional approaches, also referred to as phonics and "back to the basics" approaches advocate the movement from the unknown to the known which contradicts the teachings of contemporary educational theory about learning (Genesee 1991). Decontextualized phonics approaches or other non-contextualised approaches to teaching in which letters are memorised or students are asked to memorise grammatical aspects (verb conjugations, distinction between adverbs of place and adverbs of time, etc.) are at variance with the movement from the known to the unknown advocated by contemporary educational theory. In his learning theories, Kaphesi (2003) drew attention to the importance of a Zone of Proximal Development, " that range of learning beyond what the child knows and understands, yet not so far away as to be beyond understanding" (Genesee 1991). According to Campbell, the Zone of Proximal Development, in education, is equated to the teachable moment, that moment when the teacher realises that the child can learn a concept that can be grasped and learned with the help of a knowledgeable adult (Genesee 1991).

In grade one and grade five lessons described above, children are stimulated to imitate language used by the teacher or other students in the classroom. When the child says something that is not the correct use, the child is given a model to copy from and is thus reinforced to learn the appropriate sound or expression.

The approach used by both teachers does not seem to recognise that children bring their own experiences with them to the classroom. The teaching of letter "R" in grade one or of verb tenses in grade five could have been done in a meaningful context using local oral or written stories that children are familiar with and getting children to use language, retelling stories, dramatising and using their own experiences to change and create new settings in the story. The teaching of linguistic and grammatical knowledge could have been derived from such meaningful contexts. On the contrary, the lessons were characterised by total lack of challenge and, without the necessary appropriate challenge, learning cannot take place.

Both teachers brought predetermined plans to which every child was expected to fit. The lessons were conducted solely in an initiation- response- reinforcement approach and there was no understanding and respecting the knowledge that the children brought to the classroom. For example, the grade one children showed the teacher that they had no problems pronouncing the words in the sentence "Mukoma akaghara pacitiki" (example 4, lines 44 to 105). Nevertheless, he kept asking the children to repeat the words (as in example 6, lines 114 to 156). Moreover, he went on asking the students to repeat individual sounds in the words, knowing the students had experienced no problems pronouncing the sounds (as in example 7, lines 157 to 237 and example 8 lines 238 to 291). It was clear from the students' reaction that they were not learning anything at all.

The same thing happened with the grade five lesson. The teacher had written the verb conjugations on the board and, in example 11; the teacher asked the students to say the conjugations of the verb. The students showed that they had no pronunciation problems and did not get the conjugations wrong. However, the teacher carried on asking students to repeat the conjugations again and again for the rest of the lesson without creating appropriate conditions and level challenges for learning to take place.

Genesee (1991) pointed out the need to create optimum conditions for children to learn language and to learn how to learn. Bakhtin (1981), cited in Genesee (1991), presented a model of the conditions that support children's learning, in particular, those conditions that support language learning and literacy as follows:

1. Immersion: learners need to be immersed in supportive environments that provide resources and opportunities for interaction with knowledgeable others;
2. Demonstration: learners need to observe and be given many demonstrations of learning, use of language and literacy. The knowledgeable others need to be conscious of what they are modeling for children;
3. Engagement: the value of immersion and demonstration emerges powerfully when learners are actively engaged in their environment of resources and people;
4. Expectation: teachers and caregivers, the knowledgeable others, expect that learners will learn. Working with learners is based upon activities that the child is capable of learning with adult support within the Zone of Proximal Development. Learning activities are planned so that positive learning outcomes are expected; unreasonable and unrealistic expectations are never present;
5. Responsibility: learners need to be given opportunities to make their own decisions about learning; to be given time to realise how the various bits of information go together to help solve a problem; to take responsibility for their learning; and to take responsibility to seek assistance with their learning;
6. Use: learners need time to use, employ and practice their developing control of learning in functional, realistic and non-artificial ways. practice also requires access to the support of teachers and other adults;
7. Approximation: teachers and parents respect the stumbling efforts of early performance. Learners' efforts are seen as approximations of the desired models, and their efforts with their learning are respected, rather than controlled by just fixing the error.
8. Response: learners must be given feedback that is relevant, timely, appropriate, non-threatening and readily available- with no strings attached

Source: (Genesee 1991)

According to Genesee (1991) the approach that allows the operation of the above conditions for learning is one that respects learners and their capabilities and potential. Such an approach assumes that all children are interested in improving their language and understanding of the symbol systems of their world. Teachers working with learners therefore observe and interpret positively what learners bring to every learning opportunity. Such teachers provide opportunities to support learners through modeling what is to be learned within a programme that empowers learners to take responsibility of their own learning. Instruction is provided as required and as requested, and always in a manner that respects the realistic attempts of the learners (Genesee 1991).

The grade one and five lessons described in this section show teachers who are totally oblivious of the need for students' active involvement for learning to take place. Students were called upon to imitate, repeat what the teacher wanted them to say and there was no room for students to make use of their capabilities and potential. The students' experiences were completely ignored in both lessons in a teacher-centred approach to language teaching. The teaching practices of both teachers go against contemporary educational theory. Such practices accentuate the urgent need for adequate teacher training for successful implementation of bilingual education in Mozambique.

8.2.2.4. Appropriateness of the model of bilingual education

The performance of the students in Portuguese, after transition from the local language as language of instruction to Portuguese as medium of instruction, constitutes a major challenge for the implementation of bilingual education in Mozambique and this can be strictly linked to the model of bilingual education chosen for implementation, particularly the timing for transition to be effectuated. In the interviews with teachers, it was evident that they were concerned about the performance of their students in Portuguese; when instruction was delivered in the official language, Portuguese, see extract 23.

Extract 30: Interview with a teacher

Entrevista 10 30/6/11 14:00-14:17	**Interview 10 female teacher 30/6/11** 14:00-14:17
Idade: 29	Age: 29
Educação: 10a classe	Level of education: grade 10
Experiencia na educação: 3 anos (desde 2010)	Experience: since 2010
Formação: 10+1	Training: 1 year (10+1)
L1: Cimanyika	L1: Cimanyika
Experiência no bilingue: desde 2011	Experience in Bilingual: since 2011

C: Carlos (entrevistador)

F: Professora (entrevistada)

151 C: Acha que as crianças que começam a estudar na sua língua local aprendem melhor a língua portuguesa do que as crianças que começam a estudar em

C: Carlos (interviewer)

Female teacher (interviewee)

151 C: Do you think that children who start school in their local language learn Portuguese better than the children who start in Portuguese only

Português?	classes?

152	F: É um pouco difícil para as crianças que tem aulas em Ciutee se comunicarem em Português porque durante as aulas e em casa eles usam Ciutee.	152	F: it is a bit difficult for the children who have classes in Ciutee to communicate in Portuguese because during the lessons and at home, they speak Ciutee.
153	C: Na sua experiência, como é que estas crianças se comportam depois da transição?	153	C: In your experience, how do these children behave after the transition stage?
154	F: Eles tentam. O professor deve fazer esforço para ajudar os alunos na compreensão.	154	F: they can manage. The teacher must make effort to help students Understand.
155	C: Que tipo de esforço se refere?	155	C: What kind of effort are you talking about?
156	F: Estou a falar de estratégias, formas de fazer o aluno compreender. Nós usamos português e Ciutee para ajudar na compreensão.	156	F: I am talking about strategies, ways to make the children understand. We use both Portuguese and Ciutee to help comprehension.

In extract 30, F expresses the difficulties she faces when teaching the bilingual children through the medium of Portuguese language. According to F, the children tend to speak the local language when they should be speaking Portuguese. Also, the teacher feels obliged to use both the local language and Portuguese during the lessons to help the children understand the content of the lessons. Code switching or mixing is a survival strategy used by the teachers to compensate for students' lack of appropriate competence to use the official language as the medium of instruction.

Extract 31 shows tentative adjustment of the programme in recognition of the weak performance of the learners in Portuguese. However, this adjustment appears far from being considered appropriate solution to the problem.

Extract 31: Interview with a teacher

Entrevista 11 01/7/11   8:30-9:20   **Interview 11 male teacher 01/7/11** 8:30-9:20

Idade: 47 anos	Age: 47
Nível de educação: 10a Classe	Level of education: grade 10
Experiência na educação: 31 anos	Experience: 31 years
Formação: Nenhuma	Training: untrained

L1: Ciutee	L1: Ciutee
Experiência no bilingue: 11 anos, desde 2001	Experience in Bilingual: 11 years, since 2001

C: Carlos (entrevistador)

VA: Professor (entrevistado)

157   C: Vejo que ensinar matéria em L1 facilita a compreensão das crianças. Acha que quando as crianças que começam escola na sua língua materna aprendem a L2 melhor do que as crianças que começam a escola aprendendo tudo em Português?

158   VA: Inicialmente, foi dito que todas as disciplinas deviam ser ensinadas na L1. Mais tarde, viu-se que havia uma desvantagem porque as crianças na 1ª e 2ª classe só tinham quatro horas de português oral por semana. Daí, decidiram que somente duas disciplinas deviam ser ensinadas em L1 e o resto das disciplinas devia ser ensinado em português. Isso era para compensar pela exposição mínima a L2.

Initially, all subjects in grades 1, 2 and 3 were to be taught in the local language. Later, it was decided that only two subjects should be taught in the local language (Ciutee language and mathematics) and the rest of the subjects should be taught in Portuguese in a tentative effort to compensate for minimal exposure to the L2. This decision, as evidenced in extract 32 below, did not help solve the problem of poor performance in Portuguese language. Grade 4, 5, 6 and 7 students show the difficulties they encounter when the language of instruction is Portuguese and the importance of code switching or mixing to help understanding.

Extract 32: Interview with students

Mabuyo 21 – Afundi 13/9/12 11:10-12:15 | **Interview 21 Focus group 13/9/12** 11:10-12:15

Participantes:	**Participants**:
NLM:, aluna; 14 anos; 6a Classe; L1: Ciutee	NLM, female student; age: 14.; grade 6; L1: Ciutee
EMM, aluna, 13 anos; 6ª Classe; L1: Ciutee	EMM, female student, age: 13.; grade 6; L1: Ciutee
FOM, aluna; 12 anos; 6ª Classe; L1: Ciutee	FOM, female student; age: 12.; grade 6; L1: Ciutee
EJA, aluno; 13 anos; 7ª Classe; L1: Ciutee	EJA, male student; age: 13; grade 7; L1: Ciutee
AFM, aluno 11 anos; 4ª Classe; L1: Ciutee	AFM, male student age: 11; grade 4; L1: Ciutee
MAM, aluno; 12 anos; 5ª Classe; L1: Ciutee	MAM, male student; age: 12; grade 5; L1: Ciutee

C: Carlos (entrevistador)

C: Carlos (interviewer)

159   C: Ok, haaann, anhu esse arikuti zvinodhakadza, zvinodhakadza. Asi zvinodhakadza zvaco, andisi kuzvizwa mushe inini? Wambonditaurira zvinodhakadza padhoko ndi Mateus, Mateus wanga arikuti paciputuzi pane zvimwe zvandisikazwi prossor akangue ecireketa ngociputukezi, asi ngueciuteezvia, ndinozwa zvese zvinonga zvecireketwa zvaco.

   Kwamuri imwimwi, murikuzvioona seiko imwimwi Nina? Zvakasiana here professor kureketa ngociputukezi kana kuti professor arikureketa ngociutee, zvakasiana here?

160   NLM: Zvakasiana ngokuti ciutee cinopinda kudhadza, ngoti zvese zvinobuiiwa, tinozvizwa agora

159   C: You are all saying that bilingual education is interesting but you are not telling me what exactly is interesting. MAM told me a little bit about what is or is not interesting. He said when the teacher teaches in Portuguese, there are some things he understands and others that he does not understand. However, when the teacher teaches in Ciutee, he understands everything. What do you think? Is there a difference when the teacher speaks Portuguese and when the teacher teaches in Ciutee in class?

160   NLM: It is different because Ciutee is more interesting. This is because we understand everything that is said in class. In

cizungu, zvimweni zvinopinda padhoko, atizvizwi, zvimweni, tinozvizwa, agra zvatbuiwa muciutee zvinodhakadza maningui ngoti kumbeyo tinondocireketa bhasi, kuno tondocireketazve bhasi.

161 C: Agora professor arikureketa ngociputukezi, iwewe usikazi kuzwizwa, unodhini?

162 NLM: Ndinobvundzisa

163 C: Unobvundzisa professor?

164 NLM: Hoooo…

165 C: Ukangue obvndzisa professor, anodhini ukangue obvundzisa?

166 NLM: Ndikabvusisa zvia, anosondibvundzisa kuti ndipapi pausizi kuzwa, ndobuya mange, odhini… ocizogadzirisa mange

167 C: Anogadzirisa ngomuro upi waco?

168 NLM: Ociutee

169 C: Hoooo, professor oportugues akanga ataura zvausikazwi, iwewe ukazobvundzisa aona, tunhudzira futi ngociutee?

170 NLM: Honde

171 C: Kutii, Esperança zvinonyasa kukudhakadza zvakasiana here professor akanga arikureketa no ciutee ou no ciputukezi?

172 EMM: Zvakasiana ngkuti ciutee tinozvizwa, portugues atinyasi kuzvizwa, ngokuti zvimweni zvinophuta, zvimweni azviphuti.

173 C: Entao zvimweni unozwizwa, zvimweni auzvizwi?

174 EMM: Honde

Portuguese, we understand a few things. Ciutee is more interesting because even at home we speak Ciutee and at school too.

161 C: When the teacher teaches in Portuguese and you do not understand, what do you do?

162 NLM: I ask the teacher to repeat.

163 C: You ask the teacher?

164 NLM: Yes.

165 C: When you ask, what does the teacher do?

166 NLM: He asks me what part of the lesson I did not understand. I tell him and he explains.

167 C: In what language does he repeat the explanation?

168 NLM: In Ciutee.

169 C: OK. So, when the Portuguese teacher explains something and the students do not understand, he repeats explanation in Ciutee?

170 NLM: Yes.

171 C: What do you think, EMM? Is there a difference when the teaching is in Ciutee and when it is in Portuguese?

172 EMM: It is different. In Ciutee, we understand everything. In Portuguese we don't understand well. We understand some things but we don't understand other things.

173 EMM: You understand some things but not others.

174 EMM: Yes.

175	C: Agora, ukanga usikazvizwi iwewe zvinoreketwa ngociputukezi , unodhini?	175	C: what do you do when you don't understand things said in Portuguese?
176	EMM: Ndinobvundzisa. Ndakabvundzisa zvia aona anozondibvundza kuti paia paina era pakadhai.	176	EMM: I ask and they explain to me
177	C: Anozokubvundza ngomutauro upi?	177	C: In what language is the explanation repeated?
178	EMM: Ciutee	178	EMM: In Ciutee
179	C: Ok, Eduardo diz me la um pouco tambem, o que é acontece na sala, quando o professor está a falar em Portugues ngokuti, amwe matica anofundisa ngociputukezi andizvo?	179	C: Ok. EJA, tell me what happens in the grade 7 classroom. Some teachers teach in Portuguese. Is that so?
180	EJA: Hooo	180	EJA: Yes.
181	C: Amweni anofundisa ngociutee, mange uno mubukhu rako iwewe, anofundisa ngociputukezi ?	181	C: And other teachers teach in Ciutee. In grade 7, do they teach in Portuguese?
182	EJA: Nada	182	EJA: No.
183	C: Haaannn, anoita maitirei?	183	C: How come?
184	EJA: Dhai teifunda diciplina rociutee, anotibvundzawo ngociutee kana teifunda amweni tinobuya ngocizungu.	184	EJA: When we study Ciutee, they explain in Ciutee but when we study in Portuguese, they explain in Portuguese.
185	C: Madciplina ecizungu, matica aco areketi ciutee?	185	C: Do the teachers teaching in Portuguese speak Ciutee language in the classroom?
186	EJA: Nguwa imweni ia anoreketa ukanga usikazi kuzvizua zvia, kana a shiplikar zvia penepo usikazi kupa entender bom, obvundzisazve, anozobuya ngociutee para kuti uzvizwe.	186	EJA: Sometimes, when they explain something and we don't understand, when you ask them to repeat the explanation, they explain in Ciutee for us to understand

Practically, after transition, the bilingual teachers are forced to use both the local language and Portuguese in the classroom. According to NLM and EMM (grade 6 students, extract 32, evidentiary paragraphs 160 and 172), learning through the local language is more interesting

because students understand everything that is said in class. When learning is in Portuguese, students face difficulties understanding the content of the lesson. EJA (grade 7 student, extract 32, evidentiary paragraph 186) points out that when teachers explain something in Portuguese and the students do not understand, they repeat the explanation in Ciutee to help students' understanding.

A major thrust of bilingual education is the relationship between a bilingual's two languages. The competence of a child's second language is partly dependent on the level of competence already attained in the first language. If the first language is more developed, it will be easier to develop the second language. However, if the first language is at a low level of development, it will be more difficult to develop the second language (Cummins 1978; Cummins 1981; Baker 2006). An appropriate model of bilingual education should reveal this linguistic advantage in L2 performance and not the contrary.

Recognizing that language performance measurements are quite complex and require more specialized instruments, we decided to ask Portuguese teachers in grades 6 and 7 who teach only Portuguese language as a subject to both bilingual and monolingual classes to rate the performance of their bilingual students compared to the performance of their monolingual students in productive skills (speaking and writing) in Portuguese language. The band scales for the ratings were adapted from O'Neill's Language Proficiency Scales (O'Neill and Gish 2008). The purpose of the ratings was to give a rough idea about what the Portuguese teachers thought of the performance of their bilingual students. The results of the ratings are provided in Figures 9 and 10.

Figure 9: Portuguese teachers' ratings of grade 6 students' performance in speaking and writing at Bindzi and at Madumbe primary schools

Speaking. Grade 6-Bindzi and Madumbe

- Level 1
- Level 2
- Level 3
- Level 4
- Level 5
- Level 6

Writing. Grade 6-Bindzi and Madumbe

- Level 1
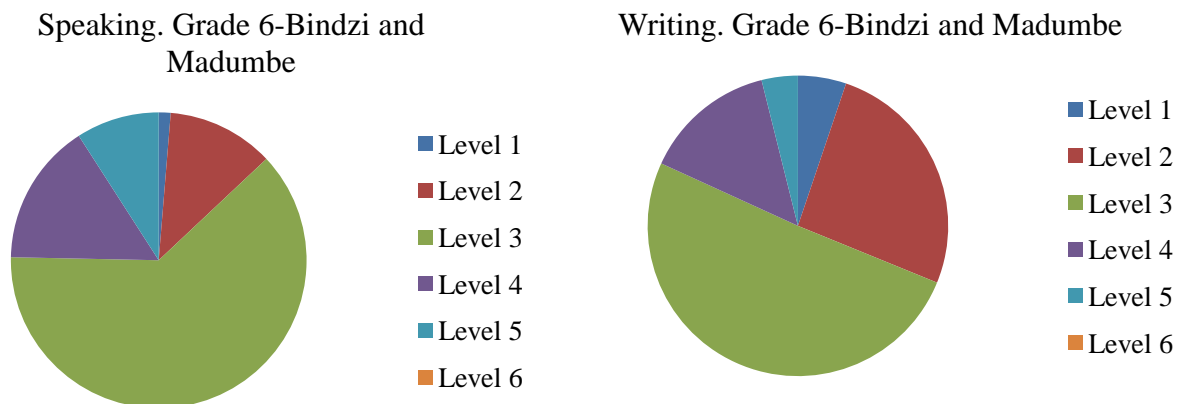- Level 2
- Level 3
- Level 4
- Level 5
- Level 6

Figure 9 shows Portuguese teachers' ratings of their grade 6 students' performance in speaking and writing skills in the two primary schools selected for our study. Most of grade 6 students' speaking skills were rated at level 3, which according to O'Neill's Language Proficiency Scales

means that the students can communicate in Portuguese language, their L2/L3, in more social contexts about everyday topics and ask simple questions although they may make some mistakes such that they requires some support from the listener. In writing, most of the students' skills were also rated at level 3. Level 3, in the descriptors (appendix 8), means that the students can write in Portuguese language to effectively communicate the topic and convey other supporting information for a limited number of written texts but may be uncertain of the message at times because of variable use of the features of vocabulary, spelling, punctuation, grammar, cohesion and generic structure (see appendix 8 for description of other levels). Portuguese language performance of grade 7 students is presented in Figure 10.

Figure 10: Portuguese teachers' ratings of grade 7 students' performance in speaking and writing at Bindzi and at Madumbe primary schools
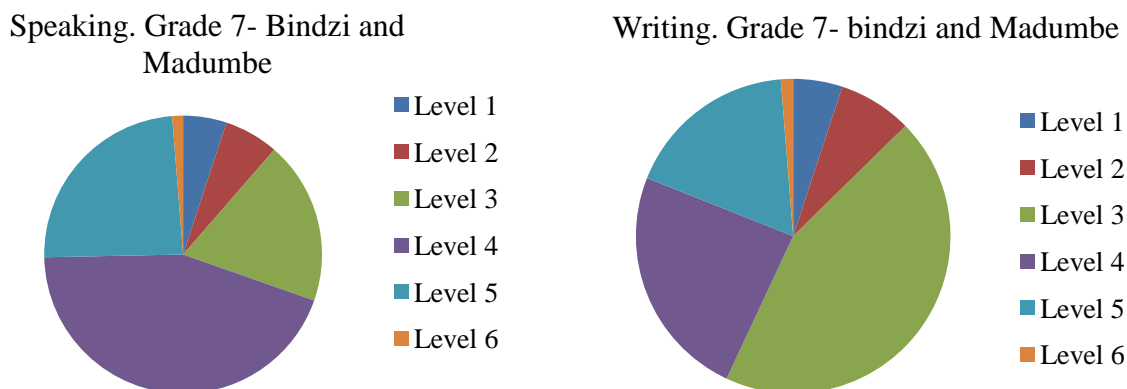
Figure 10 shows Portuguese teachers' ratings of grade 7 students' productive skills. The majority of grade 7 students' speaking skills were rated at level 4 whereas their writing skills were mostly rated at level 3 (see appendix 8 for the descriptors of the levels).

The teachers' ratings may not show an indubitable picture of the performance of the students in their productive skills in Portuguese language. The conditions under which the ratings were done might not have been the most appropriate. It would have been better if proper language proficiency tests had been conducted with the students themselves under controlled conditions. However, coupled with the interviews with teachers and students themselves, the ratings show that the teachers are not satisfied with the levels of performance attained by the students after six or seven years of the implementation of the bilingual education programme. Moreover, the students, in their interviews, recognise the comprehension difficulties they face when the language of instruction changes from L1 Ciutee to L2 Portuguese.

The poor performance of students in Portuguese language after six or seven years of bilingual education can be the direct consequence of the model of bilingual education adopted, particularly the stage at which transition from L1 medium to L2 medium occurs. Transition after three years of mother tongue instruction has been highly criticized, in literature on bilingual education, for not helping transfer of literacy skills from L1 to L2. Heugh (2006) argues for the need to clearly distinguish between learning to use early literacy decoding skills and the cognitively more challenging requirements of comprehending or making meaning of extended written text. Lack

of such distinction, as Heugh (2006) sees it, leads to the design of bilingual education programmes on inadequate assumptions that early literacy decoding skills in the first language facilitates transfer of literacy skills to the second language within a short period of time. Although early-exit bilingual education programmes (like the one being implemented at Bindzi and Madumbe primary schools) make an enormous contribution to the development and use of local languages, where such programmes offer transition to L2 as medium of instruction before or by grade 4, they are not affecting adequate transfer of knowledge. In such early-exit programmes, transition to L2 medium occurs before the children could possibly have learnt enough of the L2 to function in educational contexts at grade level across the curriculum. Transfer to L2, on the other hand, can only occur when the children have developed cognitive academic literacy and language proficiency to a level where they can understand decontextualized text, and their second language is sufficiently developed to make transfer possible.

Psycholinguists like Cummins and others believe that an adequate transfer of knowledge required for formal education is only possible when there is a firm foundation of academic and cognitive development in the L1 (see Baker 1996). Heugh (2006) argues that transfer is made possible in additive bilingual education programmes because the first language is kept present as the primary medium of instruction and language from which the knowledge and skills can be transferred. However, The Ife Six Year Primary Project (SYPP) in Nigeria, a late-exit transitional bilingual model, for example, has shown that in well-resourced conditions (well prepared teachers and good materials) six years of L2 teaching can facilitate transition to L2 medium in grade 7. If a child needs to learn a new language such as the official language, they will normally need six to eight years of learning the language as a subject before it can be used as a Medium of Instruction (Heugh 2006).

8.3. Summary of views and attitudes towards bilingual education

8.3.1. Summary of the views and attitudes of parents

The parents who participated in the study show positive attitudes towards bilingual education. They identify themselves positively with their local language and culture and they see bilingual education as a means to really valuing their language and culture. Notwithstanding these positive views and attitudes, they show concern about a number of issues. First, they are concerned about the domains in which the local language is used. They would like to see their local language being used in public and administrative institutions. Second, they are worried about the quality of teachers in the bilingual programme. The parents feel that some of the teachers do not have what the community perceives as adequate performance required for teaching in the bilingual programme. They go further, suggesting recruitment of native speakers to do the job. Finally, the parents feel that the Ciutee language taught in the bilingual programme is not the same Ciutee spoken in the community.

It is not crystal clear, from the parents' views, whether the real problem is lack of adequate performance or the bilingual teachers speak a different variety of the same language. However,

such concerns deserve to be dealt with urgently so that there is some form of consensus between what the community expects and what the school does so that the community feel ownership of the education reform under implementation. Following are extracts from some of the most representative views and attitudes excerpted from the interviews.

MP4: "Our children will grow up speaking our local language and they will not forget our language. When they learn Portuguese only, they will forget their home language. That is why I say this programme is good... Portuguese is good. It is difficult to find a job if you only speak Ciutee. If you can speak Portuguese and English, it is easy to find a job...   I think the school should start teaching English earlier. There are a lot of foreigners here who speak only English and we cannot communicate with them. With Portuguese we can speak with people here in Mozambique but outside Mozambique, we need English." (Interview 8 30/6/11).

MP3: "We would want them to learn both languages. We want them to learn Portuguese language and Ciutee language. We want them to learn Ciutee because it is our language. We would be happy to see our language being valued, being taught and being esteemed... We want Ciutee because it is the language of our parents. So, we want it to be taught, to be known. Some of us really speak it well. Others don't know it. So, if it is taught and if there is a grammar book of Ciutee it would help Ciutee become known. Also, Ciutee should be used in all work places. It should be spoken in all places of work. If there is no one able to speak Ciutee in a certain workplace, they should choose someone to go and study Ciutee. Often, in the courts, people are found guilty of crimes they did not commit because they do not speak Portuguese, the language of the court. This does not help. What are people who cannot speak Portuguese going to do? We want Ciutee to be used in the courts... I said so because there are a lot of things we see about these teachers… things that they don't know well. We see such things in the notebooks of the children who go to school in the bilingual programme. Ciutee language that they are teaching is not the correct Ciutee. We can see that. Last year, the teaching was good but this year, things are going really badly. These children no longer speak Ciutee. I do not say anything to them because I know the teachers are facing difficulties, too... They don't know it. The teachers they say they have done the Ciutee course cannot speak Ciutee. They simply smatter. When you look at the notebooks of the children studying in the bilingual programme, you see that the Ciutee language in their books is not correct Ciutee. It is different from our Ciutee. They either make mistakes or teach wrong things. That is why the teachers themselves should go to study Ciutee. These native Gorongozi speakers and others should learn until they know Ciutee so that they can teach it to our children." (Interview 20: 6/9/12).

FP1: "There are situations when a child is born and we start speaking to the child in Portuguese. When that child grows up and is chosen to be a Ciutee teacher, the Portuguese speaking background will make his job very difficult because he does not speak Ciutee language. Isn't teaching Ciutee going to be difficult for him? It will make his job difficult because he does not know Ciutee. He is not used to speaking Ciutee. That is where they start saying DJISO, DISO… it is different. Now, someone born and raised in Ciutee, when he studies he will develop his Ciutee and when he comes back here… yeah… (He will be a) very good (teacher) indeed." (Interview 20: 6/9/12).

MP2: "The teachers do not seem to give importance to Ciutee. The teachers should be taught Ciutee and be able to speak it before they are asked to teach Ciutee. Look, there is a teacher in this school who cannot speak Ciutee and is yet teaching Ciutee. How can she teach a language

that she cannot speak? She does not even know how to pronounce Ciutee words. There was one male teacher that used to teach Ciutee in this school. He was a real Ciutee speaker, a native here. He was born in this community. His father and grandfather were born here too. He grew up here. He spoke very good Ciutee and was a very good teacher. They transferred him to another school. When you say that most children are enrolled in the Portuguese only classes, this is because of the quality of teachers. There is a teacher teaching grade seven bilingual. He cannot speak Ciutee. How can he teach a language that he cannot speak? It would be good to find local people to teach Ciutee." (Interview 1: 28/6/11).

8.3.2. Summary of the views and attitudes of teachers

The interviewed bilingual teachers showed mixed feelings of contentment, abandonment and coercion. Teachers who can speak the local language fluently see their teaching facilitated. There is interaction in the classroom because the teacher and the students share a common language. As the result, the students' understanding of the content being taught is facilitated. However, for those teachers whose performance in the local language is not adequate, the situation is complicated. It is the teachers themselves who do not have enough language to interact with the students and are forced to become students of their own students in the classroom. It cannot be comfortable for a language teacher to be constantly corrected by their own language students.

A common challenge for both native and non-native speaker teachers is that the local language they use as the medium of instruction does not have many of the scientific terms they need in their teaching. Furthermore, there is no structure put in place to help with the translation of technical terms from Portuguese into the local language, Ciutee. They do not have the much needed textbooks or other teaching and learning resources and so, they feel abandoned by the management of the education system. As teachers, they feel they have to teach. When inspectors come to the school, they want to see teachers teaching. If they are not teaching, they will be evaluated negatively by the inspectors and run the risk of losing their job. The following excerpts were taken from some of the most revealing interviews.

VA: "This programme gives value to local languages. At national level, our local languages were not given any value at all. Portuguese was the only language that was valued... In some communities where the bilingual programme is not yet being implemented, we hear parents saying "we want the school to teach our language". They say OUR LANGUAGE. This means that the community is positive about bilingual education... When the child encounters a new language at school, this child will take more time to learn. The environment is new and the language used is also new to the child. This is the reason why, in monolingual classes, there is a period of three weeks that the teachers try to make the child feel comfortable in the new environment. This period is not necessary in the bilingual programme because the environment is familiar to the child. The child communicates with the teacher. But when the teacher teaches in Portuguese, first the child is worried about getting to know the teacher, trying to understand what the teacher is saying. This takes a long time; time that the teacher should use to teach content. It takes a long time for the student to become familiar with the new language. It is a process that takes a long time. That is why, in the bilingual programme, the child can communicate easily with the teacher, understand content." (Interview 11: 1/7/11).

GB: "I am not a native here. I speak only a little Ciutee. I am learning Ciutee from the children here and also from the elders in the community. Sometimes I make friends with the elders. You know the elders are like libraries here. Last month I was worried about the Ciutee term for "While". I had to go to the elders and they helped me." (Interview 4: 29/6/11).

MH: "There is a small difference. The bilingual class seems more advanced (than the monolingual class) ... In terms of knowledge, the bilingual students understand the lesson easily." (Interview 6: 30/6/11).

GB: "Well… it is difficult to say good or bad teacher because teaching the mother tongue is complicated, in fact. Some teachers refuse to teach L1 because it is like "pain in the neck". It is complicated, yes. Because when supervision comes, there is a lot of criticism for teachers teaching Ciutee! So teachers run away from the bilingual programme. In my case, I take criticism positively. If an employee does not take criticism positively, this employee will never grow. In my case, I signed a contract with the government and I have to fulfil the contract. I sometimes hear other teachers saying "next year, I don't want to teach bilingual because it is crazy"." (Interview 22: 4/9/12).

VA: "These books got to the schools in 2007 or 2008. It was in 2008 that they got to the school. After having been designed in 2001! All these years! In 2003 we designed books for grade 3; 2004 for grade 4; 2005 for grade 5; 2006 for grade 6; 2007 for grade 7 and 2008 we wrote a dictionary of Ciutee language, mathematics and natural science. These materials have not got here yet. We, the authors, do not have copies of the materials that we designed. We designed the materials and the materials were kept in drawers. The top is the problem! It is the head that is the problem! We don't believe it when they say that there is no money for education. Do they want to convince us that there is money to design materials to keep in drawers and no money to print the materials and send them to schools? Well, that might be the case but what about the materials they bring for the monolingual programme? They are the same people! So they could well bring materials for bilingual education, too. What is their excuse? I don't know. We only have to wait for the Ministry to bring bilingual materials to schools." (Interview 24: 5/9/12).

8.3.3. Summary of the views and attitudes of students

The students who participated in the study were very happy with the bilingual programme. The use of the local language as the medium of instruction facilitates their understanding of the content being taught. Even after transition to Portuguese medium, when they do not understand something through Portuguese language, their teachers repeat the explanation in the local language. However, the students recognise the importance of Portuguese as the language of wider communication. They are aware that Portuguese is the language that will facilitate their social mobility. It is the language of the employment market, the language for showing off and they need to muster this language. The following excerpts were selected from some of the most revealing interviews.

MAM: "In Portuguese, I understand some words but I don't understand other words. In Ciutee, I understand everything." (Interview 21: 13/9/12).

R: "My uncle went to the city to look for a job. The managers of the company asked him questions in Portuguese but he couldn't answer the questions because he spoke Ciutee only... They advised him to go and learn Portuguese first. So he didn't get the job." (Interview 12: 1/7/11).

JB: "When you speak Portuguese you can become a state employee, you can be a police officer, an administrator, minister or president... If you can't speak Portuguese you can only find work on the farms." (Interview 13: 1/7/11).

EJA: "They don't show off in Ciutee… Portuguese is the right language for that (showing off)… those who can speak Portuguese, use it for showing off." (Interview 20: 13/9/12).

8.3.4. Summary of the views and attitudes of head teachers

The interviewed head teachers show more signs of concern than of satisfaction. They are mostly concerned about administrative issues. They do not have enough teachers to teach in the bilingual programme. To make a bad situation worse, there is no policy to retain bilingual teachers in a school and they can be transferred to another school at any time leaving the head teacher with no one to replace the transferred teacher. Furthermore, the newly recruited teachers that are sent to the schools are not prepared to teach in the bilingual programme. Moreover, the training sessions for bilingual teachers no longer take place with the frequency the used to at the start of the programme in 2003. In fact, there has not been a single training session in the last three or four years and they feel that the proponents of the training sessions have abandoned the programme.

A further concern is related to lack of teaching and learning resources. The head teachers feel sorry for the bilingual teachers who have to deal with very difficult translations of technical terms without any specialist assistance. There are no text books for grades 3 to 7 and there are no dictionaries in the schools. The excerpts below substantiate some of the major concerns expressed in the interviews with head teachers.

HJ: "What happens is that the teachers who took part in the professional development sessions cannot be expected to stay in the same school for ten, fifteen years. They need to be transferred to see other realities. Now, who is going to teach in that school? There are new teachers recruited but these new teachers have not been prepared to teach in the bilingual programme. As the result of this, we have a colleague teaching Ciutee in grade 7 but he was not prepared to teach Ciutee. He can speak Ciutee but he has problems with writing. He has to resort to other teaches to help him with writing Ciutee... They must produce books. We only have books for grades 1 and 2. We don't have problems with grades 1 and 2. But from grade 3 onwards, we don't have the books. So, they should produce books to facilitate the work of the teachers... although the person participates in the Ciutee teaching session, this person cannot teach Ciutee properly because there are other elements missing. He cannot teach in the same way as someone who speaks Ciutee can teach. But we have people here who can speak Ciutee. For example, myself, I cannot say that I am good at Ciutee but I was born and grew up speaking Ciutee. With the professional development session, my performance improved. For someone born and brought up in a Chwabo

speaking community, one-week training is not enough to enable them to teach Ciutee. That is why I said you have to be a good teacher to go to the class and know what to do. For example, we have teachers who are sometimes afraid of going to the class to teach because they know they do not have the necessary command in that particular lesson of the day. They don't know what to say when students ask them questions for clarification. A teacher needs strategies. You have to be ready to respond to students' questions. You have to be dynamic. You know? We see teachers crying for employment. Some people bribe authorities or go to the traditional doctor for treatment to get a job. But when they get the job, they only work properly in the first years but as soon as they get a permanent contract…. Sincerely… if the pedagogic director is not at school watching them, they simply don't teach. That is why I said I need good teachers. I want a teacher who knows what he wants. I want a teacher who knows the language well and is not a lazy teacher." (Interview 26: 18/9/12).

M: "We don't have enough bilingual teachers to cover the number of bilingual classes we have. We need 7 or 8 teachers to work with bilingual classes. There is lack of materials as well." (Interview 15: 1/7/11).

HJ: "I am going after people who are supposed to produce books for this programme. The teachers are suffering a lot. Imagine having to translate the term "Dramatic text" into Ciutee. I have been here for some time but it is difficult to translate this into Ciutee. Even the native speakers of Ciutee do not know how to translate this term. What we end up doing is choose topics that are easy to translate and skip the ones that are difficult. I wait until I have been able to translate the topic before deciding when to teach that topic. We have to try and design materials. This is a big challenge. The teacher is left alone to produce the trimester plan, the two-week plan and to translate materials for using with students in the classroom. If you want to plan a good lesson, you need a lot of time for planning. Translating is really difficult." (Interview 5: 30/6/11).

8.4. Revisiting the conceptual framework of the study

Following is a revisit to the conceptual framework of this study, in light of the findings of the study.

Figure 11: Conceptual framework revisited in light of data analysis

"Our children will grow up speaking our local language and they will not forget this language". (MP4; Interview 8)

"When you speak Portuguese you can become a state employee, you can be a police officer, an administrator, minister or president". (JB; Interview 13)

Cultural Identity

"It takes 6 to 8 years to learn an L2 sufficiently well enough to use it as a medium of instruction". (Heugh, 2006; p. 68)

SLA Theory

Bilingual Education Theory

Early-exit bilingual education programmes that offer transition to L2 as medium of instruction before or by grade 4 are not affecting adequate transfer of knowledge. (Baker, 2006;Cummins, 1978; Heugh, 2006)

At the start of this study, three conceptual frameworks related to the study were established and these included Cultural Identify, Second Language Acquisition Theory and bilingual Education Theory. The proposed conceptual framework enabled the study to measure, first of all, identity relations of the study participants with their language and culture and then, move on to see how their views can best be catered for with a view to improving the quality of education provided in the communities concerned.

The data analysis presented above has shown that students, parents and teachers identify positively with their language and culture. They want to see the local language preserved and passed on from generation to generation "Our children will grow up speaking our local language and they will not forget this language", (MP4; Interview 8). Furthermore, they identify positively with Portuguese language and they are aware of the importance of teaching Portuguese language to the children "When you speak Portuguese you can become a state employee, you can be a police officer, an administrator, minister or president", (JB; Interview 13).

An analysis of the bilingual education programme that has been implemented in Mozambique since 2003 has shown that the programme is an early-exit transitional bilingual education programme because transition is effectuated by grade 4. Early-exit bilingual education programmes that offer transition to L2 as medium of instruction before or by grade 4 are not

affecting adequate transfer of knowledge. (Baker, 2006; Cummins, 1978; Heugh, 2006). Early-exit bilingual education programmes go against findings in Second Language Acquisition Theory, according to which, "It takes 6 to 8 years to learn an L2 sufficiently well enough to use it as a medium of instruction". (Heugh, 2006; p. 68). This means that, for children enrolled in the bilingual education programme to enjoy the benefits of their bilingualism/multilingualism, the L1 must be retained as language of instruction for a period between 6 and 8 years of mother tongue education.

8.5. Conclusion

Although the decision to implement bilingual education in selected primary schools in Mozambique was mostly top-down, the local communities selected for this study identify positively with this form of education and are happy to see their language and culture taught at the local school. This is a necessary condition for the implementation of bilingual education in the communities selected for this study. The local people are not being forced to enroll their children in the bilingual programme. They are proud to see their children being able to read and write the local language.

Although the local communities feel valued when they see the local school teaching their language, the local language needs to be really empowered by expanding the domains of its use so that the value of the local language and culture is felt beyond the geographical limits of the local community.

As evidenced in the interviews with students, parents and teachers, successful implementation of the bilingual education programme in Mozambique is dependent on provision of resources such as adequately trained teachers and appropriate pedagogical materials for use in classrooms.

The data collected for the present study has shown that the current early-exit bilingual education programme makes an enormous contribution to the development and use of local languages. However, the discussion on bilingual education and SLA theory, in chapter 3 of the present dissertation, has shown that such a model of bilingual education does not affect adequate transfer of knowledge. Transition to L2 medium occurs before the children have learnt enough of the L2 to function in educational contexts at grade level across the curriculum. Transition to L2 medium should occur when the children have developed cognitive academic literacy and language proficiency to a level where they can understand decontextualized text, and their second language is sufficiently developed to make transfer of skills possible.

CHAPTER 9: TOWARDS A MODEL OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION FOR MOZAMBIQUE

Overview

This chapter proposes a model of bilingual education, taking into account the views and perceptions of pupils, parents and teachers, as well as best practices worldwide.

First, the chapter discusses the importance of prolonged use of national languages in education. Then, it provides the rationale for the proposed model of bilingual education. Next, it presents the proposal model of bilingual education. Then, the chapter describes the roles and responsibilities for the stakeholder. Finally, concluding remarks are provided.

9.1. Advantages of extended use of national languages with Portuguese in a bilingual curriculum

The findings of the present study discussed in the earlier parts of this dissertation have shown that the transitional bilingual education programme being implemented in Mozambique since 2003 is an early-exit programme where the students' mother tongue is used as a medium of instruction for initial schooling (grades 1 to 3). Portuguese, the official language of the country, takes over as the medium of instruction from grade 4 and the students' mother tongue becomes a subject until the end of primary education (grade 7). This model is not harmonious with the present state of knowledge in bilingual education and second language acquisition theory and it does not facilitate the desired transfer of skills from L1 to L2. Transition after three years of mother tongue medium is not enough for the development of skills in neither language. Consequently, this model needs to be reviewed and adjusted to current knowledge so that students can enjoy the cognitive and academic advantages of bilingual education.

The introduction or maintenance of mother tongue education during the first few years of primary schooling has often shown to be ineffective. The ineffectiveness of early-exit transitional bilingual education programmes may come as a surprise to the non-specialist spectators who have been informed by experts that the use of the local language in the lower primary school followed by transition to the official language under an early-exit model would extraordinarily improve educational success (Heugh 2006). Conversely, recent scientific research has shown that early-exit models are prone to be unsuccessful sooner or later due to the obviously restricted period of learning in the mother tongue (Heugh 2006). For instance, Thomas and Collier ((2002) have shown policy makers that subtractive and early transition to L2 programmes do not facilitate successful results. Although there may appear to be an initial improvement in well-resourced programmes (with well-trained teachers and appropriate pedagogical materials), this apparent improvement tends to disappear by about the fourth or fifth year of schooling. As a result, very few students show positive signs of accomplishment.

In the interviews conducted for the study in this dissertation, particularly in the interviews with students and teachers, there were clear indications of apparent high educational accomplishment by the students enrolled in the bilingual programme, as evidenced in interview 6.

Entrevista 6 30/6/11 10:40- 11:05   **Interview 6 Teacher 30/6/11** 10:40- 11:05

Idade- 37 anos	Age- 37
Experiência na educação: 10 anos (desde 2002)	Experience in education: 10 years (since 2002)
Experiência no ensino bilingue: 7 anos, desde 2006	Experience in bilingual education: 7 years, since 2006
Nível de educação: 12ª classe	Level of education: grade 12
Formação psicopedagógica: Nenhuma	Training: Untrained
L1: Ciutee	L1: Ciutee

C: Carlos (entrevistador)

MH: Professora (entrevistada)

C: Leciona todas disciplinas nestas duas turmas?

MH: Sim, é isso.

C: Que diferenças notam entre as duas turmas?

MH: Há uma pequena diferença. A turma do bilingue parece mais avançada.

C: o que quer dizer com "mais avançada"?

MH: Em termos de conhecimento, na turma do bilingue, os alunos entendem a matéria facilmente.

C: Carlos (interviewer)

MH: Female teacher (interviewee)

C: Do you teach all the subjects that the two classes have?

MH: Yes, that is right.

C: What differences have you notice between the two classes?

MH: there is a small difference. The bilingual class students seem more advanced.

C: What do you mean more advanced?

MH: in terms of knowledge, the bilingual students easily understand the lesson.

MH says that her bilingual class is more advanced because the students understand the content of the lessons easily. This is strictly related to the language of instruction. Since she teaches the bilingual class through the local language, it is only fair that the students should understand easily. However, in grades where Portuguese takes over as the language of instruction, the situation is different. F is a bilingual teacher, teaching bilingual classes after the transition period. In her interviews, she kept complaining about low Portuguese language performance of her students, see interview 23.

Entrevista 23 5/9/12 14:40- 15:14   **Interview 23**   5/9/12 14:40- 15:14

:

Idade: 29 anos	Age: 29
Educação: 10a classe	Level of education: grade10
Experiência na educação: 2 anos, desde 2010	Experience in education: 2 years, since 2010
Formação psicopedagógica: 10+1	Training: 1 year (10+1)
L1: Cimanyika	L1: Cimanyika
Experiência no bilingue: 1 ano, desde 2011	Experience in Bilingual:1 year, since 2011

C: Carlos (entrevistador)

F: Professora (entrevistada)

C: Na outra entrevista falou da dificuldade que os alunos do bilingue têm em falar a língua portuguesa. Fale me mais sobre este problema.

F: é um pouco difícil porque o aluno, mesmo chamar em português, ele não aceita, ele pergunta "eu? eu?" mas quando você diz "huya pano" ele vem mesmo a correr porque epa! A pessoa que me chamou em dialeto vai falar comigo em dialeto. Então quando você chama em português, ele pensa: "como vou defrontar com aquele professor" "o professor está a me chamar em português, então como eu vou responder se eu não sei falar?"

C: Isso acontece com todas classes ou somente

C: Carlos (interviewer)

F: Female teacher (interviewee)

C: In the other interview you mentioned the difficulties that bilingual students face when they speak Portuguese. Tell me more about this difficulty.

F: It is difficult because when you call a student in Portuguese, they don't come because they think you will speak Portuguese to them. However, if you call them in the local language, they come running. They know you have called them in the local language and so you will communicate with them in the local language.

C: Does this happen with students in all grades

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as primeiras classes?

F: Ah são todas classes. Porque mesmo o aluno que está na 8ª ou na 9ª, chamando ele sempre diz "eu? "então ele tem aquilo de que "como é que vou- me defender porque vão- me defrontar, como vou responder ao professor? talvez vou responder no errado, e o professor vai dizer que está errado". Ele sente se mal mesmo em monolingue mas quando lhe chama em dialeto até vem a correr porque ele sabe que aqui temos boa colaboração "ele me chamou em dialeto, sempre vamos falar em dialeto".

C: Então isso é medo de errar em português!

F: Eles têm medo de que "se eu falar assim estou no errado". Eu por exemplo quando estou na sala a dar aulas em monolingue mesmo, em português… estou a dar em português… "entenderam?" há-de ouvir "sim". Quando pergunto entenderam o quê?" Já não falam nada porque não entenderam nada. Até posso perguntar "isso que você está a falar é isso mesmo?" responde "sim". A coisa errada, ele responde "sim". Não sabe que "sim" é quando a coisa está certa e "não" quando a coisa é errada.

or only with initial grades?

F: It happens with all of them. Even students in grade 8 or 9, when you call them, they do the same. They are afraid of making mistakes in Portuguese. They feel bad when they know they have to speak Portuguese but when you call them in the local language, they feel happy. They know they are going to use the language they know.

C: They are afraid of making mistakes!

F: They are afraid. In the classroom, when I am teaching in Portuguese, I ask them "did you understand?"; they say "yes!" but when I ask them " What did you understand?"' they don't answer because they didn't understand anything. When something is wrong they say "yes". They don't know that "yes" is used when something is correct and "no" when something is incorrect.

F describes an extreme situation in which her students are afraid of making mistakes in Portuguese language and opt to avoid speaking with the teacher. This is clearly because the students have not developed appropriate competence in the L2 and are being forced to communicate in a language they have not yet mastered. The time, at which the students are transited to use the L2 as the medium of instruction, is too early for the development the required L2 skills to function in an academic context at grade level.

Alternatively, there is research which has shown the advantages of prolonged use of the mother tongue followed by transition and additive bilingual models (Malherbe 1943; Bamgbose 1984; Macdonald 1990; Ramirez, Yuen et al. 1991; Hartshorne 1992; Bamgbose 2000; Heugh 2003; Bamgbose 2004; Bamgbose 2005). Bamgbose (2004); Elugbe (1996) and others have shown through the well-resourced six year Yoruba medium project in Ife, Nigeria, that compared to the students who switched to L2 medium after 3 years of mother tongue education; the students who had 6 years of mother tongue education performed better in the L2, and they performed better in

the other content subjects. Therefore, four years was too early for the transition to occur. Three years of mother tongue education is not enough. Bamgbose and Elugbe's findings are, in a way, co- substantiated by Macdonald (1990), Heugh (2003) among others. According to Macdonald (1990) Setswana speaking students who were switched from L1 medium to English medium at the start of grade 5 were not able to cope with the linguistic requirements of the system at that point. The study shows a remarkable rise in dropouts from the repeaters in the system by the end of grade 5. This study concluded that four years of learning a second language for use as medium is not enough. Heugh's (2003) study showed that 8 years of mother tongue education in South African schools resulted in increased pass rates for African language speaking students at the final exit point, grade 12. After a reduction to four years of mother tongue education, the pass rates at grade 12 fell from 83.7% in 1976 to 44% in 1992. The study concluded that the education achievement of African students increased during the 8 years if mother tongue education despite the poor resourcing of schools for native African children.

What the studies above mentioned show is that mother tongue education needs to be extended for as much as possible in order for successful second language learning and academic success to take place. Any model of bilingual education that does not take into consideration recent insights from second language acquisition theory, particularly the timing necessary to learn an L2 for use as medium of instruction, is in the long run, condemned to failure. It is now known from comprehensive research that if a child needs to learn a new language such as the official language, they will normally need six to eight years of learning the language as a subject before it can be used as a medium of instruction (Heugh 2006).

9.2. Rationale for the proposed model of bilingual education

The proposed model of bilingual education is derived both from the international literature on second language acquisition (SLA) and from best practices in Africa and beyond. From current SLA theory and practice, the following conclusions apply (Heugh 2006):

1. The first language needs to be strengthened and developed for at least 6 years (L1 medium for at least 6 years of formal schooling) for successful L2 learning and academic success to take place;
2. The international second language acquisition literature indicates that under optimal conditions, it takes 6 to 8 years to learn a second language sufficiently well enough to use it as a medium of instruction;
3. Language education models which move the L1 as a primary medium of instruction before grade 5 will facilitate little success for the majority of learners;
4. Language education models which retain the L1 as a primary medium of instruction for 6 years can succeed under very well resourced conditions in African settings;
5. Eight years of mother tongue education may be enough under less well-resourced conditions.
   (Heugh, 2006; p.68)

The proposed model of bilingual education takes into consideration the expressed views and perceptions of our study participants and our knowledge of existing educational conditions in

Mozambique. The expressed views of participants, in our study, show that they want their children to develop bilingualism and biliteracy in both the local language, Ciutee, and the official language, Portuguese. Moreover, in a context of scarce financial and pedagogical materials, it is not feasible to opt for a model of bilingual education the success of which is dependent on the existence of well-resourced conditions.

9.3. The proposed model of bilingual education for Mozambique

Table 19: The proposed model of bilingual education

Grades	% of L1 medium	% of Portuguese L2 medium	% of English L3 medium
Grades 1&2	L1 medium 90% (literacy and numeracy)	L2 -10% (mainly oral)	
Grades 3&4	L1- 80% (literacy development and as medium)	L2- 20% (oral and L2 literacy)	
Grade 5	L1- 70% (strengthen L1 literacy. L1 as subject and as medium especially for mathematics and science)	L2- 30% (L2 literacy and as subject. L2 can be used as medium for Physical education, music and art)	
Grade 6	L1- 60% (strengthen academic literacy and as subject. Medium for mathematics and either social science or natural science)	L2- 35% (L2 literacy and as subject. L2 medium for physical education, music, art and social science or natural science)	L3- 5% (oral)
Grade 7	L1- 45-50% (strengthen academic literacy and as subject. Medium for mathematics, etc.	L2- 45-50% (build L2 academic literacy and L2 as subject. L2 medium for Physical education, music, social science, natural science, etc.	L3- 10-15% (L3 as subject. Can be used as medium for art or another subject)

Our proposed model of bilingual education moves away from the current early-exit transitional programme to a late-exit model of bilingual education. In this model, instruction in mother tongue prevails from grade one through grade 6. In grade seven, both L1 and L2 are used as languages of instruction. Portuguese is introduced in its oral form grade in grade one. The written form of Portuguese is not introduced until the child is able to write in the mother tongue; thereafter, there is a gradual increase in the use of oral and written Portuguese from grade five through grade seven. Table 19 clearly indicates that Mozambique is moving from the implementation of early exit transitional bilingual model where mother tongues are quickly replaced by Portuguese before children develop satisfactory literacy in their first language to the

promotion of a maintenance bilingual model. This option can influence the development of additive bilingualism and Biliteracy among primary school children.

A requirement in this model is the inclusion of exams in national languages along with exams administered in Portuguese**.** This requirement establishes the importance of national language instruction in more formal basic education for both teachers and students in Mozambique. The inclusion of exams in national languages also contributes to solving the problem of hasty transition to Portuguese instruction. This alteration can help decrease teachers' and students' apprehensions of lagging behind monolingual school students who are taught exclusively in Portuguese from grade one onwards.

9.4. Rationale for Using L2 or L3 as medium of instruction in the proposed model

The learning of at least one language other than one's own mother tongue has become common practice all over the world. According to Lo and Lo (2014) the major issue of second language acquisition is how to learn the L2 more effectively. In traditional second language learning programmes, the second language is usually taught in isolation as a subject in the school curriculum with a certain amount of time allocated to the subject on weekly basis.

Since the St. Lambert experiment in Canada (Lambert and Tucker 1972), coupled with more recent practices in Content and Language Integrated Learning in Europe, and bilingual programs in the United States, second language teaching practices have shown considerable improvements with preference to using the second language as medium of instruction when teaching nonlanguage academic/content subjects such as mathematics, science, history and others.
The basic principle is to teach some or all nonlanguage content subjects through the language that students are learning as an L2 (Lyster and Ballinger 2011). Thus, students are exposed to more second language input in meaningful, communicative contexts, and therefore they learn the second language incidentally (Genesee 2006). From a psycholinguistic point of view, the effectiveness of such kinds of programmes in second language learning is supported by several L2 learning hypotheses. According to Krashen's (1982) comprehensible input hypothesis, when learning content subjects through the second language, students are certainly exposed to more comprehensible L2 input, which then activates their innate language acquisition device (LAD) (Chomsky 1959). Learners also tend to produce more L2 through interacting with their teachers and peers, so they can obtain more interactionally modified input that better suits their needs, get feedback on their language use, as well as test their own hypotheses about the language. These processes are likely to contribute to second language learning according to the interaction hypothesis (Long 1996) and output hypothesis (Swain 1995). From a psychological viewpoint, the use of the second language as the medium of instruction is likely to motivate students to enhance their second language proficiency, which significantly affects their academic achievement. It is further argued that students will be more interested in learning the second language, as that is the medium through which they can understand the subject content (Gardner 1985; Snow, Met et al. 1989; Genesee 1991). Based on these theoretical underpinnings, we understand that using the second or third language as the medium of instruction provides a favorable environment for second or third language learning.

9.5. Roles of key stakeholders in a new model of bilingual education in Mozambique

Successful implementation of the proposed model of bilingual education requires that key stakeholders fulfill specific roles and responsibilities. Following are the identified stakeholders and the roles and responsibilities expected of them for implementation of the maintenance of mother tongue instruction throughout primary school model.

9.5.1. The role of the Ministry of Education (MINED)

The Ministry of Education is a key stakeholder and decision maker in matters related to education in Mozambique. The Ministry of Education is, among other issues, responsible for the training of teachers for the subsystem of education run in the country, including the training of teachers for primary education.

For successful implementation of the proposed model of bilingual the Ministry of Education should:

1. Revise teacher training programmes to integrate bilingual education and the specific needs of bilingual teachers;
2. Establish criteria for recruitment of candidates for bilingual teachers and supervisors that take into account the linguistic profile of the candidates;
3. Ensure that the language of instruction in primary school teacher training for bilingual education is a national language;
4. Ensure that there are exams in national languages along with exams administered in Portuguese;
5. Train supervisors and education managers not only administrative issues but also pedagogical issues which helps them develop a knowledge base about bilingual education and how to help teachers in these programmes;
6. Design and print appropriate pedagogical materials and have them evaluated regularly as is the case with the materials for the monolingual programme;
7. Maximize the use of graduates in the teaching of Bantu languages. Eduardo Mondlane University has graduated a considerable number of teachers in Bantu languages and Pedagogic University is doing so as well. These graduates can be brought in to help monitoring the implementation of bilingual education as teacher trainers or supervisors or even as teachers in the schools.

9.5.2. The role of the National Institute for the Development of Education (INDE)

INDE is the research branch of the Ministry of Education. As such, it should:

1. Promote qualitative and quantitative studies on teaching in both national and official languages and at all levels of instruction in Mozambique. It is very important to conduct

observational and ethnographic studies in classrooms, schools and communities in order to assess the impact of pedagogical innovations promoted in schools and classrooms;

2.   Help the Ministry in the design of appropriate pedagogical materials for use with bilingual children;

3.   Help the Ministry in developing bilingual teacher preparation programmes: integration of bilingual education philosophies, theories and methodologies in initial and in-service teacher training programmes. Such approach will help teachers become familiar with first and second language acquisition and teaching theories and methodologies. The promotion of bilingual education programmes in Mozambique requires serious revision of the curriculum for teacher preparation programmes.

Benson (2010) suggests eight elements for an effective bilingual teacher training curriculum:
1. First and second language learning theory;
2. Modeling of first and second language teaching methods (oral and written);
3. Modeling of methods for intercultural instruction;
4. L2 verbal and literacy skills;
5. L1 verbal and literacy skills, including pedagogical vocabulary;
6. Language and programme assessment, including international studies of bilingual schooling, models and evaluations;
7. Study visits and/or practical internships at functioning bilingual schools;
8. Collaboration with parents and community members.

9.5.3. The role of the community

The use of local language as the language of instruction bridges the linguistic and cultural gap between home and school. Bringing the home culture into the classroom requires the participation of parents and community members to share local knowledge and skills. With local languages not yet modernized enough to cope with the requirements for a language to be used as medium of instruction at all levels of education, the local community should participate actively in the implementation of bilingual education in the local school. The community should be given ownership and feel responsible for the implementation of the programme. The community can help providing linguistic and cultural input to the programme and can help the bilingual language specialist in the process of language modernization. It is with community ownership and involvement that the bilingual programme will in fact bridge the gap between the school and the community; the "us" and the "them". The community must feel that the school is an extension and part of it and as such, it is their role to guarantee successful implementation of the bilingual programme.

9.5.4. The role of the teacher

The teacher, according to Benson (2010), must take on various roles such as that of pedagogue, linguist, innovator, intercultural communicator, community member, and even advocate of bilingual programmes.

Bilingual teachers, as evidenced in this study, bring very little formal training. Most if not all of them were educated in the "sink or swim" L2 submersion system of education where the use of the mother tongue was highly discouraged and depreciated. As the consequence of lack of pedagogical training, they imitate the teaching models through which they were taught at school. Such models amount to repetition and memorization, as shown in pedagogical challenges in chapter 8 above. Such models do not help the development of L1 literacy or help students gain communicative competence in the L2 so that L1 literacy skills can be transferred. In short, there is a need to develop effective teaching strategies appropriate to use with bilingual students.

Furthermore, teachers for the bilingual programme must be bilingual. They must be reasonably proficient in both local and official language and also be biliterate in order to teach reading and writing skills and content subjects in both languages. Teachers need to develop a 'pedagogical vocabulary' so that school related themes and all content subject disciplines can be discussed comfortably in the local language (Benson 2010). The present study showed that many bilingual the teachers have a lot of limitations in local language proficiency.

Moreover, bilingual teachers are expected to bridge the gap existing between the home and the school culture. This role is particularly difficult in contexts where the teachers themselves were brought up and educated in an alienating colonial style context where local languages and values were seen as shameful. However, bearing in mind that most teachers come from the same ethnolinguistic group as their students or even the same communities, it becomes easy to negotiate between home culture and school culture because the teachers and students share a set of cultural understandings.

In addition, after independence, Mozambique established a policy of placing teachers in areas where they did not speak the local language. As the consequence, the teachers were forced to speak the official language with the students and community members. Implicitly, the teachers were acting as advocates of the official language and not as member of the community. This incident strengthened the gap between the school and the community and superiority of the official language and culture over local languages and cultures. With the implementation of bilingual education, the gap weakened and the idea of prestige language and culture also weakened. This means that parents and community members can approach the bilingual teacher to ask for information regarding their children's progress or offer support, in situations where there was virtually no communication before. Similarly, the teacher can approach the parents, leading to a closer and more productive relationship and more likelihood that the home and school will both support children's learning(Benson 2010).

Finally, teachers themselves should act as advocates of bilingual education. Many bilingual teachers who participated in this study are unsure of the value of the first language in formal schooling. Teachers need to be provided with the pedagogical and linguistic bases for bilingual teaching. They need to be given access to studies on bilingual education so that they can become advocates of bilingual education. Teachers need to know precisely why they are doing what they are doing so that parents and community members can also get such essential information from them.

9.5.5. The role of other stakeholders

Other stakeholders such as local churches, community radios, institutions of higher education, non-government organizations and others who work with local languages have a key role for

successful implementation of bilingual education in Mozambique. They could participate either in the process of awareness-raising regarding the advantages of bilingual education in Mozambique, not only in academic terms, but because these languages are important symbols of the Mozambican cultural identity. They could participate by producing communication and information materials to the wider society. Their participation could also be in terms of contributing with financial, material and human resources for mother tongue-based bilingual education; they could contribute with funds for sponsoring teacher training and production of pedagogical materials; in this way, mother tongue education would not just rely on funds from the State Budget. Their contribution could also be in terms of providing physical facilities for L1 classes or human resources (teachers) who would be involved in delivering mother tongue education; their participation could also be in the form of inputs and expertise on the subject (Henriksen 2010).

9.6. Conclusions

The arguments in this chapter attempt to illustrate that early-exit transitional models of bilingual education are not based on sound theory or research evidence which show how children learn language and use language for learning in formal education. Learning language informally is different from learning language for use in academic contexts. Successful education requires mother tongue education throughout schooling, or an absolute minimum of 6-8 years of mother tongue medium of instruction.

The ultimate goal of schooling cannot be the former colonial or official language only. The target must be high level of proficiency in both the local and the official languages. Therefore, the target in our proposed model of bilingual education is academic bilingualism.

CHAPTER 10: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

10.1. Conclusions

Psychologically, sociologically and educationally, it has become unquestionable that the best medium for teaching a child is his mother tongue. Bilingual education increases the sense of ethnolinguistic pride and identity affirmation among the students and communities concerned. Instead of feeling ashamed of speaking their local languages, communities now show off and celebrate the rescuing of their language and cultural identity.

This study has shown that the early-exit programme being implemented in Mozambique since 2003 is not harmonious with the present state of knowledge in bilingual education and second language acquisition theory and that it does not facilitate the desired transfer of skills from L1 to L2. Transition after three years of mother tongue medium is not enough for the development of skills in neither language. Consequently, this model needs to be reviewed and adjusted to current knowledge so that students can enjoy the cognitive and academic advantages of bilingual education.

 'Weak' forms of bilingual education, early-exit programmes, where children start school using their mother tongue as language of instruction and then they are quickly transferred to L2 medium classes within the first three to four years of primary schooling do not facilitate transfer of skills from the first language to the second language. This is because successful transfer of cognitive academic language skills may be possible in late-exit transitional models (after 6 years of L1 Medium) and very late-exit models (after 8 years of L1 Medium) (Cummins 1981; Cummins and Swain 1996; Heugh 2006). Transfer may be possible in very well-resourced circumstances after 6 years of mother tongue education when accompanied by L2 language specialists. In less well-resourced circumstances, transfer is more likely to be possible after 8 years of mother tongue education (Heugh 2000; Heugh 2006; Heugh 2009).

Although many African countries still "cling" on language in education practices inherited from the former colonial powers, these practices have shown to bring no benefits in the education of language minority students who, in fact, constitute a great majority of student population in African schools.

Early-exit models of bilingual education, which have become common practice in some African countries interested in promoting African languages, are equally inefficient, ineffective and counterproductive. The children are moved to L2/official language medium too early and as the consequence, children may not acquire the desired performance in neither language and thus derive detrimental effects of their bilingualism.

The way forward, as shown through the examples of successful bilingual education models in Africa, is either late-exit bilingual education models (transition to L2/official language medium after 6 to 8years of mother tongue education) or additive bilingual education models. Most minority language children in Africa start learning the second/official language at school and they do not have much exposure to the official language outside the classroom context because the official language is not the language of their home or their immediate community. The

popular belief "the sooner the better" or the sooner a child is exposed to the new language, the better that child will learn the language is now replaced with a more evidence- based statement "the longer mother tongue education is retained in the education of a language minority child, the better that child will learn another language (second or foreign)".

Mozambique is basically a Bantu country. Although the Bantu languages of Mozambique have been ignored for over half a millennium, from colonial period until 1992, they are alive and well and still dominant throughout the country. Most Mozambicans have a Bantu language as their mother tongue and also, they mostly speak Bantu languages in their daily communications outside the formal context.

Although Portuguese still enjoys the prestige and hegemony over the Bantu languages of Mozambique, being the only official language of the country as accorded by the constitution, it is spoken by a tiny proportion of the population. The power relationship between Portuguese language and the Bantu languages of Mozambique is gradually changing with the introduction of Bantu languages as mediums of teaching and learning. Moreover, the prestige and hegemony of Portuguese in Mozambique is being challenged by other European languages such as English and French whose importance is increasingly recognized in Mozambique.

Successful implementation of the bilingual education programme in Mozambique is dependent on provision of resources such as adequately trained teachers and appropriate pedagogical materials for use in classrooms.

Although the local communities feel valued when they see the local school teaching their language, the local language needs to be really empowered by expanding the domains of its use so that the value of the local language and culture is felt beyond the geographical limits of the local community.

The ultimate goal of schooling cannot be the former colonial or official language only. The target must be high level of proficiency in both the local and the official languages. Therefore, the target in our proposed model of bilingual education is academic bilingualism.

10.2. Recommendations

Successful implementation of bilingual education in Mozambique will require, among other issues:

1. Revising teacher training programmes to integrate bilingual education and the specific needs of bilingual teachers;
2. Establishing specific criteria for recruitment of candidates for bilingual teachers and supervisors that take into account the linguistic profile of the candidates;
3. Ensuring that the language of instruction in primary school teacher training for bilingual education is a national language;
4. Ensuring that there are of exams in national languages along with exams administered in Portuguese;

5. Training of supervisors and leaders not only administrative training but also pedagogical training which helps them develop a knowledge base about bilingual education and how to help teachers in these programmes;
6. Modernizing of local languages;
7. Producing literature in local languages;
8. Designing and printing appropriate pedagogical materials and have them evaluated regularly as is the case with the materials for the monolingual programme;
9. Maximizing the use of graduates in the teaching of Bantu languages. Eduardo Mondlane University has graduated a considerable number of teachers in Bantu languages and Pedagogic University is doing so as well. These graduates can be brought in to help monitoring the implementation of bilingual education as teacher trainers or supervisors or even as teachers in the schools.
10. Promoting qualitative and quantitative studies on teaching in both national and official languages and at all levels of instruction in Mozambique. It is very important to conduct observational and ethnographic studies in classrooms, schools and communities in order to assess the impact of pedagogical innovations promoted in schools and classrooms;
11. Involving parents and community members to share local knowledge and skills;
12. Empowering local communities to feel ownership of the programme;
13. Empowering teachers to work as advocates of bilingual education;
14. Encouraging participation of other stakeholders such as local churches, community radios, institutions of higher education, non-government organizations and others who work with local languages.

10.3. Further Research

Having proposed the above recommendations based on our research findings, two important issues have emerged that could be examined through further research. Firstly, there is the need to investigate official language (Portuguese) performance of bilingual students. This is important at this stage of implementation of bilingual education in Mozambique because it would provide much needed insights into how the official language (L2) teaching should be organized and managed in the bilingual programme. One of the benefits of mother tongue education is that it facilitates the learning of another or other languages. It is useful to find ways in which such a benefit can be accomplished so that the children enrolled in the bilingual programme can effectively enjoy the benefits of their bilingualism.

 Secondly, the pedagogical challenges faced by the bilingual teachers deserve special attention. It would be worthwhile investigating the kind of pedagogy used by the teachers in their lessons. This is essential because any initiative for improving the quality of education must necessarily be accompanied by appropriate teacher preparation policies and strategies to allow for real change. Findings from such research would inform teacher-training practices in Mozambican teacher-training institutions.

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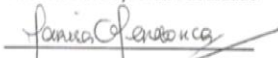
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Appendices

Appendix 1.a: Letter to the Ministry of Education and Culture

Faculdade de Ciências de Linguagem, Comunicação e Artes
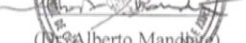
Departamento de Inglês

Rua João Carlos Raposo Beirão, nº. 135, Telef: 320860/2; Fax nº. 306720, e-mail: f_linguas@yahoo.com.br

Visto da Direcção da Faculdade

(Prof. Doutora Marisa Mendonça)

Para Direcção Nacional de Eduacação Geral

O Departamento de Inglês da Faculdade de Ciências de Linguagem, Comunicação e Artes da Universidade Pedagógica vem por meio desta solicitar o acesso à informação sobre Ensino bilingue para **Carlos Quenesse Mataruca**, estudante de Doutoramento na Universidade de Southern Queensland da Austrália, para efeitos de recolha de dados relacionados com ensino bilingue em Moçambique, para a sua tese de Doutoramento subordinado ao Tema " **Exploring Opportunities for Bilingual Education Programs in Mozambique**".

Maputo, aos 13 de Agosto de 2010

O chefe do Departamento

(Dr. Alberto Mandhlate)

242

REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE

PEDAGOGIC UNIVERSITY

Faculty of language Sciences, communication and Arts

Department of English

Credential

Approved by the Dean of Faculty

_____

(Signed, Professor Marisa Mendonça)

To the National Directorate of General education

The Department of English of the Faculty of Language Sciences, communication and Arts of Pedagogic University access to information on bilingual education in Mozambique to **Dr. Carlos Mataruca**, student with the university of Southern Queensland in Australia, as part of the requirements for the fulfillment of his doctoral project in Australia entitled "**Exploring opportunities for bilingual education programmes in Mozambique**".

Maputo, 18 August 2010

The Head of Department_____

(Dr. Alberto Manjate)

(Signed and stamped)

Also stamped by Ministry of Education authorities on 18 August 2010

Faculdade de Ciências de Linguagem, Comunicação e Artes

Departamento de Inglês

Rua João Carlos Raposo Beirão, nº. 135, Telef: 320860/2; Fax nº. 306720, e-mail: f_linguas@yahoo.com.br

CREDENCIAL

Serve a presente, para credenciar **Carlos Quenesse Mataruca**, estudante de Doutoramento na Universidade de Southern Queensland da Austrália, para efeitos de recolha de dados relaccionados com ensino bilingue em Moçambique, para a sua tese de Doutoramento subordinado ao Tema " **Exploring Opportunities for Bilingual Education Programs in Mozambique**".

Maputo, aos 23 de Agosto de 2010

O chefe do Departamento

(Dr. Alberto Mandjate)

I.N.D.E.

REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE

PEDAGOGIC UNIVERSITY

Faculty of language Sciences, communication and Arts

Department of English

Credential

The present document serves to confirm that **Dr. Carlos Mataruca**, student with the University of Southern Queensland in Australia, has been permitted by Pedagogic University to collect information/ data related to bilingual education in Mozambique as part of the requirements for the fulfillment of his doctoral project in Australia entitled "**Exploring opportunities for bilingual education programmes in Mozambique**".

Maputo, 23 August 2010

The Head of Department

_____

(Dr. Alberto Manjate)

(Signed and stamped)

Also stamped by INDE (National Institute for Educational Development) on 23 August 2010

FACULDADE DE CIÊNCIAS DA LINGUAGEM COMUNICAÇÃO E ARTES
Departamento de Inglês

CREDENCIAL

Serve a presente para credenciar o Dr. Carlos Mataruca, docente na Universidade Pedagógica, Departamento de Inglês, para efeitos de recolha de dados na Província de MANICA , como parte integrante do seu trabalho de doutoramento em progresso na Austrália, intitulado 'Exploring Opportunities for Bilingual Education Progarmmes in Mozambique'.

Maputo, aos 16 de Maio de 2011

O chefe do Departamento

(Dr. Alberto Mandjate)

2010 – ANO DE PRATA
Av/João Carlos Beirão, N.135, C.P.3276 - Maputo Tel : 00258-823067021; Fax00258-21315235,
Email: f_linguas@yahoo.com.br

REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE

PEDAGOGIC UNIVERSITY

Faculty of language Sciences, communication and Arts

Department of English

Credential

The present document serves to confirm that **Dr. Carlos Mataruca**, lecturer at Pedagogic University, Department of English, has been permitted to collect data in the province of Manica, as part of the requirements for the fulfillment of his doctoral project in Australia entitled "**Exploring opportunities for bilingual education programmes in Mozambique**".

Maputo, 16 May 2011

The Head of Department

_____

(Dr. Alberto Manjate)

(Signed and stamped)

Also signed and stamped by the provincial education authority on 27 June 2011

FACULDADE DE CIÊNCIAS DA LINGUAGEM COMUNICAÇÃO E ARTES
Departamento de Inglês

CREDENCIAL

Serve a presente para credenciar o Dr. Carlos Mataruca, docente na Universidade Pedagógica, Departamento de Inglês, para efeitos de recolha de dados na Escola PRIMÁRIA COMPLETA DE ⬛, como parte integrante do seu trabalho de doutoramento em progresso na Austrália, intitulado '*Exploring Opportunities for Bilingual Education Progarmmes in Mozambique*'.

Maputo, aos 16 de Maio de 2011

O chefe do Departamento

(Dr. Alberto Mandjate)

2010 – ANO DE PRATA
Av/João Carlos Beirão, N.135, C.P.3276 - Maputo Tel : 00258-823067021; Fax00258-21315235, Email: f_linguas@yahoo.com.br

REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE

PEDAGOGIC UNIVERSITY

Faculty of language Sciences, communication and Arts

Department of English

Credential

The present document serves to confirm that **Dr. Carlos Mataruca**, lecturer at Pedagogic University, Department of English, has been permitted to collect data at _____ Primary school, as part of the requirements for the fulfillment of his doctoral project in Australia entitled "**Exploring opportunities for bilingual education programmes in Mozambique**".

Maputo, 16 May 2011

The Head of Department

_____

(Dr. Alberto Manjate)

(Signed and stamped)

Also signed and stamped by the school authorities on 27 June 2011

FACULDADE DE CIÊNCIAS DA LINGUAGEM COMUNICAÇÃO E ARTES
Departamento de Inglês

CREDENCIAL

Serve a presente para credenciar o Dr. Carlos Mataruca, docente na Universidade Pedagógica, Departamento de Inglês, para efeitos de recolha de dados na Escola PRIMARIA COMPLETA DE ▮▮▮▮, como parte integrante do seu trabalho de doutoramento em progresso na Austrália, intitulado 'Exploring Opportunities for Bilingual Education Progarmmes in Mozambique'.

Maputo, aos 16 de Maio de 2011

O chefe do Departamento

(Dr. Alberto Mandjate)

2010 – ANO DE PRATA
Av/João Carlos Beirão, N/135, C.P.3276 - Maputo Tel : 00258-823067021; Fax00258-21315235, Email: f_linguas@yahoo.com.br

REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE

PEDAGOGIC UNIVERSITY

Faculty of language Sciences, communication and Arts

Department of English

Credential

The present document serves to confirm that **Dr. Carlos Mataruca**, lecturer at Pedagogic University, Department of English, has been permitted to collect data at _____ Primary School, as part of the requirements for the fulfillment of his doctoral project in Australia entitled "**Exploring opportunities for bilingual education programmes in Mozambique**".

Maputo, 16 May 2011

The Head of Department

_____

(Dr. Alberto Manjate)

(Signed and stamped)

Also signed and stamped by the school authorities on 29 June 2011

University of Southern Queensland

Office of Research and Higher Degrees

Ethics Office

West St. Toowoomba 4350

QLD- Australia

ethics@usq.edu.au

Consent form

Dear Participant,

My name is Carlos Quenesse Mataruca. I am a Teacher at Universidade Pedagogica and a

Postgraduate (Doctor of Education) student at the University of Southern Queensland in

Australia. I am currently conducting my research project, a part of which is to interview

participants about their views concerning language education as a means of achieving attitudes,

values, and social capabilities that a child must acquire to be functional in the community. I

would like to invite you to participate in this study. Your participation will be highly valued.

Participation is entirely voluntary. It involves answering questions about your feelings

and views concerning bilingual education programmes in primary schools in Mozambique.

The information provided will be audio/video recorded for analysis. No one, other than

the researcher will have access to the data.

Your complete anonymity is assured and will be maintained by using a pseudonym in place of
your name at data analysis and dissemination of findings. At the completion of my project, I will
be happy to share the findings of the study. If you have any questions, please feel free to ask.

Thank you for considering this request. If you are willing to participate, please complete the permission form below.

For further questions, I can be contacted on email: d1138041@umail.usq.edu.au;

cmataruca@yahoo.com, or telephone: +258 827291900.

Faithfully,

Carlos Quenesse Mataruca

EdD Candidate

1. I hereby agree to participate in the above research Project conducted by Carlos Quenesse Mataruca of USQ.
2. I understand that my participation is entirely voluntary, that I may withdraw from the project at any time and that should I withdraw, any data gathered from me will be destroyed immediately.
3. I understand that every effort to protect my anonymity will be made, that data collected from this project will be securely stored and remain strictly confidential.

Name_____

Telephone_____   email   _____

Signature _____ date_____/_____/_____

University of Southern Queensland

Office of Research and Higher Degrees

Ethics Office

West St. Toowoomba 4350

QLD- Australia

ethics@usq.edu.au

Formulário de Consentimento

Estimado participante,

Chamo-me Carlos Quenesse Mataruca. Sou professor na Universidade Pedagogica e estudante de doutoramento na Universidade de Southern Queensland na Austrália. Neste momento, estou a trabalhar no meu Projecto de pesquisa, parte da qual requer entrevistar participantes sobre seus pontos de vista em relação a aprendizagem da língua como forma de aquisição de atitudes, valores e capacidades sociais que a criança deve adquirir de forma a ser útil na comunidade. Gostaria de convidar o seu educando a participar neste estudo. Sua participação é da nossa mais Elevada estima.

A participação neste estudo é de carácter voluntário e envolve responder questões sobre suas opiniões em relação ao programa de educação bilingue que está a ser implementado nas escolas

primárias em Moçambique. A informação fornecida será gravada para posterior análise. Ninguém, para além do pesquisador,

terá acesso a informação fornecida

Garantimos o anonimato do seu educando através do uso de pseudónimo no lugar de seu nome na análise e disseminação da informação. Concluído o projecto, estaremos dispostos a compartilhar consigo os resultados deste estudo. Caso tenha alguma questão, por favor, sinta-se livre de perguntar. Muito obrigado por aceitar o nosso pedido. Se consente a participação do seu educando neste estudo, por favor preencha o formulário de consentimento fornecido.

 Para questões adicionais, poderá nos contactar através de correio electrónico:

d1138041@umail.usq.edu.au;

cmataruca@yahoo.com, ou telefone: +258 827291900/ +258 846070456.

Respeitosamente,

Carlos Quenesse Mataruca

1. Eu consinto a minha participação no projecto de pesquisa conduzido por Carlos Quenesse Mataruca da Universidade de Southern Queensland, Austrália.
2. Entendo que a minha participação é inteiramente voluntária e que posso- me retirar do Projecto a qualquer momento e que qualquer informação fornecida por mim será imediatamente destruído no momento da minha retirada do Projecto.
3. Entendo que todo o esforço será feito para proteger o meu anonimato e que os dados colhidos no âmbito deste projecto serão guardados em segurança e permacerão estritamente confidenciais.

Nome do/a participante_____

Assinatura _____
Data_____/_____/_____

Telefone_____ correio electrónico _____

University of Southern Queensland

Office of Research and Higher Degrees

Ethics Office

West St. Toowoomba 4350

QLD- Australia

ethics@usq.edu.au

Consent form

Dear Parent/ Care taker,

My name is Carlos Quenesse Mataruca. I am a Teacher at Universidade Pedagogica and a Postgraduate (Doctor of Education) student at the University of Southern Queensland in Australia. I am currently conducting my research project, a part of which is to interview participants about their views concerning language education as a means of achieving attitudes, values, and social capabilities that a child must acquire to be functional in the community. I would like to invite your child to participate in this study. Their participation will be highly valued.

Participation is entirely voluntary. It involves answering questions about their feelings and views concerning bilingual education programmes in primary schools in Mozambique.

The information provided will be audio/video recorded for analysis. No one, other than the

researcher, will have access to the data.

Their complete anonymity is assured and will be maintained by using a pseudonym in place of their name at data analysis and dissemination of findings. At the completion of my project, I will be happy to share the findings of the study. If you have any questions, please feel free to ask. Thank you for considering this request. If you are willing your child to participate, please complete the permission form below.

For further questions, I can be contacted on email: d1138041@umail.usq.edu.au;

cmataruca@yahoo.com, or telephone: +258 827291900.

Faithfully,

Carlos Quenesse Mataruca

EdD Candidate

4. I hereby agree that my child participate in the above research Project conducted by Carlos Quenesse Mataruca of USQ.
5. I understand that my child's participation is entirely voluntary, that they may withdraw from the project at any time and that should they withdraw, any data gathered from them will be destroyed immediately.
6. I understand that every effort to protect my child's anonymity will be made, that data collected from this project will be securely stored and remain strictly confidential.

Child Name_____

Parent/ Care taker Name _____

Parent/ caretaker Signature _____date_____/_____/_____

Telephone_____ email _____

University of Southern Queensland

Office of Research and Higher Degrees

Ethics Office

West St. Toowoomba 4350

QLD- Australia

ethics@usq.edu.au

Formulário de Consentimento (Portuguese version)

Estimado pai/ encarregado de educação,

Chamo-me Carlos Quenesse Mataruca. Sou professor na Universidade Pedagogica e estudante de doutoramento na Universidade de Southern Queensland na Austrália. Neste momento, estou a trabalhar no meu Projecto de pesquisa, parte da qual requer entrevistar participantes sobre seus pontos de vista em relação a aprendizagem da língua como forma de aquisição de atitudes, valores e capacidades sociais que a criança deve adquirir de forma a ser útil na comunidade. Gostaria de convidar o seu educando a participar neste estudo. Sua participação da nossa mais elevada estima.

A participação neste estudo é de carácter voluntário e envolve responder questões sobre suas opiniões em relação ao programa de educação bilingue que está a ser implementado nas escolas primárias em Moçambique.

A informação fornecida será gravada para posterior análise. Ninguém, para além do pesquisador, terá acesso a informação fornecida.

Garantimos o anonimato do seu educando através do uso de pseudónimo no lugar de seu nome na análise e disseminação da informação. Concluído o projecto, estaremos dispostos a compartilhar consigo os resultados deste estudo. Caso tenha alguma questão, por favor, sinta-se

livre de perguntar. Muito obrigado por aceitar o nosso pedido. Se consente a participação do seu educando neste estudo, por favor preencha o formulário de consentimento fornecido.

Para questões adicionais, poderá nos contactar através de correio electrónico: d1138041@umail.usq.edu.au;

cmataruca@yahoo.com, ou telefone: +258 827291900/ +258 846070456.

Respeitosamente,

Carlos Quenesse Mataruca

1. Eu consinto a participação do meu educando no projecto de pesquisa conduzido por Carlos Quenesse Mataruca da Universidade de Southern Queensland, Austrália.
2. Entendo que a participação do meu educando é inteiramente voluntária e que o meu educando pode se retirar do Projecto a qualquer momento e que qualquer informação fornecida pelo meu educando será imediatamente destruído no momento da sua retirada do Projecto.
3. Entendo que todo o esforço será feito para proteger o anonimato do meu educando e que os dados colhidos no âmbito deste projecto serão guardados em segurança e permacerão estritamente confidenciais.

    Nome do educando_____

    Nome do pai/encarregado de educação_____

    Assinatura do pai/encarregado de educação _____
    Data_____/_____/_____

    Telefone_____ correio electrónico _____

Name of Interviewer: Carlos Quenesse Mataruca

Date_____

Name of Interviewee_____

 Position_____

In-depth Interview Guide

_____

This guide was designed for interviews to be conducted with Pupils

_____

Interviews with Pupils

_____

"Good morning/ afternoon. My name is Carlos Quenesse Mataruca. I am a postgraduate (Doctor of Education) student at the University of Southern Queensland in Australia. I am currently conducting my research project, a part of which is to interview participants about their views concerning language education as a means of achieving attitudes, values, and social capabilities that a child must acquire to be functional in the community. I would like to invite you to participate in this study. Your participation will be highly valued. Participation is entirely voluntary. It involves answering questions about your feelings and views concerning bilingual education programmes in primary schools in Mozambique.

Your complete anonymity is assured and will be maintained by using a pseudonym in place of your name at data analysis and dissemination of findings. At the completion of my project, I will be happy to share the findings of the study. If you have any questions, please feel free to ask. Thank you for considering this request.

If it is okay with you, I will be tape recording our conversation. The purpose of this is so that I can get all the details but at the same time be able to carry on an attentive conversation with you. I assure you that all your comments will remain confidential. I will be compiling a report which will contain all comments without any reference to individuals. If you agree to this interview and the tape recording, please sign this consent form.

1. "I'd like to start by having you to briefly describe your studies" (*Note to interviewer: You may need to probe to gather the information you need*).

I'm now going to ask you some questions that I would like you to answer to the best of your ability. If you do not know the answer, please say so.

2. "Do you think that bilingual education programme is the best way for Ciutee-speaking children to learn Portuguese?" (*Note to interviewer: probe – "Why or why not? "Are you in the bilingual or monolingual; programme?"; "How long have you been in the programme?"; "What differences have you noticed in the classroom?"*)
3. *"What languages are spoken in this community?" (Note to interviewer: languages, varieties, etc.)*
4. *"What language(s) do you speak at home? (Note to interviewer: After giving individual time to respond, probe specific language use issues- e.g. what language do you use for shopping, at school, in informal conversations with friends, etc. if different language are used ask why)*
5. "Do you think non-Portuguese speaking students should be taught basic subjects in their own languages while they are learning Portuguese or should they be placed in all Portuguese speaking classes? Why do you say this?" *(Note to interviewer: You may need to probe why specific strong elements are mentioned")*
6. "What types of concerns have you had or heard regarding the bilingual education being implemented in this school?" *(Note to interviewer: You may need to probe to gather the information you need)*
7. *"What other problems are you aware of?" (Note to interviewer: You may need to probe to gather the information you need)*
8. "Why do some children enroll in the bilingual programme and others in all Portuguese classes?" *(Note to interviewer: You may need to probe to gather the information you need - e.g., "I'd like to know more about what your thinking is on that issue")*
9. *"Is there any other information about the bilingual programme or other aspects of the programme you think would be useful for me to know?" (Note to interviewer: If so, you may need to probe to gather the information you need)*

This is the end of the interview and thank you very much for your time.

Nome do Entrevistador: Carlos Quenesse Mataruca

Data da entrevista: _____

Nome do entrevistado: _____

 Função do entrevistado: _____

 Guião para entrevista

Este guião foi elaborado para entrevistas com alunos

Entrevista com alunos

"Bom dia/Boa tarde. Chamo-me Carlos Quenesse Mataruca. Sou professor na Universidade Pedagogica e estudante de doutoramento na Universidade de Southern Queensland na Austrália. Neste momento, estou a trabalhar no meu Projecto de pesquisa, parte da qual requer entrevistar participantes sobre seus pontos de vista em relação a aprendizagem da língua como forma de aquisição de atitudes, valores e capacidades sociais que a criança deve adquirir de forma a ser útil na comunidade. Gostaria de convidar o seu educando a participar neste estudo. Sua participação da nossa mais elevada estima. A participação neste estudo é de carácter voluntário e envolve responder questões sobre suas opiniões em relação ao programa de educação bilingue que está a ser implementado nas escolas primárias em Moçambique.

Garantimos o seu anonimato através do uso de pseudónimo no lugar de seu nome na análise e disseminação da informação. Concluído o Projecto, estaremos dispostos a compartilhar consigo os resultados deste estudo. Caso tenha alguma questão, por favor, sinta-se livre de perguntar. Muito obrigado por aceitar o nosso pedido. Se consente a sua participação neste estudo, por favor preencha o formulário de consentimento fornecido

Com sua permissão, a informação fornecida será gravada para permitir colher todos detalhes e

também para que eu possa ter tempo para me concentrar na conversa consigo. Ninguém, para

além do pesquisador, terá acesso a informação fornecida.

1.   "Gostaria que me falasses sobre os seus estudos" (*Nota ao entrevistador: È preciso sondar para obter informação necessária*).

" Agora vou-lhe fazer umas perguntas e gostaria que respondesse com toda sinceridade. Caso não conheça a resposta, não tem problemas."

2.   " Acha que a Educação Bilingue é a melhor forma para os falantes de Ciutee aprenderem a língua portuguesa?" (*Nota para o entrevistador: sondar – "porquê ou porquê não? " Está matriculado no programa Bilingue ou monolingue?"; "há quanto tempo está no programa?"; "Como é/ que diferenças nota na sala de aulas?"*)

3.   "Que línguas se falam nesta comunidade?" (*Nota para o entrevistador: sondar sobre línguas/variedades.*)

4.   " Que língua (s) fala em casa? (Nota *para o entrevistador: sondar sobre uso específico das línguas ex. Para compras, com amigos, na escola, etc. se as línguas usadas forem diferentes, procurar razões*)

5.   "Acha que os alunos que não falam português deviam ser ensinados disciplinas básicas nas suas línguas enquanto estiverem a aprender Português? Ou acha que devia-se ensinar tudo em português como acontece com o programa monolingue. Porquê?" *(Nota para o entrevistador: sondar quando elementos específicos forem mencionados")*

6.   "Que preocupações já ouviu sobre o ensino Bilingue que está a ser implementado nesta escola? (*Nota para o entrevistador: sondar para colher informação*)

7.   "Que outros problemas teve conhecimento*?" (Nota para o entrevistador: sondar para colher informação.)*

8.   " Porquê é que algumas crianças se matriculam no ensino bilingue e outras no ensino monolingue?" (*Nota para o entrevistador: sondar sobre preferências e razões - ex., " Gostaria de saber mais sobre o que pensa em relação a este assunto*")

9.   " Existe mais alguma coisa que gostaria de me dizer sobre o ensino bilingue? O programa ou qualquer aspecto relacionado com o programa." (*Nota para o entrevistador: sondar para colher informação*)

Muito obrigado pelo seu tempo e este é o fim da nossa entrevista.

Name of Interviewer: Carlos Quenesse Mataruca

Date_____

Name of Interviewee_____

 Position_____

In-depth Interview Guide

_____

This guide was designed for interviews to be conducted with Parents/ caretakers

_____

Interviews with Parents

_____

"Good morning/ afternoon. My name is Carlos Quenesse Mataruca. I am a postgraduate (Doctor of Education) student at the University of Southern Queensland in Australia. I am currently conducting my research project, a part of which is to interview participants about their views concerning language education as a means of achieving attitudes, values, and social capabilities that a child must acquire to be functional in the community. I would like to invite you to participate in this study. Your participation will be highly valued. Participation is entirely voluntary. It involves answering questions about your feelings and views concerning bilingual education programmes in primary schools in Mozambique.

Your complete anonymity is assured and will be maintained by using a pseudonym in place of your name at data analysis and dissemination of findings. At the completion of my project, I will be happy to share the findings of the study. If you have any questions, please feel free to ask. Thank you for considering this request.

If it is okay with you, I will be tape recording our conversation. The purpose of this is so that I can get all the details but at the same time be able to carry on an attentive conversation with you. I assure you that all your comments will remain confidential. I will be compiling a report which will contain all comments without any reference to individuals. If you agree to this interview and the tape recording, please sign this consent form.

1. "I'd like to start by having you briefly describe what you do" (*Note to interviewer: You may need to probe to gather the information you need).*

"I'm now going to ask you some questions that I would like you to answer to the best of your ability. If you do not know the answer, please say so."

2. "Do you think that bilingual education programme is the best way for Ciutee-speaking children to learn Portuguese?" *(Note to interviewer: probe – "Why or why not? "What differences have you noticed in the community?")*

3. "What languages are spoken in this community?" (*Note to interviewer: languages, varieties, etc.)*

4. "What language(s) do you speak at home?" (*Note to interviewer: After giving individual time to respond, probe specific language use issues- e.g. what language do you use for shopping, at work, in informal conversations with friends, etc. if different language are used ask why)*

5. "Do you think non-Portuguese speaking students should be taught basic subjects in their own languages while they are learning Portuguese or should they be placed in all Portuguese speaking classes? Why do you say this?" *(Note to interviewer: You may need to probe why specific strong elements are mentioned")*

6. "What types of concerns have you had or heard regarding the bilingual education being implemented in this community?" *(Note to interviewer: You may need to probe to gather the information you need)*

7. "What other problems are you aware of?" (*Note to interviewer: You may need to probe to gather the information you need)*

8. "Why do some parents send their children to the bilingual programme and others to all Portuguese classes?" (*Note to interviewer: You may need to probe to gather the information you need - e.g., "I'd like to know more about what your thinking is on that issue")*

9. "Is there any other information about the bilingual programme or other aspects of the programme you think would be useful for me to know?" *(Note to interviewer: If so, you may need to probe to gather the information you need)*

This is the end of the interview and thank you very much for your time.

Nome do Entrevistador: Carlos Quenesse Mataruca

Data da entrevista: _____

Nome do entrevistado: _____

Função do entrevistado: _____

Guião para entrevista

Este guião foi elaborado para entrevistas com Pais/ encarregados de educação

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Entrevistas com Pais/ encarregados de educação

"Bom dia/Boa tarde. Chamo-me Carlos Quenesse Mataruca. Sou professor na Universidade Pedagogica e estudante de doutoramento na Universidade de Southern Queensland na Austrália. Neste momento, estou a trabalhar no meu Projecto de pesquisa, parte da qual requer entrevistar participantes sobre seus pontos de vista em relação a aprendizagem da língua como forma de aquisição de atitudes, valores e capacidades sociais que a criança deve adquirir de forma a ser útil na comunidade. Gostaria de convidar o seu educando a participar neste estudo. Sua participação da nossa mais elevada estima. A participação neste estudo é de carácter voluntário e envolve responder questões sobre suas opiniões em relação ao programa de educação bilingue que está a ser implementado nas escolas primárias em Moçambique.

Garantimos o seu anonimato através do uso de pseudónimo no lugar de seu nome na análise e disseminação da informação. Concluído o Projecto, estaremos dispostos a compartilhar consigo os resultados deste estudo. Caso tenha alguma questão, por favor, sinta-se livre de perguntar. Muito obrigado por aceitar o nosso pedido. Se consente a sua participação neste estudo, por favor preencha o formulário de consentimento fornecido

Com sua permissão, a informação fornecida será gravada para permitir colher todos detalhes e

também para que eu possa ter tempo para me concentrar na conversa consigo. Ninguém, para

além do pesquisador, terá acesso a informação fornecida.

1.   "Gostaria que começasse por descrever o seu trabalho diário" (*Nota ao entrevistador: È preciso sondar para obter informação necessária).*

" Agora vou-lhe fazer umas perguntas e gostaria que respondesse com toda sinceridade. Caso não conheça a resposta, não tem problemas."

2.   "Acha que o ensino Bilingue é a melhor forma para as crianças falantes de Ciutee aprenderem a língua portuguesa?" *(Nota para o entrevistador: sondar – " Porquê? Porquê não? " Que diferenças nota na comunidade?")*

3.   "Que línguas se falam nesta comunidade?" (*Nota para o entrevistador: sondar sobre línguas/variedades.)*

4.   " Que língua (s) fala em casa? (Nota *para o entrevistador: sondar sobre uso específico das línguas ex. Para compras, com amigos, no trabalho, etc. se as línguas usadas forem diferentes, procurar razões*)

5.   "Acha que os alunos que não falam português deviam ser ensinados disciplinas básicas nas suas línguas enquanto estiverem a aprender Português? Ou acha que devia-se ensinar tudo em português como acontece com o programa monolingue. Porquê?" *(Nota para o entrevistador: sondar quando elementos específicos forem mencionados")*

6.   "Que preocupações já ouviu sobre o ensino Bilingue que está a ser implementado nesta escola? (*Nota para o entrevistador: sondar para colher informação)*

7.   "Que outros problemas teve conhecimento*?" (Nota para o entrevistador: sondar para colher informação.)*

8.   " Porquê é que alguns pais e encarregados de educação matriculam suas crianças no ensino bilingue e outros no ensino monolingue?" (*Nota para o entrevistador: sondar sobre preferências e razões - ex., " Gostaria de saber mais sobre o que pensa em relação a este assunto*")

9.   " Existe mais alguma coisa que gostaria de me dizer sobre o ensino bilingue? O programa ou qualquer aspecto relacionado com o programa." (*Nota para o entrevistador: sondar para colher informação)*

Muito obrigado pelo seu tempo e este é o fim da nossa entrevista

Name of Interviewer: Carlos Quenesse Mataruca

Date_____

Name of Interviewee_____

 Position_____

In-depth Interview Guide

───

This guide was designed for interviews to be conducted with teachers

───

Interviews with teachers

───

"Good morning/ afternoon. My name is Carlos Quenesse Mataruca. I am a postgraduate (Doctor of Education) student at the University of Southern Queensland in Australia. I am currently conducting my research project, a part of which is to interview participants about their views concerning language education as a means of achieving attitudes, values, and social capabilities that a child must acquire to be functional in the community. I would like to invite you to participate in this study. Your participation will be highly valued. Participation is entirely voluntary. It involves answering questions about your feelings and views concerning bilingual education programmes in primary schools in Mozambique.

Your complete anonymity is assured and will be maintained by using a pseudonym in place of your name at data analysis and dissemination of findings. At the completion of my project, I will be happy to share the findings of the study. If you have any questions, please feel free to ask. Thank you for considering this request.

If it is okay with you, I will be tape recording our conversation. The purpose of this is so that I can get all the details but at the same time be able to carry on an attentive conversation with you. I assure you that all your comments will remain confidential. I will be compiling a report which will contain all comments without any reference to individuals. If you agree to this interview and the tape recording, please sign this consent form.

1. "I'd like to start by having you briefly describe your job with the school." *(Note to interviewer: You may need to probe to gather the information you need).*

"I'm now going to ask you some questions that I would like you to answer to the best of your ability. If you do not know the answer, please say so."

2. "Do you think that bilingual education programme is the best way for Ciutee-speaking children to learn Portuguese?" *(Note to interviewer: probe – "Why or why not? "What differences have you noticed in the classroom?")*
3. "What challenges do teachers in the bilingual programme face?" *(Note to interviewer: training/ materials, etc.)*
4. "Do bilingual and Portuguese only teachers coordinate their efforts?" (*Note to interviewer: After giving individual time to respond, probe specific planned activities/strategies he/she may not have addressed, frequency of activities, etc.*")
5. "What do you think the strongest and weakest points of the bilingual programme have been up to this point? Why do you say this?" *(Note to interviewer: You may need to probe why specific strong elements are mentioned")*
6. "What types of concerns have you had or heard of regarding the availability of materials and assistance?" *(Note to interviewer: You may need to probe to gather the information you need)*
7. "What other problems are you aware of?" (*Note to interviewer: You may need to probe to gather the information you need)*
8. "What do you think about the bilingual programme as a whole?" *(Note to interviewer: You may need to probe to gather the information you need - e.g., "I'd like to know more about what your thinking is on that issue")*
9. "Is there any other information about the bilingual programme or other aspects of the programme you think would be useful for me to know?" *(Note to interviewer: If so, you may need to probe to gather the information you need)*

This is the end of the interview and thank you very much for your time.

Nome do Entrevistador: Carlos Quenesse Mataruca

Data da entrevista: _____

Nome do entrevistado: _____

 Função do entrevistado: _____

 Guião para entrevista

Este guião foi elaborado para entrevistas com Professores

Entrevistas com Professores

"Bom dia/Boa tarde. Chamo-me Carlos Quenesse Mataruca. Sou professor na Universidade Pedagogica e estudante de doutoramento na Universidade de Southern Queensland na Austrália. Neste momento, estou a trabalhar no meu Projecto de pesquisa, parte da qual requer entrevistar participantes sobre seus pontos de vista em relação a aprendizagem da língua como forma de aquisição de atitudes, valores e capacidades sociais que a criança deve adquirir de forma a ser útil na comunidade. Gostaria de convidar o seu educando a participar neste estudo. Sua participação da nossa mais elevada estima. A participação neste estudo é de carácter voluntário e envolve responder questões sobre suas opiniões em relação ao programa de educação bilingue que está a ser implementado nas escolas primárias em Moçambique.

Garantimos o seu anonimato através do uso de pseudónimo no lugar de seu nome na análise e disseminação da informação. Concluído o Projecto, estaremos dispostos a compartilhar consigo os resultados deste estudo. Caso tenha alguma questão, por favor, sinta-se livre de perguntar. Muito obrigado por aceitar o nosso pedido. Se consente a sua participação neste estudo, por favor preencha o formulário de consentimento fornecido

Com sua permissão, a informação fornecida será gravada para permitir colher todos detalhes e

também para que eu possa ter tempo para me concentrar na conversa consigo . Ninguém, para

além do pesquisador, terá acesso a informação fornecida.

1.   "Gostaria que começasse por descrever o seu trabalho aqui na escola" (*Nota ao entrevistador: È preciso sondar para obter informação necessária*).

" Agora vou-lhe fazer umas perguntas e gostaria que respondesse com toda sinceridade. Caso não conheça a resposta, não tem problemas."

2. "Acha que o ensino Bilingue é a melhor forma para as crianças falantes de Ciutee aprenderem a língua portuguesa?" *(Nota para o entrevistador: sondar – " Porquê? Porquê não? " Que diferenças nota na sala de aulas?")*

3. "Que desafios enfrentam os professores do ensino bilingue?" *(Nota para entrevistador: sondar sobre material, formação, etc.)*

4. "Existe alguma forma de coordenação entre os professores do ensino bilingue e os do monolingue?" (*Nota para entrevistador: sondar sobre atividades planificadas, estratégias, frequência das atividades, etc.*")

5. "Quais são os pontos fortes e fracos do ensino Bilingue na sua opinião?" *(Nota pata entrevistador: sondar razões específicas da menção de certos aspetos como sendo fortes ou fracos")*

1.   "De que preocupações já ouviu sobre disponibilidade de materiais e assistência? (*Nota para o entrevistador: sondar para colher informação)*
2.   "De que outros problemas teve conhecimento*?" (Nota para o entrevistador: sondar para colher informação.*)
3.   "O que pensa do ensino Bilingue no geral?" (*Nota para o entrevistador: sondar para obter informação - ex., " Gostaria de saber mais sobre o que pensa em relação a este assunto*")
4.   " Existe mais alguma coisa que gostaria de me dizer sobre o ensino bilingue? O programa ou qualquer aspecto relacionado com o programa." (*Nota para o entrevistador: sondar para colher informação)*

Muito obrigado pelo seu tempo e este é o fim da nossa entrevista

Name of Interviewer: Carlos Quenesse Mataruca

Date_____

Name of Interviewee_____

 Position_____

In-depth Interview Guide

This guide was designed for interviews to be conducted with head teachers

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Interviews with head teachers

"Good morning/ afternoon. My name is Carlos Quenesse Mataruca. I am a postgraduate (Doctor of Education) student at the University of Southern Queensland in Australia. I am currently conducting my research project, a part of which is to interview participants about their views concerning language education as a means of achieving attitudes, values, and social capabilities that a child must acquire to be functional in the community. I would like to invite you to participate in this study. Your participation will be highly valued. Participation is entirely voluntary. It involves answering questions about your feelings and views concerning bilingual education programmes in primary schools in Mozambique.

Your complete anonymity is assured and will be maintained by using a pseudonym in place of your name at data analysis and dissemination of findings. At the completion of my project, I will be happy to share the findings of the study. If you have any questions, please feel free to ask. Thank you for considering this request.

If it is okay with you, I will be tape recording our conversation. The purpose of this is so that I can get all the details but at the same time be able to carry on an attentive conversation with you. I assure you that all your comments will remain confidential. I will be compiling a report which will contain all comments without any reference to individuals. If you agree to this interview and the tape recording, please sign this consent form.

1. "I'd like to start by having you briefly describe your responsibilities with the school."
   (Note to interviewer: You may need to probe to gather the information you need).

"I'm now going to ask you some questions that I would like you to answer to the best of your ability. If you do not know the answer, please say so."

2.   How many students does the school have? (Note to interviewer: You may need to probe to gather the information you need- e.g. numbers of boys and girls, age range, number of students per class, etc.)

3.   How many teachers? (Note to interviewer: You may need to probe to gather the information you need- e.g. male, female, age range).

4.   What grade levels are represented? (Note to interviewer: You may need to probe to gather the information you need- e.g. number of classes in bilingual or Portuguese-only classes, percentage of student population per programme, etc.)

5.   Does the school have a role in hiring new staff? Setting curriculum priorities? Staff development, funds allocation? *(Note to interviewer: You may need to probe to gather the information you need).*

6.   How much time are teachers given to prepare lessons? What role does school have in setting the daily schedule? Do teachers have time to plan in teams? *(Note to interviewer: You may need to probe to gather the information you need).*

7.   What external partner(s) does the school rely upon and in what ways? (Curriculum development, teacher training, etc.) *(Note to interviewer: You may need to probe to gather the information you need).*

8.   Is the staff well trained in second language acquisition and bilingual education? *(Note to interviewer: You may need to probe to gather the information you need).*

9.   How are decisions made in the school? What committees are set up and what are their functions? *(Note to interviewer: You may need to probe to gather the information you need).*

10. What is the level of financial and administrative support at the District level? Funding? Site based management? Facilitation between schools? *(Note to interviewer: You may need to probe to gather the information you need).*

11. How do teachers assess student growth and development? (Note to interviewer: You may need to probe to gather the information you need for both programmes).

12. "Do you think that bilingual education programme is the best way for Ciutee-speaking children to learn Portuguese?" *(Note to interviewer: probe – "Why or why not? "What differences have you noticed?")*

13. "What challenges do you face managing the bilingual programme?" *(Note to interviewer: training/ materials, etc.)*

14. "What do you think the strongest and weakest points of the bilingual programme have been up to this point? Why do you say this?" *(Note to interviewer: You may need to probe why specific strong elements are mentioned")*

15. "What types of concerns have you had or heard regarding the availability of materials and assistance?" *(Note to interviewer: You may need to probe to gather the information you need)*
16. "What other problems are you aware of?" (Note to interviewer: You may need to probe to gather the information you need)
17. "What do you think about the bilingual programme as a whole?" (*Note to interviewer: You may need to probe to gather the information you need - e.g., "I'd like to know more about what your thinking is on that issue"*)
18. "Is there any other information about the bilingual programme or other aspects of the programme you think would be useful for me to know?" *(Note to interviewer: If so, you may need to probe to gather the information you need)*

This is the end of the interview and thank you very much for your time.

Nome do Entrevistador: Carlos Quenesse Mataruca

Data da entrevista: _____

Nome do entrevistado: _____

 Função do entrevistado: _____

 Guião para entrevista

Este guião foi elaborado para entrevistas com Diretores de escola

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Entrevistas com Diretores de escola

"Bom dia/Boa tarde. Chamo-me Carlos Quenesse Mataruca. Sou professor na Universidade Pedagogica e estudante de doutoramento na Universidade de Southern Queensland na Austrália. Neste momento, estou a trabalhar no meu Projecto de pesquisa, parte da qual requer entrevistar participantes sobre seus pontos de vista em relação a aprendizagem da língua como forma de aquisição de atitudes, valores e capacidades sociais que a criança deve adquirir de forma a ser útil na comunidade. Gostaria de convidar o seu educando a participar neste estudo. Sua participação da nossa mais elevada estima. A participação neste estudo é de carácter voluntário e envolve responder questões sobre suas opiniões em relação ao programa de educação bilingue que está a ser implementado nas escolas primárias em Moçambique.

Garantimos o seu anonimato através do uso de pseudónimo no lugar de seu nome na análise e disseminação da informação. Concluído o Projecto, estaremos dispostos a compartilhar consigo os resultados deste estudo. Caso tenha alguma questão, por favor, sinta-se livre de perguntar. Muito obrigado por aceitar o nosso pedido. Se consente a sua participação neste estudo, por favor preencha o formulário de consentimento fornecido

Com sua permissão, a informação fornecida será gravada para permitir colher todos detalhes e

também para que eu possa ter tempo para me concentrar na conversa consigo. Ninguém, para

além do pesquisador, terá acesso a informação fornecida.

1.   "Gostaria que começasse por descrever o seu trabalho aqui na escola" (*Nota ao entrevistador: È preciso sondar para obter informação necessária).*

" Agora vou-lhe fazer umas perguntas e gostaria que respondesse com toda sinceridade. Caso não conheça a resposta, não tem problemas."

2.   "Quantos alunos existem nesta escola? (*Nota para entrevistador: sondar para obter informação necessária- números, género, etc*.)

3.   "Quantos professores existem nesta escola? (*Nota para entrevistador: sondar para obter informação necessária- números, género, etc*.)

4.   "Que classes são leccionadas nesta escolar?" (*Nota para entrevistador: sondar para obter informação necessária - ex. número de turmas bilingue, monolingue; número de alunos por programa, etc*.)

5.   A escola tem poder decisivo no recrutamento de pessoal, estabelecimento de prioridades curriculares, formação do pessoal, alocação de fundos? *(Nota para entrevistador: sondar para obter informação necessária).*

6.   Quanto tempo é reservado para planificação das aulas? Que papel tem a escola na planificação das atividades diárias da escolar? Os professores fazem planificação conjunta? *(Nota para entrevistador: sondar para obter informação necessária).*

7.   Com que parceiros externos a escola trabalha e de que forma se faz a parceria?) *(Nota para entrevistador: sondar para obter informação necessária: desenvolvimento curricular? Formação? etc.).*

8.   Acha que os professores estão bem formados na área de aprendizagem de lingual segunda e educação bilingue? (*Nota para entrevistador: sondar para obter informação necessária).*

9.   Como é que decisões são tomadas na escola? Que tipo de Conselhos ou comités existem e quais as suas funções? *(Nota para entrevistador: sondar para obter informação necessária).*

10.   Que tipo de apoio administrativo-financeiro recebe do distrito? *(Nota para entrevistador: sondar para obter informação necessária).*

11.   Como é que os professores avaliam a aprendizagem dos alunos? Existe alguma diferença entre o programa monolingue e Bilingue? (*Nota para entrevistador: sondar para obter informação necessária*).

12.   "Acha que o ensino Bilingue é a melhor forma para as crianças falantes de Ciutee aprenderem a língua portuguesa?" *(Nota para o entrevistador: sondar – " Porquê? Porquê não? " Que diferenças nota?")*

13.   "Que desafios enfrenta na gestão do programa bilingue?" *(Nota para entrevistador: sondar sobre formação/material, etc.)*

14.

15. "Quais são os pontos fortes e fracos do ensino Bilingue na sua opinião?" *(Nota pata entrevistador: sondar razões específicas da menção de certos aspetos como sendo fortes ou fracos")*

16. "De que preocupações já ouviu sobre disponibilidade de materiais e assistência? (*Nota para o entrevistador: sondar para colher informação)*

17. "De que outros problemas teve conhecimento*?" (Nota para o entrevistador: sondar para colher informação.*)

18. "O que pensa do ensino Bilingue no geral?" (*Nota para o entrevistador: sondar para obter informação - ex., " Gostaria de saber mais sobre o que pensa em relação a este assunto*")

19. " Existe mais alguma coisa que gostaria de me dizer sobre o ensino bilingue? O programa ou qualquer aspecto relacionado com o programa." (*Nota para o entrevistador: sondar para colher informação)*

Muito obrigado pelo seu tempo e este é o fim da nossa entrevista

Appendix 7: USQ ethical clearance

University of Southern Queensland

USQ
AUSTRALIA

TOOWOOMBA QUEENSLAND 4350
AUSTRALIA
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OFFICE OF RESEARCH AND HIGHER DEGREES
Ethics Officer
PHONE (07) 4631 2690 | FAX (07) 4631 1995
EMAIL ethics@usq.edu.au

Friday, 30 March 2012

Carlos Quenesse Mataruca
C/- Faculty of Education
cmataruca@yahoo.com

Dear Carlos

The Chair of the USQ Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) recently reviewed your responses to the HREC's conditions placed upon the ethical approval for the below project. Your proposal now meets the requirements of the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007)* and full ethics approval has been granted.

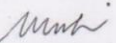| Project Title	Raising loiteracy levels in Mozambique: The challenges of bilingual education in a multilingual post-colonial society
Approval no.	H11REA119
Expiry date	31.08.12
HREC Decision	**Approved**

The standard conditions of this approval are:
  (a) conduct the project strictly in accordance with the proposal submitted and granted ethics approval, including any amendments made to the proposal required by the HREC
  (b) advise (email: ethics@usq.edu.au) immediately of any complaints or other issues in relation to the project which may warrant review of the ethical approval of the project
  (c) make submission for approval of amendments to the approved project before implementing such changes
  (d) provide a 'progress report' for every year of approval
  (e) provide a 'final report' when the project is complete
  (f) advise in writing if the project has been discontinued.

For (c) to (e) proformas are available on the USQ ethics website: http://www.usq.edu.au/research/ethicsbio/human

Please note that failure to comply with the conditions of approval and the *National Statement (2007)* may result in withdrawal of approval for the project.

You may now commence your project. I wish you all the best for the conduct of the project

Melissa McKain
Ethics Officer
Office of Research and Higher Degrees

Toowoomba • Springfield • Fraser Coast

usq.edu.au

Teacher's name: _____

Grade: _____ class _____ date _____

Subject: **Portuguese language**

Student Name	Speaking						Writing						Average Scale
	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	
1													
2													
3													
4													
5													
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Band scales

Speaking

Level 1

He/she is unable to communicate effectively enough in his/her L2/L3 to make meaning.

Level 2

He/she can make himself/herself understood in his/her L2/L3 for basic communication using a combination of words, phrases, simple sentences, gestures and visual aids.

Level 3

He/she can communicate in his/her L2/L3 in more social contexts about everyday topics and ask simple questions although he/she may make some mistakes such that he/she requires some support from the listener.

Level 4

He/she can communicate and hold conversations in his/her L2/L3 to function on a daily basis in reasonably familiar surrounds. This includes asking and responding to questions, conveying his/her opinion and negotiating in his/her field.

Level 5

He/she can confidently communicate and converse in his/her L2/L3 for a range of purposes with native speakers of the language in both familiar and less familiar contexts related to social and vocational needs with only the occasional need for support from the listener.

Level 6

He/she can communicate in his/her L2/L3 at a level of proficiency that is almost equivalent to that of an L1 speaker of the language.

Writing

Level 1

He/she cannot communicate effectively in writing in L2/L3 for the reader to make meaning and understand the message.

Level 2

He/she can write in L2/L3 to effectively communicate the topic for a limited number of written texts but meaning is impeded by lack of control of some or all of the features of vocabulary, spelling, punctuation, grammar, cohesion and generic structure.

Level 3

He/she can write in L2/L3 to effectively communicate the topic and convey other supporting information for a limited number of written texts but may be uncertain of the message at times because of variable use of the features of vocabulary, spelling, punctuation, grammar, cohesion and generic structure.

Level 4

He/she can write in L2/L3 to effectively communicate the topic and convey other supporting information for a limited number of written texts such that the reader is able to understand the gist of the message; meaning is maintained through the generally appropriate use of the features of vocabulary, spelling, punctuation, grammar, cohesion and generic structure although minor lapses may occur.

Level 5

He/she can write in L2/L3 to effectively communicate the topic and convey other supporting information for a variety of written texts such that the reader is able to fully understand the message; meaning is maintained through the consistently accurate use of the features of vocabulary, spelling, punctuation, grammar, cohesion and generic structure and paragraphing.

Level 6

He/she can write in L2/L3 to effectively communicate the topic and convey other supporting information for a wide range of written texts, including those required for vocational purposes when the message and meaning are supported by use of the features of vocabulary, spelling, punctuation, grammar, cohesion and generic structure and paragraphing, and proofreading and editing to the equivalent of an L1 speaker of the language.

Source: adapted from (O'Neill and Gish 2008)

Appendix 9: Results of Portuguese teachers' ratings of grade 6 and 7 students' productive skills

L1: Chibarwe
Idade: 33
Educação: 10ª classe
Experiência geral: 9 anos
"   bilingue: 1 anos

Formação: 10 + 2 anos

(School 1)

Teacher's ratings of leaner's' productive skills

Teacher's name: _____
Grade: 6   class A   date 12/9/12
Subject: Portuguese

		(Fala) Speaking						(Escrita) Writing						
	Student Name	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	Average Scale
1	Agostinho A. Turbue			X					X					
2	Anastancia Lucas			X					X					
3	André Manuel			X						X				
4	Antonio S. Tenente			X					X					
5	Belinha J.s. Tomis			X						X				
6	Chipo Joni			X					X					
7	Costa Francisco			X						X				
8	Clara Mario Albino			X						X				
9	Dionisio Afonso Luis				X					X				
10	Domingos Virasse					X					X			
11	Emilio Carlos Albino				X					X				
12	Esmiralda A. João			X					X					
13	Esperança J. Pedro			X					X					
14	Esperança Manuel					X					X			
15	Esperança P. Baltazar			X					X					
16	Fatima S. Baltazar			X						X				
17	Fatima J. Fazenda		X						X					
18	Felisberto Valentim					X					X			
19	Feligardo Manuel													
20	Fiela C. João				X				X					
21	Goncalves Felisberto		X		X				X					
22	Helena A. Fazenda			X							X			
23	Hortencia Zeruso													
24	Isaias José Tauro		X						X					
25	Isabel José Cucussene			X					X					
26	João I. J. Graiata			X						X				
27	Joaquim F.s. Jeque			X				X						
28	Johane C. João			X					X					
29	José Luis Tualar													
30	Leonel J. Alberto			X					X					
31	Maria Edson Fondine			X					X					
32	Maria J. Alfredo			X					X					
33	Maria S. Bumbiri			X				X						
34	Massada A. Jairosse			X					X					

#	Name	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6
35	Mateus Tomé António		X						X				
36	Mica Isaque Tomás		X					X					
37	Moraz F. Júlio		X						X				
38	Nina Paulo Macena			X								X	
39	Ornila Valentina				X							X	
40	Prudencia E. Manuel		X						X				
41	Pedro José S. Tomás			X					X				
42	Rochinha Alberto		X					X					
43	Rosa M. Manuel			X					X				
44	Rosinha M. Tomes			X					X				
45	Ruti José Manuel		X						X				
46	Sophia F. Paulo		X						X				
47	Teire António Mario			X							X		
48	Tití Rita António		X						X				
49	Vicente Mateus		X						X				
50	Angelina Isabel												
51	Josefa E. Neves												
52	Paulo Jerusse												
53	Pereira Alder		X						X				
54	João Renguessat												
55													

Bandscales

Speaking
Level 1

He/she is unable to communicate effectively enough in his/her L2/L3 to make meaning.

Level 2

He/she can make himself/herself understood in his/her L2/L3 for basic communication using a combination of words, phrases, simple sentences, gestures and visual aids.

Level 3

He/she can communicate in his/her L2/L3 in more social contexts about everyday topics and ask simple questions although he/she may make some mistakes such that he/she requires some support from the listener.

Level 4

Idade: 28
Nível Academico: 12ª (10+2.5)
Formações: Média
L1: Cibarue - Chibárue
Experiência geral: since 2007
Experiência bilingue: since 2011
(School 2)

Teacher's ratings of leaner's' productive skills

Teacher's name:
Grade: 6ª   class A/A   date 18/9/12
Subject: Portuguese

#	Student Name	\(Fala\) Speaking 1	2	3	4	5	6	\(Escrita\) Writing 1	2	3	4	5	6	Average Scale
1	Amélia Chingore		X					X						
2	Amélia Johane		X					X						
3	André Felipe			X					X					
4	Anita Elidio				X					X				
5	Antonio Felipe			X					X					
6	Baptista José			X					X					
7	Baptista Matias			X					X					
8	Carolina da Pascoa			X					X					
9	Cristina Inacio			X					X					
10	David Teixeira Ancura				X						X			
11	Elias Mario			X					X					
12	Fátima Jaime					X						X		
13	Fernanda José					X						X		
14	Francisco Agostinho			X					X					
15	Gina Gumatsi				X						X			
16	Gloria Manuel		X					X						
17	Isaquiel Alberto		X						X					
18	Jackson Mateus			X					X					
19	José Carlitos			X					X					
20	Laurinda José		X					X						
21	Marana Alberto			X					X					
22	Mario Cesar José	X						X						
23	Pedro Jaime			X					X					
24	Lachille Felipe			X					X					
25	Ronaldo Balanca		X					X						
26	Rosa Carlos Antonio				X							X		
27	Rosa João			X					X					
28	Sebastiana Gumatsi			X					X					
29	Tomas Filipe Garicai			X					X					
30	Vieguem Carvalho		X					X						
31														
32														
33														
34														

Idade : 43 anos
Nível académico : 10ª Classe
Formação : 10º+2 anos
Língua 1 : CIUTE
Experiência geral : 22 anos

Experiência bilingue : 1 ano

(School 1)

Teacher's ratings of leaner's' productive skills

Teacher's name: _____

Grade: 7   class A   date 12/9/12

Subject: Portuguese

Fala   Escrita

#	Student Name	Speaking 1	2	3	4	5	6	Writing 1	2	3	4	5	6	Average Scale
1	Amélia Virasse													
2	Aderito Agostinho				X							X		
3	Aida José				X						X			
4	Alberto Eusébio					X					X			
5	Amélia Alberto				X					X				
6	Amélia Matias					X				X				
7	Almoço Mouzinho					X					X			
8	Alda Temótio					X						X		
9	Afonso Cândido				X					X				
10	André Gentil				X					X				
11	Abrão José Filipe					X						X		
12	Biúte Joaquim				X					X				
13	Conesteusi Pedro					X						X		
14	Chupicai Mário				X					X				
15	Clementina Castigo				X					X				
16	Carlota Alberto					X					X			
17	Castigo Fernando				X					X				
18	Cativa Luis				X					X				
19	Dusca Zeca				X					X				
20	Ducha Maconha					X						X		
21	Daniel Estima				X						X			
22	Eduardo Junior					X				X				
23	Franque Alfredo				X					X				
24	Hortência Mamejo					X					X			
25	Helena Joaquim					X					X			
26	Horácia Zeca				X							X		
27	Holanda Marmi				X					X				
28	Jovêncio J. Magui				X					X				
29	José Afonso				X					X				
30	José Matchapa				X					X				
31	Luis Alberto				X					X				
32	Linda Farnela				X						X			
33	Matea Virasse					X						X		
34	Madalena Joaquim					X						X		

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#	Name								
35	Mouzinho, António		X			X			
36	Mateus Tomás		X			X			
37	Mimi Manuel		X				X		
38	Natália João			X			X		
39	Nélinho Lelis Alberto		X			X			
40	Paulo Jozinho		X			X			
41	Rosário Rosarino		X			X			
42	Regina Chico		X			X			
43	Santos Manejo			X			X		
44	Sérgio Alberto			X				X	
45	Tuca Carlos		X				X		
46	Tsitsi José		X				X		
47	Viola Augusto		X			X			
48	Zinha Nelson			X				X	
49	Lucas Manuel		X			X			
50	Cristina Augusto Tambu			X				X	
51									
52									
53									
54									
55									

Bandscales

Speaking
Level 1

He/she is unable to communicate effectively enough in his/her L2/L3 to make meaning.

Level 2

He/she can make himself/herself understood in his/her L2/L3 for basic communication using a combination of words, phrases, simple sentences, gestures and visual aids.

Level 3

He/she can communicate in his/her L2/L3 in more social contexts about everyday topics and ask simple questions although he/she may make some mistakes such that he/she requires some support from the listener.

Level 4

Teacher's ratings of leaner's' productive skills

Teacher's name: _____
Grade: 7ª   class: A   date: 18/9/12
Subject: Portuguesa

(Fala)   (Escrita)

	Student Name	Speaking 1	2	3	4	5	6	Writing 1	2	3	4	5	6	Average Scale
1	Alicha Sohino			X					X					
2	Anita Bernardo		X						X					
3	Elisa Zacarias			X						X				
4	Eliecha Luis Simbi			X						X				
5	Faela Vasco				X						X			
6	Florisване				X					X				
7	Florinda José	X						X						
8	Failine Alberto	X						X						
9	Joana Michak				X						X			
10	João Cesar				X					X				
11	Graphinse Tossias						X						X	
12	Jedrenge Paulo			X					X					
13	Maria Augusto			X					X					
14	Moises Luis Simbi			X					X					
15	Naisene Paulo			X					X					
16	Nee Sebastião			X					X					
17	Rainha Afonse	X						X						
18	Regina Filipe		X						X					
19	Salvador Fernando			X							X			
20	Sermone Jorge		X						X					
21	Saboneta Augusto		X						X					
22	Susana Venusa			X						X				
23	Teresa Sonito			X						X				
24	Tena Alegria		X							X				
25	Ticha Zehlo			X						X				
26	Viana Maria			X						X				
27	Zacarias Lareto			X							X			
28	Angelo Carlos				X						X			
29	Camisola Luis Junior			X						X				
30	Mika Marcelino	X						X						
31														
32														
33														
34														