LANGUAGE IN EDUCATION POLICY AND LITERACY ACQUISITION IN MULTILINGUAL UGANDA: A CASE STUDY OF THE URBAN DISTRICT OF KAMPALA

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A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN APPLIED LINGUISTICS IN THE FACULTY OF ARTS

UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE

SUPERVISOR: PROFESSOR CHRISTOPHER STROUD

MAY 2014

KEY WORDS

Policy

Language policy

Literacy

Acquisition

Multilingualism

Bilingualism
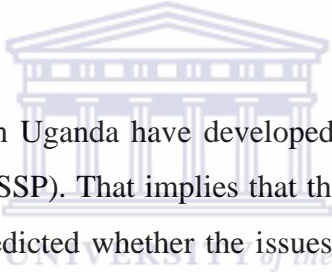
Translanguaging

Urban

Primary school

Kampala

Uganda

ABSTRACT

This thesis is concerned with Language in Education Policy (LiEP) and literacy acquisition in multilingual Uganda with the urban district of Kampala as the case study. Specifically, the study investigates the implementation of a monoglot LiEP for early literacy acquisition in a multilingual situation. The thesis analyses three LiEP instruments for Uganda, namely; (i) The 1992 Government White Paper on Education, (ii) The 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda and (iii) The Uganda Education Sector Strategic Plan 2004-2015. After that analysis the study presents views and perceptions of LiEP Stakeholders in Uganda; Policy makers, Curriculum developers, Literacy researchers, NGO Officials, Head teachers, Literacy teachers and Parents/Guardians. The study is mainly prompted by the LiEP which recommends English as the Medium of Instruction (MoI) but not the common language to be used throughout the Primary School cycle. The thesis tries to shed light on the following aspects; principles of a LiEP in a multilingual setting, a relevant LiEP model for multilingual situations, multilingualism as a resource for literacy acquisition, appropriateness of a bilingual LiEP in Kampala with a local language, classroom and home literacy practices and lastly, literacy acquisition. The research question is to find out the extent to which the current LiEP in Uganda provides for literacy acquisition in multilingual settings.

This study is an empirical case study, in which a mixed methods approach was used. This involved both qualitative and quantitative strategies of collecting and analyzing data. Such multi-methodical approaches are seen in studies in New Literacy Studies (Saxena 1994; Prinsloo & Breier, 1996; Martin-Jones & Bhatt 1998; Martin-Jones and Jones, 2000; Baynham, 2000; Street 2000; Baynham, 2001; Banda, 2003). In this study, various data was analysed separately; qualitative data was analyzed using two theories, the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and the New Literacy Studies (NLS) while quantitative data was processed using SPSS software and analysed using descriptive statistical methods. NLS was used to evaluate the literacy acquisition methods in primary schools. NLS was supported by CDA to be able to analyse further the biases arising from the LiEP institutions, and the respondents' views, opinions, perceptions, feelings and attitudes. CDA helped the researcher to go beyond speculation and demonstrate how texts work, particularly when analysing the LiEP instruments.

Using CDA, the researcher found out that, the district of Kampala is not exceptional compared to the rural areas in Uganda. As the policy in rural areas is to use local languages, some teachers in the urban district of Kampala have decided to improvise translanguaging strategies through the use of the translation strategy (Canagarajah, 2006, p. 155) and the use of stories, local names of places, games, rhymes and songs. Teachers do this to be able to fit into the multilingual situations in their Primary One literacy classes. It is probably one of the reasons why 27.4% of the learners were able to achieve advanced results in the literacy test while 23.5% were adequate. However, despite the fact that LiEP for Kampala is responsible for that kind of performance, there are other determinants of literacy acquisition in the district. Such determinants include; education level of parents/guardians, their occupations and relationship with the child, buying of home reading materials, language of those reading materials, age and gender of learners, nursery attendance, school location and school ownership. These determinants were statistically significant when learners' achievements in the test were cross tabulated.

The study concludes that, LiEPs in Uganda have developed since 1877 to date when we now have the Education Sector Strategic Plan (ESSP). That implies that the views and perceptions of stakeholders also keep on changing. It cannot be predicted whether the issues of language in education in Uganda can be finally sorted out because even the current plan is still subjected to reviews and the policies already on paper deflect from practice. It is for such reasons that Blommaert (1999b, p. 37) says that the terms 'end' or 'closure' are not particularly suitable in the context of ideological debates and language politics. It is likely that after 2015 with regard to the LiEP for Uganda and the district of Kampala in particular; more discussions might be held, policies reviewed or others suggested. The study then suggests; (1) Change of stakeholders' beliefs/attitudes towards local languages, (2) Status language planning which would enable a paradigm shift that would review LiEP for Kampala from a monoglot to a bi/multilingual education policy, (3) Corpus language planning which requires development of orthography as well as elaboration of vocabulary in order to respond to the widened functions of the local languages, (4) Schools to develop their own language plans in trying to implement the Thematic Curriculum, (5) The promotion of bi/multilingualism in pre-service and in-service courses for primary school teachers in order to facilitate bi/multilingual learning and (6) materials development and publication in local languages with a central focus on the promotion of bi/ multilingual education.

DECLARATION

I declare that "Language in Education Policy and Literacy Acquisition in Multilingual Uganda: A case study of the Urban District of Kampala" is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

29th August 2014

PROSPEROUS NANKINDU   **DATE**

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my loved ones; Venjari, Vanessa, Vianney and Victor who I am not sure 'understood' the reason as to why I was away from home for so long!

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BICS   -   Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills

CALP   -   Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency

CDA   -   Critical Discourse Analysis

CRTF   -Curriculum Review Task Force

ECE   - Early Childhood Education

EFA   - Education For All

EMIS   - Education Management Information Systems

ESIP   -Education Strategic Investment Plan

ESSP   - Education Sector Strategic Plan

L1   - First Language, Local language or Luganda

L2   -   Second Language- English

LC   -   Linguistic Citizenship

LHRs   -   Linguistic Human Rights

LiEP   -   Language in Education Policy

LPLP   -   Language Planning and Language Policy

LPP   -   Language Policy and Planning

LWC   -   Language of Wider Communication

MDG   -   Millennium Development Goals

MoES   -   Ministry of Education and Sports

MT	-	Mother Tongue
NAPE	-	National Assessment of Progress in Education
NCDC	-	National Curriculum Development Centre
NGO	-	Non Governmental Organisation
NLS	-	New Literacy Studies
PLE	-	Primary Leaving Examinations
RDC	-	Resident District Commissioner
SLIC	-	Second Language Instructional Competence
SPSS	-	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
TTC	-	Teacher Training College
UACE	-	Uganda Advanced Certificate of Education
UCE	-	Uganda Certificate of Education
UBoS	-	Uganda Bureau of Statistics
UNCST	-	Uganda National Council of Science and Technology
UNEB	-	Uganda National Education Board
UNESCO	-	United Nations Education, Science and Culture Organisation
UPE	-	Universal Primary Education
USE	-	Universal Secondary Education
UWC	-	University of the Western Cape

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

This research thesis, "Language in Education Policy and Literacy Acquisition in Multilingual Uganda", sought to understand how a monoglot policy is implemented in a multilingual setting within the urban district of Kampala. A case study approach to understanding current practices was undertaken. The views of stakeholders towards the implementation of the language policy on the use of English as the medium of instruction (MoI) were investigated. For this study the language in education policy referred to is the one in the 1992 Uganda Government White Paper on Education. The focus of this study is on the use of English only as the MoI from Primary one throughout the primary school cycle in urban areas in Uganda.

This chapter gives a full background to the current study on language in education policy and literacy acquisition in multilingual Uganda with the urban district of Kampala as the case study. Specifically the chapter gives a description of the research site, the history of educational language policies in Uganda, the primary school curriculum and the education system in Uganda. The other key issues worked out in the chapter are: the research problem, purpose, objectives, research questions, assumptions, limitations, scope, significance, justification, definition of terms and lastly the outline of the other chapters.

1.1.1 A description of the research site

Uganda is one of the African countries located in the Eastern part of the continent. The latitude and longitude denominations of Uganda are 1 00N and 32 00E. It covers 241,550.7 square kilometers of land, of which 41,743.2 square meters are open water and swamps (UBoS, 2010, p. 1). It is bordered by Sudan in the north, Kenya in the east, Tanzania in the south, Rwanda in the south west and the Democratic Republic of Congo in the west. The country's population is about 32 million people with over 65 indigenous languages (Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, 1995; UBoS, 2002; Ministry of Gender Labour and Social Development, 2006). Ladefoged, Glick and Criper (1972, p. 19) cite some of the indigenous languages of Uganda as: Luganda, Lusoga, Lugisu, Lugwere, Lunyole, Lusamya, Runyankore,

Rukiga, Rutooro, Runyoro, Runyarwanda, Rulundi, Rukonjo, Rwamba, Lango, Acholi, Alur, Dhopadhola and Kumam, Ateso, Ngakarimojong, Kakwa, Kupsabin, Lugbarati and Madi.

The country is divided into 111 districts (see map in appendix J) which, under the policy of decentralization, are administered by the local governments. About half of the population, of about 32 million people, is under the age of 15 years, which results in a high child dependence ratio and creates a built-in momentum for future growth. The high rate of population growth affects Uganda's effort to achieve and sustain effective provision of education. For example, the number of primary school pupils is likely to increase from 7.5 million in 2007 to 18.4 million in 2037 (Ministry of Finance Planning and Economic Development, 2010).

The district of Kampala, where this research was carried out, is one of the central region districts and the capital city of Uganda where most of the languages mentioned above are represented. The urban district of Kampala in Uganda was selected for this study due to its extensive multilingualism, like many urban areas of Africa (McLaughlin, 2009, p. 2). The main languages spoken in Kampala are Luganda and English.

The coordinates of the district are: 00 19N, 32 35E. According to the 2002 National Census figures, the district of Kampala had a population of approximately 1,189,100. The Uganda Bureau of Statistics estimated the population of Kampala at 1,597,900 in 2010. In 2011, the city's population was estimated at approximately 1,659,600. The district of Kampala is divided into five (5) administrative divisions: Kampala Central Division (urban) and the other four which in this study where classified as peri-urban (suburbs); Kawempe, Nakawa, Makindye and Lubaga. The district of Kampala has 426 primary schools (Ministry of Education and Sports, 2010) across all categories; government aided and private, day and boarding, single and mixed sex.

Similar to many Africans, Ugandans are also mobile and do not remain put in "tribal" or area land (Banda & Olayemi, 2010). Thus although ethnic groups are dominant in particular regions, they are also found in other areas. Moreover, in terms of language use, multilingualism rather than monolingualism is the

dominant dispensation, as has been shown for other parts of Africa (Banda & Omondi, 2009). Since the colonial days English has been the language of socio-economic mobility. Today, more than fifty years after Uganda's independence, knowledge of English is still a prerequisite for employment in the public sector (Mpuga, 2003; Okech, 2006; Stroud, 2007). Thus, for one to advance in life one has to have a working knowledge of English. However, Ugandans need to contend with at least three languages which are; English as the official language in Uganda, Kiswahili; an East African lingua franca as the second official language and one local language (Uganda Government, 1992). There are advantages to this multilingual dispensation (Aronin & Singleton, 2008). Prah (2010) elaborates that multilingualism does not create differences but rather facilitates integration on a multilingual and multicultural basis so long as principles of democracy, tolerance and cultural coexistence are accepted as guidelines. In this study, I examined the extent to which the current Language in Education policy of Uganda caters for the multilingual status of the district of Kampala.

Over the past half- century the world over, the study of language policy and planning has grown rapidly, from arguments for one policy or another to the description of specific cases (Spolsky, 2004). I frame my study against the assumption that language diversity can be a resource in schools and society and not a problem, as is the case for language policy makers in Uganda (Corson, 1999; Canagarajah, 2006). Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which theory is often used by language policy analysts to explore the relationship between texts, discursive practices and events, was used to explore policy documents in this study. Such analysts include: Fairclough (1995), Lemke (1995), Wodak (1999), Wodak, de Cillia, Reisgl and Liebhart (1999) and Kovacs and Wodak (2003). At the same time this study used the New Literacy Studies (NLS) framework. NLS views literacy as a situated social practice embedded in a cultural and ideological context (Street, 1984, 2001; Prinsloo & Baynham, 2008).

A common assumption is that communication within a nation is facilitated by citizens speaking and writing the same language. Here, information is brought to flow freely in all directions; from the government to the people throughout religions, social and economic institutions such as churches, political parties and nation-wide businesses and among the people themselves (Ricento, 2000, p. 28). However, in Uganda, where not all people can speak, read and write in the same language, communication is not so

simple. The 32 million people are divided by more than 65 languages, in that; the average person knows about events outside his own group only through a foreign language.

In such a context we need to understand how multilingualism in local languages can provide a web of resource for all citizens. The central part of Uganda, for example, where the city of Kampala is located, is a magnet attracting people to better education, employment, business and the like. Here almost all the languages mentioned above are used. The situation appears alarming where children begin school in the city and that is when you realize that the Language in Education Policy (LiEP) which says that 'English should be used as a medium of instruction in all educational programs from primary one' cannot be effective. In addition, all children have the right to learn in their own languages (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2007, p. 175), so Uganda has respected that rule and the use of 9 out of 65 local languages is clearly stated in the policy through the use of the Thematic Curriculum which was introduced in 2007. However, there is a need to critically look at the state of languages in Uganda and explore how the language resources are used for education and sustainable development.

1.1.2 The current study

This study focuses on the language and literacy practices in primary schools in the urban district of Kampala. The LiEP dictates that children should be taught through the medium of English. The LiEP takes Kampala as an exceptional district due to its language diversity. At first glance, this appears to be an exception to the rest of the country where the mother tongue policy is in force. The question for this study is: to what extent is Kampala exceptional? This involves looking carefully at the policy document but also investigating how literacy is taught in the primary schools of Kampala.

1.2 The History of Educational Language Policies in Uganda

Historically, Uganda is no different from other African states which were under colonial rule. They have their local languages to which they added languages of the colonial masters. As earlier mentioned, Uganda has over 65 indigenous languages. In addition to these, two foreign languages; Kiswahili and English, have been added. In 1894 the British Government took over the rule of the area from the Chartered East African Company to proclaim a British Protectorate. Since then the issue of the language policy has been

in the mind of policy makers in all the political regimes. Every government has handled it in its own exceptional way. During the British rule efforts were made to develop Kiswahili at national level but at the same time English was becoming established in the country's systems as it was being used in administration, mass media and education. English was also gaining status as those who acquired it were given employment by the colonial government. So the central position of English has remained and dates back to the colonial period.

In addition to English there is Kiswahili which originated from the East African coast and by the 1950s it had penetrated Uganda and was spoken by a good number of people. At that time it was officially accorded inter-territorial status for Uganda. The territories where it operated included Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania and the islands along the east coast of Africa. During the 1970s, Kiswahili, was widely used in the Ugandan armed forces (at the time Uganda was under military rule) and was declared the national language for Uganda. Up to the time of this study, that decree had not been revoked. In 1986 the National Resistance Council (NRC), the parliamentary body then, decided that Kiswahili would be one of the official languages – in addition to English, and would be used in the NRC. To date, not a single session of deliberation in parliament has ever been carried out in Kiswahili. It should be noted that as much as it is an African language, the majority of Ugandans, especially those outside the armed forces, have not wholly embraced Kiswahili. There are several reasons for this, including the fact that, having come from the coast and brought mainly by foreigners, just like English, it lacks the grip that a native language would have. Secondly, the armed men misused it in the 1970s. It was always used in domestic violent robberies, at roadblocks and in many pain-inflicting situations to such an extent that it still carries that stigma. Thirdly, a good percentage of the population would rather learn the prestigious English.

Taking the political administration of Uganda as a point of departure; since the colonial period 1894-1962, the post-colonial period 1963-1988 and up to the present, there have not been new policies but rather statements of existing practices which are largely a heritage of early missionary activities. To begin with, the Colonial Period (1894-1962) started with the existing practices of the missionary activity in Uganda. Most Protestant missions required basic literacy as a condition for baptism and the Catholics too included literacy training in their missions. For example, one of the early missionaries, Alexander MacKay, began his work of teaching the fundamentals of reading and writing to the Africans while he prepared and printed a translation of St Mathew's Gospel and prayer books into Luganda. The language of the schools

was the language of worship (Ladefoged et al., 1972, p. 23). The colonial period included many special efforts like; the outline Scheme of Development for African Education (1944-1954) after World War II, the 1944 Makerere Conference on Language, the publication of the 1947 Colonial Office Memorandum (African 1170) on Language in African territories, the 1948 Advisory Council for African Education, the 1948 and 1952 Education reports, the 1952 de Bunsen Committee, the UNESCO report of 1953 and lastly the 1961 Commonwealth Conference on the Teaching of English. Almost all the efforts showed that the British colonial policy regarding language was generally to provide primary education in the local vernacular language and post-primary education in English, with English taught as a subject in the primary schools.

Uganda became independent from the British on the 9th of October 1962 and that marked the beginning of the Post Colonial Period (1962- 1988). According to Tollefson (2011, p. 358), this era generally faced major language planning decisions. Commonly the questions asked were: should colonial languages continue to be used as media of instruction in schools? Should vernaculars undergo terminological development and standardization processes in order to replace colonial languages in official domains? In multilingual states, which varieties should be selected as lingua-francas? What programs of language teaching and learning should be undertaken at various levels of education? Should new writing systems be developed for previously unwritten varieties or for varieties with multiple orthographic alternatives? In many African states like Uganda, such questions were at the center of the process of nationalism and nationism as well as modernization and development. Specialists in language planning and language policy, with the support of the Ford Foundation and other non-governmental organizations, took on an important role in the policy making processes of many newly created or independent states. However, the influence of the British colonial language in education policy did not end with independence. Uganda, the case for this study, had commissions during this period; the 1963 Castle Commission, the 1977-1978 Education Policy Review Commission chaired by Professor Ssenteza Kajubi, the 1989 Kajubi Education Policy Review Commission upon which the Government of Uganda issued the 1992 Government White Paper on Education, being currently used. By the time of this study, the 1992 Government White Paper on Education was (and still is), the governing document directing the education process in Uganda. This document contains the Language in Education Policy (LiEP).

Looking into the White Paper, considering the foreignness of both English and Kiswahili as shown above, it would seem obvious that Uganda would easily accept any local language, but this is not the case due to the linguistic multiplicity in the country and the fact that each ethnic group values its own language and feels that any language is good enough to be a national language. This is probably the main reason why the 1992 Government White Paper states that government is determined to prevent the development of a national language policy that is based on, and is likely to promote in society, the problems of emotionalism, sectarianism, reactionary prejudices and inflexibility, and therefore likely to hinder progress (p.16). What exists today is an ambivalent situation where things are left to take their natural course. Most people tend to use any language that seems to best serve their interests in whichever situation they find themselves. This has, to some extent, affected the language policy in education and has had a tangible impact on the education system as a whole. To understand the language policy better, it is important for this research to look at language ideologies in education in a Ugandan context.

1.3 Language Ideologies in Uganda

As a way of background to the language policy in education, it is important to have an insight into the different language ideologies in Uganda. The field of language ideology is said to have originated from North American linguistic anthropology as a framework within which to explore the "mediating links between social forms and forms of talk" (Woolard, 1998, p. 3). While it is axiomatic for linguists that all languages are equal in terms of their meaning-making potential and their worth as objects of academic inquiry, a cursory glance at any sociolinguistic environment in the linguistic phenomena are ranked according to different meanings and values (Johnson & Milan, 2010, p. 4). That same reason makes it relevant for the current scholarship to look at language ideologies to see how they form links between the policy and the practice in Uganda and to see how value is attached to language in the country. For example in Uganda, English is highly valued as the official language, a lingua franca and a MoI in schools (Nsibambi, 2000). The functional utility accorded to English positions it above the other languages in all aspects of life. It is not surprising to see later in the discussion of the findings in this study that English is the preferred language in education and other government departments in the country.

Dyers & Abongdia (2014 ftc, p. 16) realize that ideologies find expression in societies and are visible through actual language practices. In addition, Weber and Horner, 2012, p. 17) contend that ideologies about language are of course not about language alone, but reflect issues of social and personal identity

and are reflected in actual linguistic practice - how people talk, what they talk about, the language choices they make for themselves and their children, and what they regard as important and essential languages for both survival and advancement in terms of employment opportunities and social standing. Taking it from the scholarship above, it is clear that the languages choices we see, for example, in Uganda, are manifested in the way policy makers, parents and other stakeholders think about language. English in Uganda is a high status language because Ugandans view it as a language of progress in education and other spheres of life.

Weber and Homer (2012, p. 16-20) put across five major language ideologies but three are closely linked to the current study: "language hierarchy", "one nation one language" and "mother tongue ideology". The "language hierarchy ideology" is where some languages enjoy a higher status when they are labeled national or official languages. Heller (2007, p. 4) argues that "hierarchies are not inherently linguistic but rather social and political". This is true for Uganda, apart from historical and global reasons; English in Uganda is a language of high status because it is the official language of the state. The case of English in Uganda is highly political and established by law in the 1995 constitution of the Republic of Uganda. This constitution is one of the policy instruments the current study analyses. The "one nation one language ideology" as described by Weber and Homer, concerns a belief that language is equal to territory and national identity. This is highly manifested in the language policy instruments of Uganda. For example the same constitution recommends English as the only official language of the nation. In the preparation of this constitution, all the delegates concurred to this notion. The "mother tongue ideology", adopts a belief that speakers have one mother-tongue. The same belief appears in the language policy of Uganda. The peoples of Uganda are expected to master at least three languages; one local language (which is most of the time the mother-tongue), English, the official language and Kiswahili, the East African lingua franca. However, some Ugandans have more than one mother-tongue or more than one local language.

After decolonization, more significantly in the recent forms of globalization marked by new technology, transnational economic and production relationships, and the nature of nation-state boundaries, English has become a contact language, a lingua franca and a MoI for a wide range of communities (Canagarajah, 2006, p. 198). In Uganda, the way the LiEP is implemented is influenced by colonial language ideologies. Since language policy is not neutral but is rather embedded in a whole set of political, ideological, social and economical agendas, likewise the LiEP serves as the vehicle for promoting and perpetuating such

agendas (Shohamy, 2006, p. 78). Shohamy adds that this compels the school staff implement the policy as part of their job, with no questions asked with regard to their ability, appropriateness and relevance especially in terms of successful learning for students in schools. This kind of scenario is emphasized by Baldauf and Kaplan (2006) who say that "language in education is one of the major areas where the language policy of a country can be seen" (p. 9). In the urban district of Kampala in Uganda, the case for the current study, the LiEP has proved a powerful tool as it makes English compulsory for all children in school. Issues of whether learning takes place are not emphasized by some of the stakeholders.

However, in some schools in Uganda, teachers' classroom practices differ from the policy on paper. In some cases teachers are expected to use English all the time in their classrooms but they divert from that rule because the social factors force them to, especially when they want to teach concepts which can be well illustrated in a language which is familiar to the learners. This differentiation is the result of "particular processes under specific social, political, cultural and economic conditions" (Johnson & Milan, 2010, p. 4). That is the possible reason why some teachers use local languages in their classrooms in the urban district of Kampala where such a policy is not recommended due to the multiplicity of languages in the district. The next section looks at the education system of Uganda.
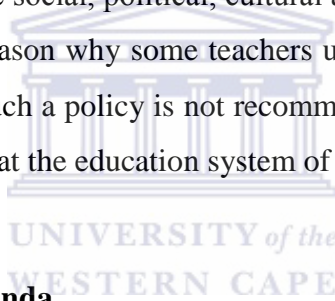
1.4 The Education System in Uganda

The current education system in Uganda has been in force since 1967. Uganda's structure of formal education is a four-tier model consisting of seven years of primary education, four years of lower secondary (Ordinary level) and two years of upper secondary(Advanced level), after which there are two to five years of tertiary education. The national examinations at the end of each cycle of formal education are: the Primary Leaving Examination (PLE), Uganda Certificate of Education (UCE) and the Uganda Advanced Certificate of Education (UACE). After each cycle, a credit in English is mandatory in order to obtain a certificate that permits a student to proceed to the next level of education. In Uganda, pre-primary education (for ages 2-5) is the responsibility of parents/guardians and is not part of the formal education system. Education at this level is in the hands of private agencies and individuals. More so, most of the nursery schools and kindergartens are in urban areas. Some of the children who join Primary one may not have attended nursery education since it is not compulsory.

The education system adopted in Uganda, to a bigger extent does not reflect the thinking and practices of the colonial administration. For example, in 1922 the British colonial government released the Phelps-Stokes Commission report which made several policy recommendations designed to broaden and streamline the educational curriculum of the missionaries beyond its focus on religion. The policy sought to include vocational training in agriculture and technical subjects to make education relevant to the local community life, as Ssekamwa (2000, p. 60) states: : 'the advancement of the community as a whole would have to be achieved through improvement of agriculture, native industries and the improvement of health'. This policy focused on preparing learners for life after school, thereby avoiding the problem of leaving school without any vocational skills. The implementation of this policy was not popular with the local people, who preferred an education system that would give them the work force needed in administration, such as clerks, teachers, artisans and catechists to replace the Europeans who were leaving (Ssekamwa, 2000). The demand for an academic curriculum is what skewed the education system with an emphasis on academic rather than vocational skills. The situation above has remained the same up to now and this is indicated by the findings in this study on the current LiEP where parents show popular demand for their children to learn and be taught in English.

The current government of Uganda continues to recognize the role of education in the overall development of the country and commitment to international community. The advent of Universal Primary Education (UPE) in 1997 and Universal Secondary Education (USE) in January 2007, was a response to a number of global commitments: the 1990 World Conference on Education For All (EFA) which ignited international commitment to ensure that all children be given an equal opportunity to achieve and maintain an acceptable level of learning (World Conference on Education for All; 1990). The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) is the other commitment to which Uganda has subscribed to ensure among others, that children everywhere, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling and eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education by 2005 and all levels of education not later than 2015 (UNESCO, 2003).

At the moment, government has embarked on improving the quality of education in its schools. A curriculum review led to the introduction of the Thematic Curriculum in 2007. This was meant to enhance the teaching and learning of literacy and numeracy in lower primary. This was in accord with one of the objectives of primary education in Uganda that "it should enable individuals to acquire functional

Literacy, Numeracy and Communication skills in one Ugandan language and English" (Uganda Government; 1992).

It should also be noted that, in Uganda, pre-primary education (for ages 2-5) is the responsibility of parents and is not part of the formal education system. Education at this level is in the hands of private agencies and individuals. More so, most of the nursery schools and kindergartens are in urban areas. Some of the children who join Primary one may not have attended nursery education since it is not compulsory.
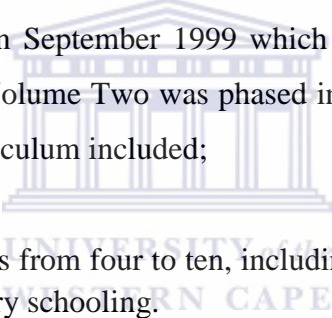
1.5 The Primary school Curriculum in Uganda

The National Curriculum Development Centre (NCDC), established in 1973, is responsible for reviewing and re-structuring the education system to match the country's realistic needs as contrasted to the colonial type of education that Uganda inherited at independence. Shortly, after the National Resistance Movement assumed state power in 1985, it vowed to bring about fundamental changes in Uganda. Most important among the priorities of the fundamental changes, was to improve the quality and affordability of education. This informs the study that, in developing countries like Uganda, curriculum development efforts cannot ignore the prevailing political environment and direction.

The government of Uganda initiated the process of curriculum revision and gave terms of reference. This actual work was left to teams of technocrats to translate the government's general and long range intent into tangible results, which culminated in the new primary education curriculum. The curriculum review process had many activities, but in this study I will only talk about the ones related to primary school education in Uganda. The process had five major activities; (i) the appointment of the Education Policy Review Commission (EPRC), (ii) the production of the government white paper on the EPRC report, (iii) the establishment of the Curriculum Review Task Force (CRTF), (iv) the writing of the subject syllabi by the National Curriculum Development Centre subject panels and (v) implementation of the curriculum. This study shall mainly deal with the outcomes of the EPRC and the CRTF. The EPRC was set up by the government in July 1987. It was a commission of twenty eight people. The chairman was Professor William Ssenteza Kajubi, a prominent educationist both at national and international level. Among other terms of reference, the EPRC was to review the education policy of Uganda. It was expected to accomplish its work over two years (1987-1989).

In 1989, the Commission came out with its recommendations on education. The cabinet sat and considered the recommendations of the EPRC. It gave its own views and recommendations in the Government White Paper of September, 1992. This White Paper formed the basis for the working of the Curriculum Review Task Force. It is important to note my fears herein that, a cabinet with appointees with different professions and interests did not tamper with the recommendations compiled by the prominent educationists in their report, yet it is known that governments, especially in developing countries, make policies which mainly favour themselves while in power.

In September 1992, the Minister of Education and Sports appointed the CRTF. It had fourteen educationists under the chairmanship of Mr. Basil P. Kiwanuka, another prominent educationist in Uganda. The Task Force put forward the aims of primary education in Uganda. This curriculum came into use in 1995. Other reviews of the curriculum were made and NCDC with its mandate, at the helm of the review, updated the primary school curriculum. The result was the launching of the new Uganda Primary School Curriculum Volume One in September 1999 which became operational in January, 2000 in all primary schools. The subsequent Volume Two was phased into the primary education system in January, 2001 (NCDC, 2000). The new curriculum included;

(i)   an expansion of subjects from four to ten, including the introduction of local languages for the first four years of primary schooling.
(ii)   a transitional year primary 4 should be designed to support the switch from local languages of instruction to English as the language of instruction (LOI) and from a Thematic Curriculum to a more traditional, subject-based curriculum.
(iii)   The curriculum for primary 1-3 has a much greater emphasis on the development of literacy, numeracy and key life skills as the priority learning objectives for these grades.
(iv)   The number of core subjects examinable for Primary Leaving Examination (PLE) primarily by pen and paper leading to certificate were limited to, English, a local language, Mathematics, Science and Social Studies (with Kiswahili as an optional examination subject until sufficient trained teachers are available to underpin national usage).
(v)   more so, English was to be used as the medium of instruction from primary1-4 only in those schools, both urban and rural, where a majority of enrolled pupils do not speak a common local language as a first or dominant language (NCDC, 2006, p. 2).

In 2007 the current thematic curriculum was introduced. In this curriculum, teaching is organised into different themes but not into subjects, as in the previous one. In almost all the curriculum reviews made,

English was recommended as the medium of instruction from Primary One through the primary cycle in urban areas.

1.6 Statement of the Problem

Uganda is a multilingual nation like many African countries, with the exception of a language in education policy (LiEP) in urban areas which is formulated in terms of a monoglot notion. By monoglot in this context I mean tendencies in language policies to seek solutions to expenses in multilingualism by the choice of one or two standard languages rather than harness the rich multilingual practices including hybridity and code switching that many multilingual colleges host. However, trying to manage such a multilingual situation through a monoglot LiEP that does not recognise language resources is fraught with problems. In the case of Kampala, which is highly multilingual, the government sees the district as an exceptional one, so the government did not recommend the district for the local languages policy in education like it did for the other parts of the country. This meant that the choice of mother tongue otherwise recommended for the rural areas is not possible and consequently, it had to fall back to English. This poses a problem because the LiEP for Kampala views the many languages in the urban district as a problem and not a resource.
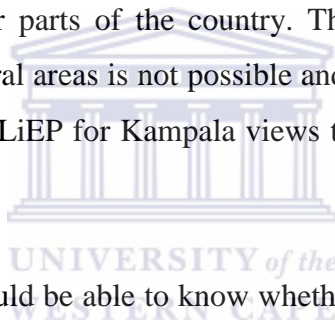
By the end of this research we should be able to know whether Kampala is exceptional compared to other districts in view of English and other languages resources and whether LiEP is the only factor affecting literacy acquisition in Uganda. The focus of the study was thus to investigate what the Uganda LiEP provides for literacy acquisition and be able to recommend on how literacy acquisition could be enhanced in Ugandan classrooms.

1.7 Purpose of the Study

This research intended to explore the LiEP and literacy acquisition in the multilingual urban district of Kampala in Uganda. The study was designed to investigate the literacy acquisition processes and literacy practices which the learners undergo, with the aim of discovering whether the processes and the literacy practices at home influence the learning processes at school. The study attempted to answer questions about the clarity of the LiEP, actual practice in schools and the other factors that influence literacy acquisition processes in homes and schools. The study also sought to explore the principles of bi/multilingual education and the relevant LiEP model for Kampala. The study intended to establish how

multilingualism in Kampala is a resource for literacy acquisition and suggests ways of implementing such a policy.

1.8 Specific Objectives

Specifically the study wanted to do two main things:

1. Explore the LiEP for a multilingual Ugandan context.
2. On the basis of such a policy, to be able to recommend how literacy acquisition could be enhanced in Ugandan classrooms.

1.9 Research Questions

Bearing in mind the objectives above, the study posed the following questions. These are categorized into main questions and sub-questions as stated below:

1. What is the nature of the LiEP for the urban district of Kampala?
   - What is the rhetorical content of the LiEP instruments for Uganda?
   - How do stakeholders interpret the LiEP?
2. What comprises language and literacy resources in a multilingual context?
   - What classroom/home literacy events and practices are found in primary schools in the urban district of Kampala?
   - How is multilingualism a resource for literacy acquisition?
3. Given a critical analysis of a policy framework and given an understanding of what comprises language and literacy resources, what recommendations can one make with regard to language policy in a multilingual context?
   - What is the relevant LiEP model for the multilingual urban district of Kampala?
   - What are the guiding principles for implementing bi/multilingual education?

1.10 Limitations

This study was limited to the Language in Education policy for the urban district of Kampala in Uganda and its impact on literacy acquisition among Primary One learners. It also analysed LiEP instruments and looked at multilingualism as a resource for education in general and literacy acquisition in particular.

1.11 Delimitations

This study delimits itself to the languages of the reading materials in homes and Primary One literacy lessons in the urban district of Kampala in Uganda and their impact on learners' academic achievement in literacy. It also critically analyses the LiEP instruments against multilingual education and explores the stakeholders' views on the use of English as a MoI throughout the Primary School Cycle in the urban district of Kampala.

1.12 Scope of the Study

The study was concerned with LiEP in multilingual Uganda as the major area but specifically the study looked at literacy acquisition in the multilingual urban district of Kampala. The study also addressed multilingualism as an issue for literacy acquisition in Kampala. Two divisions; Central and Kawempe, were selected out of the five divisions of the district. The study concentrated on the urban district of Kampala, the capital city of Uganda, where almost all mother tongues of the country are represented but the language in education policy of using the mother tongue or local language as a medium of instruction was not recommended as in other districts in the country. In addition, it is only in the urban district of Kampala where a monoglot policy without a local language is recommended. This led to this research to do a rhetorical analysis of the policy instruments and to not engage with the different theoretical models used in policy analysis in the social sciences studies.

The study obtained views, perceptions, attitudes and opinions about the policy from policy makers, curriculum developers, researchers, school head teachers, classroom teachers and pupils in the urban district of Kampala.

1.13 Significance of the study

The Education For All (EFA) conference in 1990, at Jomtien in Thailand, charged governments to provide basic education for all its citizens by 2005. Subsequently, Uganda's strategy in response to the EFA call was the provision of Universal Primary Education (UPE) in 1997. While the EFA monitoring report indicated that Uganda had made great in-roads in enabling children to access education, it became apparent that the next step was to focus on the quality of the education that was provided. UNESCO (2003), in reference to attainment of quality education, acknowledged that an appropriate language of

instruction was imperative. In addition, Wolff (2006: 7) suggests that a combination of four components is necessary in achieving quality education, one of which is an appropriate medium of instruction. In response to the above cause, the Ministry of Education and Sports (MoES) endorsed the ESSP 2007-2015 which highly recommended local languages to be used as the medium of instruction in Primary One to Primary Four, it says; "it is now incontrovertible that learners can master literacy in a second language (English) more readily if they learn first to read and write in their mother tongue" (P. 36).

From a pedagogical perspective, there is evidence that children learn to read and write more easily in a language in which they are already familiar (Cummins, 2000, 2005; UNESCO, 2003).

Fortunately, the MoES realized this although it is not yet clear on the learners in urban areas where there are several MTs. The current research highlights the importance of local languages/ MTs in the acquisition of literacy in urban areas which are considered exceptional due to the existence of many languages. For example, the Ugandan Government (1992, p. 16) recommends that "in urban areas the medium of instruction will be English throughout the primary cycle". Although the policy stated that, earlier research had indicated that a majority of pupils in primary schools were failing to achieve even the minimum level of English literacy (Makau, 2000; UNEB, 1999). The challenge addressed in this study is the recommendation of English as a MoI throughout the primary school cycle in urban areas in Uganda.

This research, therefore, is of significant interest in that it highlights the relevant LiEP model for the urban district of Kampala in respect of MT/ local language as a resource for literacy acquisition. Furthermore, the study provides valuable information for teacher educators, curriculum designers and policy makers in the implementation of similar programs in education in Uganda. The research also hopefully has wider interest and significance not just in Uganda and Africa, but elsewhere in the world where there are issues of language policies in multilingual settings. The findings from this research might give teacher educators, researchers, curriculum designers and policy makers a chance to reflect on and review the processes of development and effectiveness of the policies now in place, especially in multilingual situations and with regard to MoIs and foreign languages in education. Thus, it is the hope of this study that the policy makers and implementers will be enlightened.

The research will also have an impact on stakeholders' beliefs/attitudes towards local languages. They need to be informed about the value of having these languages as learning resources across the curriculum and throughout schooling. There is also the need for a paradigm shift that would review LiEP for Kampala

from a monoglot to a bi/multilingual education policy. Schools in urban areas need to develop their own language plans in trying to implement the Thematic Curriculum. Furthermore, the promotion of bi/multilingualism in pre-service and in-service courses is important in order to facilitate bi/multilingual learning.

This research differs from most of the studies that have been carried out in Uganda in that some of them were surveys (Ladefoged et al., 1972; Muthwii, 2002). For example, Ladefoged et al's (1972) survey in Uganda, while it includes language policy and language attitudes, was wide in scope and did not specifically focus on the implementation of LiEP with regard to the medium of instruction in multilingual urban areas. In contrast, Muthwii (2002) only considered implementation of the policy. Other studies such as those conducted by Gossen (2003) and Mondo (2003) focus mainly on adult literacy, while others, like those done by Minds Across Africa School Clubs and groups (MAASC) (2001), focused on reading culture and gender issues. A number of others like those done by Quality Education for Social Transformation (QUEST) (2002) have focused on developing norms against which to measure the progress of pupils at different levels of primary school. Kyeyune (2003) centers on teacher-learner in-class talk, criticising the teachers' hitherto dominant role. Kirunda (2005) looked at the link between literacy practices, the rural-urban dimension and the academic performance of primary school learners in Uganda and Tembe (2008) carried out a study on language in education policy and multilingual literacies in Ugandan primary schools, focusing on minority languages. Andema (2011) argues for the need for culturally sensitive research on digital literacy and teacher education in Uganda. None of those studies has endeavoured to analyse the LiEP issue in primary schools in Kampala with the aim of exploring how a monoglot LiEP really works in multilingual contexts. Related to this research are those studies in Africa and elsewhere (Bamgbose 2001; Baker 2011) that have focused on the use of mother tongue versus English as MoI.

1.14 Justification

This study focuses on LiEP and literacy acquisition in multilingual Uganda. Although studies have been carried out in Uganda regarding the state of language, language in education, multilingual literacy practices and the national language issue (see Ladefoged et al., 1972; Mukama, 1991; Parry, 2000; Mpuga 2003; Kirunda, 2005; Okech, 2006; Tembe, 2008), no single study for either academic purposes or

other reasons has addressed the LiEP issue in primary schools in Kampala with the aim of suggesting a relevant LiEP model and promoting multilingualism as a resource for literacy acquisition.

There are a number of reasons that prompted the study in the area of language policy and literacy acquisition in multilingual Uganda. First and foremost, the current Thematic Curriculum has literacy as one of the subjects and has adopted MT/ local language as a medium of instruction from primary 1 to 3 classes. Secondly, when learners in the urban district of Kampala start school, English is introduced immediately as the medium of instruction. This means that the LiEP does not cater for multilingualism in the district. So, the study intends to examine how the policy needs to be revised, reformulated and adopted to cater for multilingual education in Uganda.

The results of the study have didactic implications geared towards literacy acquisition programmes, thus improving literacy levels in Uganda.

1.15 Definition of terms

The following terms are key to the discussion in this research study and thus defined below. The definitions given below are the ones referred to when such terms are used in this thesis.
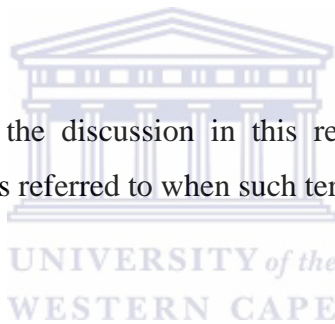
Policy

Fox and Meyer (1995, p. 96) define policy as 'a guide of action or statement of goals that should be followed in an institution to deal with a particular problem or phenomenon or a set of problems or phenomena'.

Language Policy

Considering Bergenholtz (2006), Ager (1996) and Cooper (1989), the term language policy refers to a 'collection of laws, rules and stipulations that determine the status of a language, including rights compared to other languages and that determine the right language'. This term is also used to describe the variety of initiatives that play an active part in promoting, strengthening and protecting a language. The term is also referred to in this thesis to mean a set of governmental decisions relative to the priority of the use of languages in a state, for purpose of employment, education and the like which can influence the number and types of reference works produced and used.

Language Planning

Petrovic (2005, p. 396) refers to language planning as 'the process of determining the linguistic needs, wants and desires of a community and seeking to establish policies to fulfill them'. Such control is usually imposed centrally by government or quasi-governmental agencies, such as academies or language policy bureaus. Measures may include banning foreigners, coining neologisms and terminology, controlling the media and redirecting education policies.

Language Ideologies

Woolard and Schieffelin (1994, p. 3) put together a definition of language ideologies as "sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use" with a greater social emphasis as "self-evident ideas and objectives a group holds concerning roles of language in the social experiences of members as they contribute to the expression of the group" and "the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationship, together with their loading of moral and political interests".
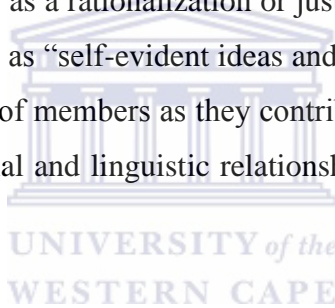
Literacy

Literacy is a social practice always and already embedded in particular forms of activity; one cannot define literacy or its uses in a vacuum; that reading and writing are studied in the context of social practices of which they are part and which operate in particular social spaces (Street, 1993; 2000: Baynham, 2000).

Literacy Events

Following Street (2001, p. 10), a literacy event is a particular situation where things are happening and where you can see them happening - an event that involves reading and or writing, for example an academic literacy event. Events are activities where literacy has a role and usually there is a written text, or texts, central to the activity and there may be talk around the text (Barton & Hamilton, 1998, p. 7).

Literacy practices

These are social practices and conceptions of reading and writing in cultural contexts. In real meaning, in this study, the phrase 'literacy practices' also covers 'literacy events' (Street, 2001: Baynham, 2000: Baynham & Massing, 2000). Barton and Hamilton (1998, p. 7) elaborate that literacy practices are not observable units of behaviour since they also involve values, attitudes, feelings and social relationships.

Area /Local Language

The Uganda Government White Paper on Education (1992:19) refers to the area/local language to mean the relevant local language which is also considered to be the familiar language of the learners in a particular area, although this language may not necessarily be indigenous or MT to all the learners. In this thesis the same refers to the common language and specifically the language of the market place (Obanya, 2004, p. 20) as Luganda is for the urban district of Kampala. For purposes of this study, the terms: area/local language, familiar language, common language and language of the market place are used interchangeably. English, in this case the former colonial language is the only one referred to as a foreign language.

Multilingualism

It would be a big oversight to proceed with this research without defining multilingualism. Multilingualism is a situation where an individual uses many languages for marked or unmarked reasons and the languages used most of the times are at different levels of proficiency (Kemp, 2009, p. 11).

1.15 Conclusion and Outline of the Thesis

Conclusion

The first chapter of the thesis has given a full background to the study of LiEP for Uganda, taking the urban district of Kampala as the case in point. The chapter comprises the following topics; a description

of the research site, the history of LiEP in Uganda, the education system in Uganda and the primary school curriculum in Uganda, language ideologies in Uganda, the problem statement, study aim, objectives, research questions, significance of the study, scope, assumptions, limitations, delimitations and definition of terms. Chapter one has been presented, therefore the rest of the thesis develops as thus:

Chapter two: Literature Review

This chapter compiles literature related to language policy and literacy acquisition in multilingual settings. The sources of literature were mainly books, research papers from various academic journals available in data bases and authorized internet sources. Literature was reviewed under two main topics; (1) Language policy and planning, (2) multilingualism and globalization The sub-topics included but were not restricted to; language in education policy in Uganda, multilingualism as a resource and a right, and language as a social practice.

Chapter three: Conceptual and Theoretical framework

The conceptual and theoretical framework presented in this chapter is based on recent work in literacy and multilingual literacies. The chapter looks at Critical Discourse Analysis and New Literacy Studies. It specifically looks at literacy as a social practice.

Chapter Four: Research Methodology

This chapter presents the research design which is the overall plan used in the current study. The whole plan of the study, which was multi-methodical, is presented in this chapter. It comprises an introduction, research design, research procedure, sampling procedure, data collection and data analysis.

Chapter Five: Language in Education Policy

This chapter presents a critical analysis of the policy instruments, and as well some critical commentary by some of those officially involved in the process of designing the LiEP instruments. By bringing in these different voices and by looking at a set of linked policy documents, the researcher is able to discern both the intertextuality of a long time period as well as areas of contention and agreement between policy

makers. The policy analysis in this chapter uses the tools of CDA primarily framed within critical reading around multilingual education. The research question responded to is: what is the nature of LiEP for Kampala?

Chapter Six: Language Policy, Literacy Instruction and Acquisition

In this chapter the findings from the study discuss literacy instruction and acquisition in relation to LiEP for the multilingual urban district of Kampala. The findings discussed are from both a qualitative and quantitative approach.. These captured interviews with key informants and classroom observations. At the same time findings from the literacy test are presented in this chapter. The main research question for the chapter is: what comprises language and literacy resources in a multilingual context?

Chapter Seven: Multilingualism in Education

In this chapter, research findings in relation to views and perceptions of the various stake holders on LiEP, principles of a LiEP in a multilingual setting and a LiEP model relevant for the urban district of Kampala, are presented. It is from this chapter that study questions around multilingualism in education are handled. The questions are: How is multilingualism a resource in education? And what are the guiding principles for implementing multilingual education? What is the relevant LiEP model for multilingual urban districts like Kampala?

Chapter Eight: Implications and Conclusions

This chapter documents implications and conclusions for the study. The same chapter specifies issues for further action and research around language policies in urban settings, especially in African cities, Kampala in particular.

CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

Across the world, everyday issues of language are determined by histories of contact through migration or colonialism, with contemporary global flows giving rise to new multilingual dispensations. Communities and speakers relate to these linguistic dynamics in various ways, either through institutions specifically designed for such purposes or through everyday personal grass-root practices. Uganda is one of those countries that are at a crossroads regarding the historical dynamics of language (colonialism) and the state of the language resulting from contemporary global developments. Thus any discussion of language and literacy in education in Uganda needs to be seen against both these dynamic backgrounds.

This chapter attempts to situate the research problem for the current study within a review of literature related to globalization and multilingualism, the attempts made over the years to manage multilingualism in the field of language planning and policy and the implications and debates relevant to educational institutions specifically, such as what and how to teach language and literacy in a new multilingual dispensation.
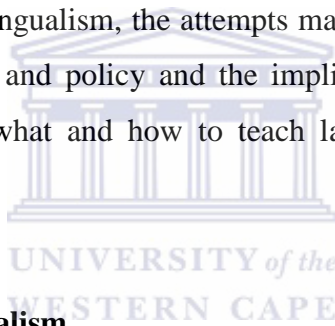
2.1 Globalization and Multilingualism

According to Aronin and Singleton (2008, p. 2), multilingualism is ubiquitous, on the rise worldwide and increasingly deep and broad in its effect; multilingualism is developing within the context of the new reality of globalization and is now such an inherent element of human society that it is necessary to the functioning of major components of the social structure. These authors emphasize the importance of multilingualism and how it cannot be ignored if a society is to develop in all its dimensions. Although multilingual individuals and societies have existed throughout the history of human kind, the present stage of global sociolinguistic arrangement is in fact a novel development. Multilingualism in terms of scale and significance is comparable with and assimilated to political-economic aspects of globalization, global mobility and postmodern modes of thinking. The researchers add that, multilingualism is the ineluctable concomitant of all dimensions of globalization. The application in the relevant literature of the notion of a new linguistic dispensation to recent shifts in the language/ society interface is entirely justified by the facts.

Stroud and Heugh (2011, p. 424) argue that today's transnational, global world order is radically changing how we need to approach an understanding of language, multilingualism and speech community. Globalization is a term that accounts for a multiplicity of processes and practices, namely an increase in quantity and rapidity of the circulation of people, identities, imaginations and products across borders (Martin-Jones, 2007, p. 170). These processes refigure multilingualism and its societal organization, the nature of language learners and language learning processes, as well as understanding language practices in society and how these practices are reproduced and or reconfigured through time and space. These authors emphasize how language education is institutionalized and formalized in the education system of the world, discrepancies between patterns of contemporary late-modern and globalized multilingualism and educational approaches to policy, teaching and learning of languages and lastly, ways forward for educationally managing on-going change and increasing diversity.

In colonial dispensations, multilingualism was often organized strictly according to a hierarchy where the colonial language (or language of the metropole) was privileged for official, public uses, and the indigenous languages were used only in private spheres. Stroud (2007), shares an experience of Mozambique where bilingualism took two concurrent forms: African languages were organized as local, indigenous, owned and authentic and Portuguese as metropolitan. Local languages were constructed as languages of tradition and Portuguese as the language of the modern state. He further states that at the time of colonialism, the nature of bilingualism as a social construct was determined by two primary competing, and even contradictory tendencies, namely the increasing advance of African languages into the spheres of the public and modern on the one hand and renewed fervent attempts to protect these spheres for Portuguese on the other. In post colonialism, language came to play an important role in this transformation, as construction and ideologies of Portuguese and African language bilingualism were plied into the service of modernization, socialism and nationalism.

In today's globalizing world, these traditional hierarchizations are accompanied by an industrial-technical mindset that privileges language for economy, and that oftentimes works in favor of the old colonial language, but that can also serve to raise the status of indigenous languages. Cameron (2000, p. 129) argues that, linguistic skills in the post-industrial economy have taken on a new importance, and that communication skills and the new literacies demanded by new technologies as well as competence in one or more second/foreign languages, all represent valuable "linguistic capital." Languages are being treated

more and more as economic commodities. Bruthiaux (2002, p. 292-93) and Benson (2004b, p. 5) argue that market driven, capital-led reforms lead to the spread of major economic languages such as English, whose value as 'linguistic capital' often goes unquestioned despite its limited usefulness for the majority of the poor and marginalized. Not surprisingly, English among non-English speaking populations in many countries, has become a symbol of social and political modernization, which is one reason adduced by, for example, Rubagumya (2001) for; why Tanzania is reverting to English in spite of the fact that most of the press, the debates in parliament and in the lower courts are in Kiswahili. However, the commodification of language together with global flows such as tourism and the search for authenticity, has also meant that indigenous languages have found niche markets of various kinds, something that contributed to their visibility and vitality vis-a-vis traditional metropolitan languages (see for example Heller, 2003, p. 474-75; Androutsopoulos, 2007, p. 210).

2.1.1 Multilingual Africa

All African countries are multilingual and in some of them hundreds of different languages are spoken (McLaughlin, 2009, p. 7). It is estimated that out of 6200 languages and dialects in the world, Africa alone claims to have 2582 languages and 1382 dialects (Lodhi, 1993, p. 79). Profound multilingualism is a fact of life on the continent, a phenomenon that is intensified in cities which attract a substantial number of people from rural areas who speak minority languages. Multilingualism in African cities is a very complex issue that can show contradictory trends towards one kind of multilingualism (societal multilingualism) but away from another (individual multilingualism). The city of Kampala in Uganda is a case in point: one or more urban vernaculars have emerged to become the languages of the city. These are most often African languages that show evidence of contact with a former colonial language, not the colonial languages themselves (McLaughlin, 2009).

An example of what the contemporary situation of a multilingual dispensation means on the ground is outlined by Banda and Olayemi (2010) in a case study typical of many African contexts. These authors sketch how Zambians systematically (re) construct the linguistic representations to codify their multilingual and multicultural experiences and African realities. They focus on how Zambians enact social roles and identities (rural, urban, modern hybrid) in transformative multilingual discourses through extended repertoires that include hybrid codes. The study also focuses on the production and re-

contextualization of identities (rural, urban, modern and traditional) through *online* multilingual discourses. The authors believe that, apart from trans-local, trans-tribal and trans-national mobility resulting from inter-ethnic marriages, socioeconomic and political factors, the new global dispensation, including the onset of information technology, has also influenced the kinds of interaction and the way Zambians use their multilingual repertoire. This makes for a very complex sociolinguistic situation, turning linguistic performance of identities in multilingual contexts into a very creative endeavor. They concluded that the English they analyzed was inseparable from the accompanying African languages, and that it would therefore not make sociolinguistic sense to discuss English without accounting for the African languages that accompany it.

Moreover, the spread of languages outside of their traditional boundaries has helped to create a complex relationship between ethnicity, language use and linguistic grouping, where languages and repertoires are drawn on as resources for their different meaning potential within different contexts rather than being used to indicate, for example, ethnic identity alone. The authors add that there is a need to see speakers as legitimate and active participants in the creative use of different codes, something that is typical of multilingual societies in Africa. They conclude that hybrid forms should not be discarded as illegitimate forms of expression; they are legitimate forms and means of interaction in the increasing urbanizing multilingual and multicultural context of Africa (cf. also Stroud & Heugh, 2011).

The phenomena that Banda and Olayemi discuss are typical of many contemporary global communities. Stroud and Wee (2007) identify Singapore as an example of how multilingual dynamics typical of late modern societies are increasingly characterized by a culture of consumerism and class. This is even more so where people define themselves through the messages they transmit to others and through the goods and practices that they possess and display. Stroud and Wee believe that socioeconomic and pragmatic considerations determine choice of language and how languages are conceived more so than issues of identity or ethnicity. In addition, speakers learn and acquire languages for a variety of reasons that have more to do with their perceived use and value rather than inherent ownership or the performance of ethnic identities. Such phenomena go hand in hand with the socioeconomic and political dynamics of post-national development.

In other words, what typically comes across here is the existence on the ground of speakers that orientate themselves across multidimensional, multilingual spaces, relying on the juxtaposition of languages and fragments of languages – semiotic materials – for the many everyday functions of communication. Authors such as Garcia (1997) and Heller (2007) have developed a critical perspective on bilingualism that precisely attempts to frame these sorts of dynamics by moving away from a focus on the whole bounded units of code and community towards a more processual and materialist approach which privileges language as social practice, speakers as social actors and boundaries as products of social action. Heller argues against a notion of language as connected to, but distinct from, society and culture, and for a view of language as one form of social practice. Given this 'reality on the ground', the question is how is this conceptualized in discourses about language, something that is important also for how policy makers and educationalists talk and write about language in institutional contexts.

2.2. Discourses of multilingual management

New practices and discourses of language could be expected to give rise to new understandings of the political and policy implications of multilingualism. However, despite the acknowledged widespread multilingualism on the African continent, colonial policy and thinking retain their grip on how African languages are spoken about. Alexander (2003, p. 13-15) puts across three main consequences of the colonial era in Africa that relate to the question of language. The first is in the context of, for example, Southern Africa, and the fact that the dominant languages of the government and the economy tend to be former colonial languages. Second is the self-denigration by speakers of African languages, who believe that their indigenous languages are only fit to occupy the less prestigious primary domains of family, church, and community. In this context, there is the popular perception that African multilingualism may not serve as a strategy for modernization, that African languages lack scientific capacity and suffer from technical and terminological barrenness (Prah, 2010, p. 77). The assumptions underlying the rhetoric behind the marginalization of African languages are not based on facts, but are put forward in order to fit some preconceived theoretical framework or economic or political agenda (cf. Djite 2008). However, it is quite clearly the case that languages modernize and grow lexically because society by intent and purpose make them do so. In order for this to happen, according to Prah (2010), there must be sufficient political will and resources to scientifically and terminologically enhance them, and that it will only be possible to transform African languages into languages of progress if society puts economic value into the use of

theses languages; society needs to put more premium on the production and reproduction of knowledge in these languages. Prah (2010) summarizes with a statement to the effect that; if the literacy base of multilingualism is cultivated, multilingualism will enhance intellectual access to knowledge and information by citizens.

It is clearly the case that imperial powers at the time were not interested in creating realities in Africa that would require that colonial administration development should proceed along lines that involved the development of African languages. The question is whether this situation is very much still with us in the guise of new elites with little interest in popular development. Neville Alexander's third point is that there is a lack of political will by a select group of individuals who have acquired linguistic cultural capital (Heath, 1983; Bourdieu, 1991; MacLeod, 1995) and who he claims neglect the pursuit of progressive policies consistent with the aims of freedom and democracy.

In the litany that Alexander offers us, we note different approaches to African languages threading their way through the pros and cons, the arguments for and against, the use of these languages in a wider community of speakers. Firstly, there is the stance on language/multilingualism as a *problem*, something that needs to be managed appropriately to avoid upset. In the examples that Alexander mentions, this stance can be seen in the way in which African languages are presented as lacking the expressive resources for a wider social use in public spheres or institutions such as education, the supposed solution to which is through by-passing the problem by choosing a more 'developed' language, such as English.

A second stance on language is to view it as the object of political contest and controversy, something that can be framed in a discourse of *human rights*, as in the claims that colonial powers lacked interest in developing the languages of colonized subjects, or that present-day elites serve their own narrow interests and fuel privilege by not providing resources to develop African languages. This stance engages questions of equitable access to economic and social capital, and is often found in rights discourses around languages and their speakers. A third, related, thread apparent in Alexander's and Prah's argument is of language as a *resource*, that emphasizes how the cultivation of African languages could be a resource in the intellectual, social and economic advancement of their speakers.

According to Ruiz (1984; 1995), and further emphasized by Ricento and Hornberger (1996), the three orientations or discourses on language; language-as-problem, language-as-right, and language-as-resource, are critical discourses for language policy. Ruiz clarifies that "orientation" refers to a "complex of dispositions toward language and its role, and toward languages and their role in society" (Ruiz, 1984, p. 16). On the one hand, these three rubrics mirror the historical development of language planning and policy as a discourse. On the other hand they simultaneously present contemporary discourses as comprising conflicting ideological stances on issues of multilingualism – as we saw in the points noted by Alexander and Prah above. I will not deal with language-as-a-problem here except to mention that the origin of language planning as a discipline in the work of authors such as Jernudd and Das Gupta (1971), Jernudd (1973), Rubin (1977) and Fishman (1989) evolved in conjunction with newly emerging post-colonial states with the idea that nation states need standard languages in order to function.

In contemporary time, the language-as-problem orientation involves the association of language and the languages of minority groups with social and economic status. "The importance of this coincidence lies in language issues becoming linked with the problems associated with this group - poverty, handicap, low educational achievement, little or no social mobility" (Ruiz, 1984, p. 19). Here I will treat only the issue of language as a right and language as a resource. Following on the review of these two perspectives I will discuss the implications for extant models of language planning and policy making built around the distinction between status, corpus and acquisition planning. In particular I will argue in this study that language as a resource provides an appropriate framing for language in education for literacy in Uganda, which involves recognizing the importance of forms of multilingualism for literacy acquisition, and that this holds particular implications for language planning and policy models. I also put forward the idea that language as a resource can deal with multilingualism and hybridity, as well as the fact that often no single language is the natural choice, is a 'resource' rather than a problem.

2.2.1 Language as a Right

Ruiz (1984) presents language-as-right as meaning that languages of minority groups are a "God given right." Language provides "not only access to formal processes like voting, civil service examinations, judicial and administrative proceedings, and public employment but also the right to personal freedom and enjoyment" (p. 22). Discriminating against someone because of her/his language is a violation of her/his civil rights, liberty, and pursuit of happiness (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2002, p. 180). This discourse on language

has been framed in terms of linguistic human rights which are put forward as basic human rights (Phillipson, Rannut & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1994, p. 7). Skutnabb-Kangas (1995, p. 43) argues for linguistic rights as human rights, in these terms:

> Respecting linguistic human rights implies at an individual level that everyone can identify positively with their mother tongue, and have that identification accepted and respected by others, irrespective of whether their mother tongue is a minority or a majority language.
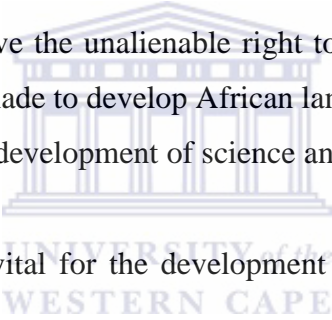
Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1994, p. 75) regard Linguistic Human Rights (LHRs) in relation to mother tongue (MT) as consisting of the right to identify with MTs and to get education and public service through the medium of MTs, with Skutnabb-Kangas (2007, p. 174) emphasizing that the rights to mother tongue medium education are among the most important rights for children. And, in fact, language rights discourses have been prime movers in the design of various models of additive bilingualism in educational institutions (Mda, 2004, p. 180).

According to Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson, a MT is defined as the language one has learned first and with which one identifies. Phillipson et al (1994, p. 7) explains further that this is the right to be different, the right to identify with one's MT, to learn it and to have education through it and to use it. In relation to other languages, LHRs are regarded as consisting of the right to learn an official language in the country of residence, in its standard form. It also includes languages that are used in a particular area so that the individual can participate in the social, political and economic processes of a given geopolitical entity. The same rights have also been said to include 'major languages of global communication' (Hurst & Lansdell, 1999, p. 3) which can enable people to access power and information sharing to bridge the gap between the rich and the poor countries.

Accordingly, Phillipson et al (1994, p. 1) assert that, LHRs are aimed at the promotion of linguistic justice and the removal or prevention of linguistic inequalities or injustices that may occur because of language. LHRs also enable a person to access information and knowledge, particularly basic scientific and technical knowledge (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1994, p. 344). The benefits accruing from the implementation of these rights include the right to individual and collective identity. Depriving individuals or groups of LHRs reflects a sophisticated contemporary form of imperialism, which Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1994, p 71) call linguicism.

LHRs have been eloquently articulated in various charters and declarations. UNESCO (2003) postulates that LHRs are important for an individual's development which has been defined as the process of increasing and enhancing human capabilities, affording people access not only to material benefits but also to such intangible benefits as knowledge and to play a full part in the life of the community. The Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights of Barcelona (UNESCO, 1996, p. 244) lists all the rights that should apply to human languages and the communities that speak them. In its introduction, it states that 'overall principles must be found so as to guarantee the promotion and respect of all languages and other social use in public and private'.

Specifically for Africa, as mentioned by Masau (2003, p. 157), the Asmara Declaration of 11th to 17th January 2000 on African languages and literatures states among other things that:

i)   All African children have the unalienable right to attend school and learn their MTs and that every effort should be made to develop African languages at all levels of education.

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

iii)   African languages are vital for the development of democracy based on equality and social justice

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

Furthermore, in 1976, the Organization for African Unity (OAU) in article 6 (2) articulated the cultural charter for Africa, where member states were strongly encouraged to promote teaching in national languages in order to accelerate their economic, political and cultural development (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson, 1994, p. 135). Generally speaking, there is no scarcity of charters and declarations on what ought to be done to guarantee linguistic justice for all the language communities. The implementation of these charters and declarations has, however, been problematic. In Africa, only the languages of the former colonial master seem to be favoured. The indigenous languages appear to be losing out (Masau, 2003, p. 158), and I want to suggest that Uganda is no exception.

LHRs open up a set of policy directions, for example they require countries to develop strategic plans that will guarantee linguistic justice, which means that language planning needs to be a part of the overall government long-term planning. Such a plan should strive to have as many African languages as possible taught in schools, not only in the lower levels but also in higher levels of education, with the aim of developing African languages so that they can be used as modern vehicles of discourse (Masau, 2003, p. 163). However, although rights discourses open up some avenues for the betterment of the situation for indigenous languages, they foreclose others. Stroud (2001) notes that the essentialist bias in the LHR framework mitigates against the full appreciation of multilingualism as a resource in all its diversity. In various studies, (Stroud, 2009; Stroud and Heugh, 2004) suggested that it is the very conception of language underlying both discriminatory as well as strategic rights remedies towards indigenous languages that lead to the problems of linguistic injustice and their reproduction. Among other things, rights discourses cannot deal with varieties of languages or language as a social practice, leading to a rather limited understanding of multilingualism as 'multiple monolingualisms' (Heller, 2007, p. 11). Language as a resource provides another way of thinking about multilingualism and thus suggests other strategies for indigenous 'language promotion'.
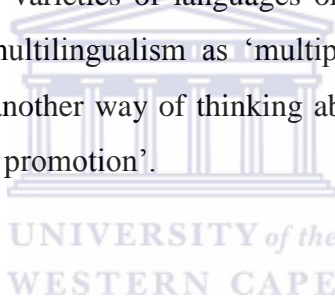
2.2.2 Language as a resource

Ruiz's (1984; 1995) language-as-resource orientation puts forward a particular stance of linguistic pluralism, where many languages are viewed as resources. Braam, (2004, p. 13) points out that "the languages of a nation are its natural resources on the same level as its petroleum, minerals and other natural resources". Ruiz's notion of language as a resource is useful in harnessing the rich resources of multilingualism that can be explored in multiple ways in a school in order to enhance literacy development. Prah (2010) puts across the many advantages of knowing many languages such as; for interaction, free communication in other parts of the country, trading purposes, for deconstructing language barriers, enlarging the scope for a greater sharing of literature and job acquisition. He says that Africans should be able to benefit from this growing multilingualism and use it to their advantage in education, science and technological development. Those statements show how languages are important to the various countries, so the more languages; the more resourceful a country can be, for example, in achieving national enrichment and economic advantage (cf. also Batibo, 2005, Djite, 2008).

The notion of *linguistic citizenship* (my emphasis) (Stroud, 2001; Stroud & Heugh, 2004) articulates well with Ruiz's (1984) notion of language as a resource. These authors teach us that language is (i) a symbolic resource, which is linked to its role in actor hood; (ii) a material resource, which is linked to political and economic arrangements; (iii) a global resource, whereby global and regional concerns are enacted locally; and (iv) an intimate resource, whereby diversity and multivocal identities are acknowledged and respected. In more detail, *symbolic resource* is the way in which citizens choose to represent themselves as speakers and members of speech communities in structures of power and resistance, and in ways that carry political implications. Language as a *material resource* highlights the role of language as a political and economic site of struggle, playing an integral part in the reconceptualisation of the role of informal economies in developing contexts. Recent developments in the examination of linguistic justice show that granting a privileged status to natural languages gives its native speakers a considerable advantage. For example they can translate and interpret, edit, teach and produce various educational materials in this language. This amounts to a considerable saving of costs which is a common argument in the context of promoting multiple languages.

Language as a *global resource* acknowledges that language is one of the main ways in which more global and regional concerns are interpreted and negotiated locally. Stroud and Heugh (2004) argue that notions of linguistic citizenship can open possibilities for reducing conflict in local, national and transnational encounters, building solidarity and promoting action and commonality across national borders. Prah (2010) also emphasizes the importance of multilingualism for social integration, claiming that it helps to check tendencies towards inter-group tensions and misunderstandings.

Lastly, language as an *intimate resource* embodies respect for diversity and difference, recognition of multiple and shifting identities. African languages are used for cultural transmission by way of narration of stories, fables, proverbs, idioms, sayings, riddles, songs, poems and verbal education. The most important form of transmission is through education, whether formal or informal. Human beings are social beings. It is difficult to stay together silently. We use languages to socialize and language facilitates the instinct for socialization. Language can be a means to foster solidarity/ cohesion among its speakers and to mark social relations. Batibo (2005, p. 31) adds that it is through language that people base thought and the thinking process. This way people conceptualize ideas, organize thoughts and systematize memory.

With all that in mind, language is a very important resource and the more languages one knows, the more resourceful that person can be to others and the entire community.

Stroud and Wee (2007), in their study of language planning and policy in Singaporean late modernity highlight that much language planning and policy is formulated around notions such as ethnicity and nation. This does not fit easily with a dynamic of linguistic pragmatism that is essentially driven by consideration of consumption, or with a stance on language as a resource that crosscuts and undermines ethnicity and that transforms the field of policy into an arena for the negotiation and contestation of class. The question then is to what extent language planning and models are actually accommodate multilingualism-as-a-resource, and what implications this may hold more specifically for approaching multilingualism in the context of education.

2.3 Language Planning and Language Policy

In this era of multilingualism with its resources and complexities, there is need for careful planning so that speakers of all languages in complex global and entangled ecosystems may develop their languages (Cooper, 1989; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; Hornberger, 2003), and themselves through due consideration of their linguistic practices and the resource this entails. Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck (2005, p. 159), informs us that multilingualism is not what an individual has or is, that is, 'competence' in the conventional sense, but what the environment enables and disables them to deploy. We saw in the above section how a discourse of multilingualism as a resource offers a tantalizing and promising approach to contemporary complex multilingual dispensations. This section will explore how models of language planning and policy could deal with language as a resource.

Approaching the planning of language-as-a-resource requires attention not only to language itself but also to language as a social phenomenon. This also implies, as with all social phenomena, that planning will involve conflicts of interest and different degrees of economic, social and political investment. Language policies may perpetuate structural socio-economic inequalities (Luke, 2004; Hornberger, 1994). Bamgbose (1991) observes that language policies in Africa are generally characterized by avoidance, vagueness, arbitrariness, fluctuations and declarations. Language policies are thus treated with lack of serious concern or even downright levity. Bamgbose refers to this as 'implementation avoidance strategies'

typical of language planning in Africa. Continued use of the pre-independence and former colonial language policies is catastrophic to many people who, because of the foreign languages used, are not in a position to participate in the democratic processes of their countries.

According to Ricento and Hornberger (1996) there may be no unified theory of language policy and planning but there are several frameworks elaborated to describe and explain why policies have certain effects in particular contexts (Ruiz, 1995; Tollefson, 2002). More generally, Ricento (2000, p. 9) informs us that there are mainly three factors that influence language policy and planning. These are; (i) macro sociopolitical events and processes that obtain at the national or supranational level, for example state formation, wars, migrations, globalization of capital and communications, (ii) epistemological frames, which refers to paradigms of knowledge and research such as structuralism and postmodernism, rational choice theory and neo-Marxism and so on, and (iii) strategic factors which concern the end goal for which research is conducted. The latter point refers to uncovering the sources of structural socioeconomic inequality, demonstrating the economic costs of language policy and justifying the implementation of a language policy. In this section the study will review some approaches to policy and planning as a background to the following section on educational language planning specifically.
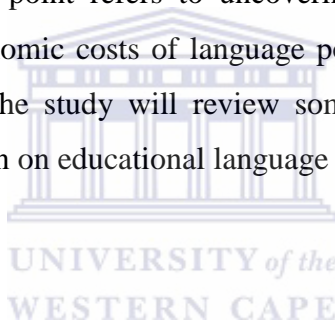
2.3.1 Language Policy

Ricento (2006) argues that language policy as an organized field of study is a relatively recent development, although the themes that are explored today in language policy research have been treated in a wide range of scholarly disciplines in the social sciences and the humanities. Thus, he considers the kinds of topics that are explored and the way in which theory and practice interact, leading to the questioning of theoretical assumptions and generating new lines of research and models in order to position language policy as a field of research. Language policies are made, or are implicitly acknowledged and practised in all societal domains. In addition, Petrovic (2005) sees policy making as the process of determining the linguistic needs, wants, and desires of a community and seeking to establish policies to fulfill them. Such goals might include cultivating language skills required to meet national priorities; establishing the rights of individuals or groups to learn, use, and maintain languages; promoting the growth of a national lingua franca; and promoting or discouraging multilingualism.

According to Ruiz (1995), the terms endoglossic and exoglossic are used to distinguish three major types of language policies. Endoglossic (community oriented) policies give dominance to and promote an indigenous language of the community; where the indigenous languages are also the Language of Wider Communication (LWC) with a high prestige value inside and outside native contexts. The endoglossic policies pose no particular practical or political problem, such as French and Spanish in France and Spain respectively. However, in Malaysia, for example, where Bahasa is associated with the ethnic Malay, there are tensions which are characteristic of pluralistic non-LWC states enacting exclusively endoglossic policies.

On the other hand, an exoglossic (externally-oriented) policy gives primacy and promotes a foreign language, frequently a former colonial language. The adoption of a language in a non-native context is a major indication of LWC status. This is typical in multilingual states where none of the indigenous languages are LWC and there is a history of prolonged contact with a foreign language even after independence. Such states often found it necessary to adopt the former colonial language for official and public purposes given that the former colonial power and its institutions had inculcated the life of the colony. This has been true for most of the sub-Saharan states of East and West Africa as well as Southern Africa (Omoniyi, 2003).

The third type of language policy is a combination of the first two. The mixed language policies are essentially bilingual in nature. They accommodate the promotion of both indigenous and foreign languages. For example, in Peru, Quechua and Spanish are both promoted as functional and official languages, yet there exist tremendous problems of policy implementation (Hornberger, 1988). In Paraguay, Guarani and Spanish are both official, but Spanish is used and recognized for higher prestige functions in all language communities. Most of the ex-colonies of Britain (Uganda inclusive) and France adopted an exoglossic solution to their language problems. Many of them being linguistically heterogeneous found the retaining of the ex-colonial language for modern communication and national integration to be an easy option.

In such instances, one or more local languages would be granted regional official status as in Nigeria, and Ghana. In South Africa, 11 languages have been given official status. India, like many of the other states in the region, has adopted a mixed approach, that is, partly endoglossic and partly exoglossic, where the national and official functions are split between indigenous and imported languages. In contexts other than

Uganda, English is regarded differently; it is often a symbol of social and political modernization but it does not always mean loss of local pride or cultural imperialism. Although Uganda seems to have a mixture, the practice is mostly exoglossic. English is the official language and six area or regional languages have been selected for use in education (Uganda Government, 1992, p. 16), none of which has demographic command over others. The development of Kiswahili as a national language in Uganda has not received much support in spite of being mentioned in various language policy documents. The urban district of Kampala, the case in this study, is multilingual although according to the LiEP, only English is recommended as a medium of instruction in the district. The question is: wherein does the usefulness of these types of systematizations reside? All of these policies appear to be constrained by the straitjacket of a notion of language pertaining to the scale of a state/nation-state, whereas we have noted previously that a post-national period of a multilingual dispensation and language as a social practice require fresh framings on language and multilingualism.

As I noted above, in conjunction with the idea of linguistic citizenship, the new multilingual dispensation and language as a resource demands that we consider language issues against a *social theory* of language. Although connections to social theory are implicit in many of these models, others refer explicitly to language planning as a branch of social theory. Tollefson (1991, p. 8) sought to "contribute to a theory of language planning that locates the field in social theory". Pennycook (2002, p. 91) teaches us that language policy is an interdisciplinary field that came into its own as a branch of sociolinguistics, the study of variation in language and its relationship with social factors. Ricento (2006, p. 9) agrees with other scholars that research in LPP must be understood as both a multidisciplinary and an interdisciplinary activity, claiming that language policies are always socially situated and continually evolving (Ricento, 2000, p. 2). Finally, Grin (2003, p. 73) recounts his experiences from working with language policy in the European Union, emphasizing a 'social justice perspective' that can accommodate issues of identity, national sentiment, language education, language use and legal discourse. Grin (2003, p. 73-76), shares the experience of the European Union language policy, which adopted the principle of full multilingualism with restricted language regimes. He adds that language issues cannot be ignored and left to themselves, unless we are prepared to accept *grossly inefficient and grievously unfair outcomes* (my emphasis). Importantly, Grin adds that contrary to what is often claimed, there is no "obviously" superior solution, and that selecting a language policy for the European Union requires a much more systematic assessment of competing scenarios than what is often proposed. With these words, he acknowledges the deliberative, political nature, of language policy research.

We have seen here how the notion of language as social practice places more emphasis on the importance of bottom-up, actor-related perspectives on multilingualism. This opens up for an understanding of a less planned activity of everyday issues of language. Fettes (1997, p. 15) notes that "a great deal of language policy-making goes on in a haphazard or uncoordinated way, far removed from the language planning ideal", and other scholars in the field (Cooper, 1989, Rubin & Tollefson, 1991) concur that policy is not necessarily the outcome of planning because language planning is first and foremost about social change, which does always lend itself to detailed prediction. The works of Cooper (1989) and Tollefson (1991) which proposed new theoretical directions have greatly contributed to an understanding of language policy and planning in terms of social change. In more detail, Cooper's (1989, p. 98) accounting framework which was organized around the question of "What *actors* attempt to influence *behaviour* of which people for what *ends* under what *conditions* by what *means* through what *decision- making process* with what *effect"* sums up the state of language policy and planning as a descriptive endeavor while at the same time proposing the need for a theory of social change in order to move language policy and planning ahead.

A related point touching on the 'unpredictable' nature of language in education policy is made by Spolsky (2004, p. 15) who elaborates on the fact that the existence of an explicit policy is not a guarantee that it will be implemented, nor does implementation guarantee success. He points out how all language planning activities take place in particular sociolinguistic settings and the nature and scope of the planning can only be fully understood in relation to the setting. Spolsky adds that political scientists assume a policy making system, a decision system and an organizational network, which co-exist in an environment with physical, political and socioeconomic components. In these components reside the conditions relevant to the policy development. On the other hand, the sociolinguistic situation and the attitude to it, is the nature of political organization which explains the main outlines of language policy. A good reason for the attention concentrated on political units is the association of language policy with power and authority.

Another aspect to the social turn in LPLP, and that also fits with the changing values of language in contemporary post-national multilingual dispensations, is that policies that favor linguistic pluralism do not always have as their goal the promotion of greater social and economic equality. Ricento (2000, p. 2) notes that a rationale for a particular language policy might appear to be 'liberal' while the hidden agenda could be quite reactionary or chauvinistic for example, for economic exploitation, socio-economic gate keeping, increasing of political power among certain segments of the population and so on. This is a

useful perspective to hold in mind when approaching formation of policies everywhere. A particular language policy can be used to achieve very different ends for different groups within a nation state. For example Ricento (2000, p. 75) found out that the promotion of English in North America from the colonial period through to the early 20th century had as its aim the acculturation of some groups for the purpose of structural assimilation and the deculturation of other groups for the purpose of subordination, without structural incorporation. Ramanathan's (2005) ethnographic study of English and vernacular medium education in Gujurat, India, highlights strategies whereby LPLP can address issues related to global inequities. Ramanathan argues that language policy and planning should pay attention to grounded, local realities that provide space to address how humans and institutions claim authority to re-think, re-envision, and re-enact their realms.

To summarize, most language policies remain primarily or only nation-state oriented. Spolsky (2004) informs that, in the past, language policy was concerned with issues related to nation building and modernization in postcolonial third world countries. Furthermore, they are often formulated in a top-down fashion. This has led Spolsky (2004, p. 5) to define a language policy as a set of managed and planned interventions supported and enforced by law and implemented by a government agency, and Christ (1995, p. 75) to suggest a characterization of language policy as "the sum of those "top-down" and "bottom-up" political initiatives through which a particular language or languages is /are supported in their public validity, functionality and dissemination". To the extent that language planning refers to control, it does not leave anything to the individual to decide, as the governing body determines not just what the person will know but also how he/she will arrive there (Shohamy, 2006).

There are many aspects in the work cited above that could be compatible with a policy framework formulated within the framing of linguistic citizenship (LC). LC emphasizes the need to evaluate policy work against considerations of a number of dimensions of linguistic practice (intimate, social, material and symbolic), bearing in mind that speakers/language users themselves often have quite firm ideas on what type of language practices should be considered a 'language' or acknowledged in some way. We have noted how, despite there being a policy in place, speakers chisel out ways of using their languages in the socioeconomic conditions they find themselves that might very well go against official policy (cf. Stroud and Wee, above). Compatible with a LC perspective are the views of Shohamy (2006, p. 52) who suggests that analysing a language policy requires the studying of beliefs (ideology), practices (ecology)

and management (planning). Grin adds that policy analysis is not enough to make public policy choices, but should be seen as primarily an instrument for political debate and governance. It does not dictate solutions, but helps to expand citizens' and decision makers' knowledge base in order to allow for more informed choices. In the following section, I will review core texts on language planning, commenting briefly on them from the perspective of language as a resource and LC.

2.3.2 Steps in planning a language

Haugen (1983) was the first scholar to use the term "language planning" in his study of language standardization in Norway. To Haugen, language planning meant the activity of preparing normative orthographies, grammars, and dictionaries for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogeneous speech community. In this practical application of linguistic knowledge, he asserts, we are proceeding beyond descriptive linguistics into an area where judgment must be exercised in the form of choices among available linguistic forms. Recently, many researchers have tended to use "language planning" and "language policy" interchangeably, and some have begun to refer only to language policy (for example Spolsky & Shohamy, 1999; Spolsky, 2004; Shohamy, 2006). Spolsky (2004, p. 178) explains how the term planning fell out of favor in the 1980s due to failed national planning efforts.

Generally, in a like manner to language policy work, language planning is considered to be an official, government-level activity concerning the selection and promotion of a unified administrative language or languages. This level of planning is subject to the coherent effort by individuals, groups, or organizations who wish to influence language use or development. Overall, language planning generally entails formation and implementation of a policy designed to prescribe or influence the language(s) and varieties of language that will be used and the purposes for which they will be used. For example, Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) describe language planning as an activity, most visibly undertaken by government and intended to promote systematic linguistic change by the promulgation of a language policy by government (or other authoritative body or person). Fettes (1997, p. 14) envisioned the link between language planning and language policy as one where: "language planning must be linked to the critical evaluation of language policy, the former providing standards of rationality and effectiveness, the latter testing these ideas against actual practice in order to promote the development of better language planning models". Such a field would be better described as "language policy and language planning". Blommaert (1996, p.

7) extended the scope of language planning "to cover all cases in which authorities attempt by whatever means to shape a sociolinguistic profile for their society".

Hornberger (1994) puts across a language planning framework that integrates three decades of scholarly work in the field, including Cooper (1989), Ferguson (1968) and Haugen (1983) in which two approaches and three types of language planning are identified. The two approaches are policy planning (on form) and cultivation planning (on function). Policy planning at the macroscopic level involves matters regarding society and nation that mainly concern standard language. Cultivation planning, which deals with issues related to language at the microscopic level, is mainly concerned with literacy acquisition (Cooper, 1989). Below are the various types of language planning. What is interesting is that each of these activities, status, acquisition, and corpus planning, are linked to the *uses*, the *user* and *language itself* respectively (Hornberger, 1994), which brings in a stronger emphasis on who uses what forms for what (social) practices, thereby also opening up this model for a LC framing. The question in the following section is what a language-as-a-resource or LC approach to planning might involve.

2.3.3 Types of language planning

Language planning is customarily seen to comprise three main types of activity; status, corpus and acquisition planning which are integrated activities, one feeding into and off the other (McColl, 2005). Below each of the types of language planning is handled.

2.3.3.1 Status planning (Uses)

Status planning is concerned with the uses of language (Hornberger, 1994). It refers to raising the status of a language within society across as many language-domain institutions as possible. This includes initial choice of language, including attitudes toward alternative languages and the political implications of various choices. Accordingly, it may involve changes in the functions of languages and or language varieties, using sociolinguistic concepts and information to implement them (Cooper, 1989). There are several dimensions to status planning such as official recognition that national governments attach to various languages, especially in the case of minority languages, and to authoritative attempts to extend or restrict language use in various contexts (Cooper, 1989). Therefore, issues of status planning include designation of the language(s) of instruction in schools and decisions regarding whether (and in which

languages), bilingual education may be used. In this regard, status planning concerns the relationship between languages, rather than changes within them. However, planning must take into account the position of different varieties of a single language - in which it becomes a function of corpus planning. Historically, standardization begins with the selection of a regional or social variety whereby corpus planning again determines status planning. More so, other researchers point out that there is a need for cross-linguistic and cross border status and corpus planning to take advantage of multilingualism as a linguistic resource for socio-economic development in Africa (Djite, 2008; Banda, 2009).

2.3.3.2 Corpus planning (Language itself)

When a language is identified as appropriate for use in a specific situation, efforts are made to fix or modify its structure. Thus, corpus planning deals with language itself (Hornberger, 1994). Corpus planning begins once the status of a language has been determined to a more elaborate level of standardization or to an expanded set of functions. The most common process is the need for modernization and elaboration of vocabulary. Planning thus includes attempts to define or reform the standard language by changing or introducing new forms in spelling, pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar. This may include orthography planning, the creation and reform of the alphabet, syllabi or ideographic writing systems.
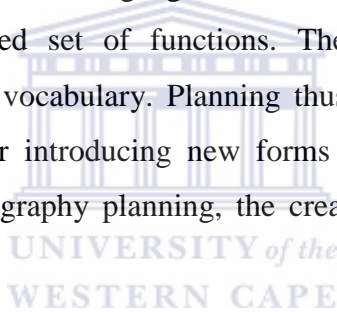
2.3.3.3 Acquisition planning (Users)

Language policy-making involves decisions concerning the teaching and use of language, and their careful formulation by those empowered to do so, for the guidance of others. Technically, status planning relates to increasing or restricting the uses of a language, not to increasing the number of its speakers. It thus concerns the users of language, hence Cooper's (1989) argument for a separate major category of language planning. Language spread is thought of as promoting the acquisition of a new language or as promoting a variety of a particular language as the standard. It is for this reason that Tollefson (2011, p. 359) confirms that Cooper is generally credited with adding acquisition planning as a third major type of language planning. In multilingual situations, this could involve raising the status of minority languages. Wiley (1996), for example, points out that in the case of USA, the question is not whether educational language policies have been successful or unsuccessful, but for whom and under what circumstances they have been successful or unsuccessful.

It is therefore important to look at the experience of specific groups in schools and elsewhere before we can conclude that language planning has solved communication problems or promoted social control. Language minority 'problems' - mostly defined by the majority and its institutions, without a minority voice in these institutions, is a problem (Wiley, 1996). The three types of planning - status, corpus and acquisition - thus have relevance to the present study in that by designating particular functions to some language uses within the domain of education, the policy is inescapably involved in status planning. There are many languages spoken as MT, but have not been used in such public spheres outside the home and family. If they are to be used in education, corpus planning is required to develop their orthographies. Likewise, a great deal of acquisition planning, in which such issues of availability of resources to enable learning of the new codes, has to be addressed by the new policy.

What an LC framing allows us to do here is see these three dimensions of planning as not necessarily complementary but potentially contradictory and in tension with each other, as different groups strive to have their forms of language given recognition. From this perspective, the speaker/user is the prime point of departure for an analysis or calculation of a language planning activity and the trajectories and strategies that should be employed for language itself and its use. Acquisition planning would then have a wider meaning of 'access planning', and not be confined to only educational institutions, but have a wider applicability and relevance to both formal and informal arenas where 'language practices' were of importance or being contested. LC also provides a perspective on how to conceive of *uses* in terms of which planning deliberations or debates need to be measured, namely intimacy, symbolic, social and material. Finally, in keeping with the multilingual realities of contemporary societies, language itself needs to work within an appropriate theoretical understanding of multilingualism, such as that proposed by Heller (2007). Given this view of language planning informed by LC, there is clearly a need for critically examining and revealing the different positions of power and vulnerability that engage different actors' stances on language. Such an instrument could be something along the lines of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) which reads off the various metapragmatic dimensions of language against a social theory of power and its exercise.

In the next section, I will examine language planning for education in some detail from the perspective of LC, by first providing a brief overview of different perspectives for and against mother tongue/bilingual education, and concluding by attempting to reposition the debates with a LC framework. This latter

exercise will allow me to sketch out some parameters for language educational programs that can then be used as a point of departure from which to work with the multilingual realities of Uganda in literacy teaching.

2.4 Language in Multilingual Education Planning

Language education currently presents more challenges than solutions, and more contradictions than symmetries. If teachers are to be expected to negotiate constantly hybridizing linguistic phenomena, ensure that students achieve sufficiently high levels of academic literacy in the languages of education and articulate with the entire curriculum, then teacher education will require reconceptualisation and provision for on-going re-tooling.

In most African countries, the official language is the language of the former colonial power (Mazrui and Mazrui, 1993). Blommaert et al (2005) affirms the legacy of colonial thinking in shaping the LiEPs in Eastern Africa. Uganda is no exception, with English remaining the official language (Nsibambi, 2000; Mpuga, 2003). However, article 6 (2) of the new Constitution of the Republic of Uganda allows any other language (as well as English), to be used as a medium of instruction in schools, educational institutions, legislative administration or for judicial purposes (Nsibambi, 2000). As official languages they have, since independence, typically been used in the official domains of power such as government and bureaucracy as well as formal education. Again, as in many African countries, this has created a language-based system of social stratification that favors a small, educated African elite estimated between 5% and 20% (Kamwangamalu, 2001) and limits access to economic betterment for the majority of the African population.

2.4.1 What problems?

Mda (2004) highlights the problems of English as a medium in schools of African language speakers. Studying through English is frustrating, demoralizing and even traumatizing for many learners. It is further noted that giving up social and cultural pride is one of the 'costs' of literacy. In relation to this study, this means that, learning to be literate in a language other than an indigenous language, is one of the costs underdeveloped countries (Uganda inclusive) have to pay if they wish to build literate societies, which is clearly an absurd claim. What we note here is how the dimension of i*ntimacy* is not considered or ignored in education planning.

Many authors see a clear connection between acknowledging linguistic practices for intimacy and being able to use language for material benefit. Research in bilingual education informs us that usually, students' poor academic achievement is due to the use of a language of instruction that is different from the one spoken at home (Krashen, 1999) or to the low status accorded the home language. Krashen goes on to assert that bilingual education in the United States of America is not the cause of students dropping out, but rather may be the cure. He states that, for example, 30% of Latino students compared to 8.6% for non-Latino whites and 12.1% of non-Latino blacks, drop out of school.

The link between the intimate and the social uses of language in literacy acquisition is underscored by Bunyi (2005) for Kenya where she describes how children's active participation in the classroom is hampered by use of an unfamiliar language. For example, students whose first language is different from the language of instruction in school may be prevented from expressing their thoughts in L1 about a story with a text in the L2. Thus, linguistic differences are related to decreased opportunity to use existing language skills as the foundation for learning to read and write. Literacy practices of the individual children are the result of socialization practices in the home and community, which in turn reflect cultural values. Therefore, where the classroom language is not L1 as in the case of this study, learners' may have difficulty in learning, as this is a social activity.

A longitudinal study in the US (Ramirez et al., 1991) confirms the poor learning outcomes of early-exit bilingual programmes (delayed immersion) for language minority children. Macdonald (1990) in South America, reports the inadequacy of four years of mother tongue education in preparing learners for the abrupt switch to English-medium schooling by Grade 5 and attendant school failure. It is sad to note that the policy makers in Uganda have not given the chance to learners in the urban district of Kampala to use mother tongue/local language as a medium of instruction in primary schooling, nor to be sufficiently proficient in English.

A similar situation is noted by Kyeyune (2004) in a study carried out on the use of English in secondary school classrooms in Uganda. She described the frustration of students' learning efforts arising from the teachers' use of English as the medium of instruction. Kyeyune noted that the actual status of English in multilingual classrooms is not appreciated, and that this was one of the major reasons why teachers were

failing in their pursuit of better standards of English. In her view, she believes that the policy for bilingual training does not necessarily require teachers to be fluent in the mother tongue but also should function to raise consciousness about the qualities and politics of the language of instruction.

2.4.2 Advantages of Bi/multilingual and Mother Tongue Education for Literacy Acquisition

Most researchers agree on the cognitive, linguistic and affective and social benefits of bilingual education, understood as the use of two languages of learning and teaching, of which one is a home language. Pattanayak (1986) refers to this as the "additive" value of bilingualism. Thomas and Collier (1997) highlight the dual- value of a cross-curricular language approach, claiming that only those students who have received strong cognitive and academic development through their first language for many years as well as through the second language (in this case English), are doing well in school as they reach the last of the high school years. This means that students are able to sustain good grades through school without fluctuations in academic performance. The author's findings with regard to language minority students in the USA can easily be applied to Africa and Uganda in particular, with regard to the relative status of the indigenous languages but need to take cognizance of other realities.

In a study conducted in the greater Toronto area, (Cummins et al., 2006) demonstrates the instructional possibilities that emerge when bilingual students' first language and prior knowledge are acknowledged as important resources for learning. The study informs how Madiha Bajwa authored with two of her friends Kanta Khalid and Sulmana Hanif, a bilingual Urdu- English book entitled *The New Country*. The three girls collaborated in writing the book with the help of the teacher. While Madiha's English was minimal, her Urdu was fluent; Sulmana and Kanta were fluent and reasonably literate in both Urdu and English. In composing the story, the girls discussed their ideas primarily in Urdu but wrote the initial draft in English with feedback and support from their teacher. The fact that instruction was conducted in English and that the teacher did not know Urdu or the other home languages of the students in her multilingual classroom, was not a barrier to the implementation of bilingual instructional strategies. Cummins et al (2006) recognizes that extensive use of the target language within second language and bilingual programs is a useful and important instructional strategy. However, the strategy should not be implemented rigidly or in an exclusionary manner. So the L1 is a powerful resource for learning and bilingual instructional strategies can usefully complement monolingual strategies to promote more cognitively engaged learning.

Here, we note once again the importance of tapping into the 'intimate' (affective) uses of language for the child, as well as recognizing the important potential of allowing children to dip into their multilingual repertoires, however fragmentary these may be. Again, this is in line with what researchers have been stating for quite some time. One of the most popular views widely held about beginning literacy is that children should speak a language before they explore its written forms (Goodman, 1984). Goodman further says that; learning to read in one's home language will be easier than learning to read in a second language, particularly an unfamiliar one. The learner brings to the task of learning to read his or her native language, a syntactic and semantic knowledge of the language which makes it possible to predict the meaning of the written form. To this we can add, the child also brings a sense of affective ownership or intimacy with the language and a secure sense of linguistically mediated identity to the task of reading.

Kumar (1993) adds more about the essentially meaningless way children are expected to learn literacy. The reason that elimination rates in India remain so high is that the school pedagogy fails to enable children to become literate. More so, Ferreiro says that traditional school practices reduce the child to someone who is not able to think and who can only receive, associate and repeat. It also reduces the object of the learning process in the writing system to a school object, divorced from its social purpose and function (1992, p. 149). Mukama (1994) and Kirunda (2005), considering rural primary schools in Uganda, describe recitation as the main method used in teaching English. Mukama considers the methods of teaching English to be "a liturgical experience where pupils are restricted to one-word rejoinders lacking interactive activity" (p. 554). Mukama cites Kiwanuka (1967) who made a similar observation about recitation in English, a strategy commonly used in Ugandan classrooms, as leading to the 'deplorable art of talking without feelings' (p. 565). As a result, the pupils do not have the opportunity to think in English. In both these cases, there is a failure to engage the affective identities of pupils as owners of their own learning experiences.

In addition, Wells (2009) puts meaning at the centre of all language learning;

> We are the meaning makers-every one of us: children, parents and teachers. To try to make sense, to construct stories, and to share them with others in speech and writing is an essential part of being human. For those of us who are more knowledgeable and more mature- parents and teachers the responsibility is clear: to interact with those in our care in such a way as to foster and enrich their meaning making (p. 313).

That statement shows that teachers and parents/guardians are more responsible for helping children acquire literacy by playing their roles genuinely in intimately constructed social interactions.

Mesfun (2009) carried out a survey on literacy acquisition in multilingual Eritrea with the aim of analyzing literacy acquisition in different languages and scripts by incorporating both school literacy acquisition and instruction studies. The survey targeted literacy values, uses and attitudes, and found, among other results, that people value literacy highly for a variety of reasons that can be reduced to intrinsic and economic values. Most importantly, the study found that instruction in local languages might contribute to the educational goal of achieving English reading proficiency in Eritrea and other African countries where English holds a higher status, for example in administration and instruction in secondary and higher education. Here, we observe how social and material dimensions of multilingualism frame learners' approaches.

Kirunda (2005) looked at the link between literacy practices, the rural-urban dimension and academic performance of primary school learners in Uganda. The aim of the study was to find out why rural learners in Uganda do not perform as well as the urban learners. The research analyzed the literacy practices in the rural and urban communities, and the impact of factors such as; exposure to the language of examination, the level of parents' /guardians' formal education and the quality of parental mediation in their children's academic work. Kirunda also looked at the extent to which language policy in Uganda favors the urban learners at the expense of rural learners. This study was qualitative in nature, where interviews, observation, FDGs and document analyses were used. The study revealed that: the literacy practices to which the child is exposed have a role to play in a child's academic performance; the urban areas are rich in academically oriented and supportive home and schooled literacy practices, and literacies in rural areas are very few and non-academic. The comparison between urban and rural learners in Uganda is vital in gauging literacy acquisition and academic performance, however, the role of the language policy is significant too in contributing to literacy and outlining the benefits of multilingual and mother tongue education.

Tembe (2008) carried out a study on language in education policy and multilingual literacies in Ugandan primary schools. The study was conducted for one year on two primary schools in two communities in Eastern Uganda, with one being rural and the other urban. The study focuses on stakeholders' responses to the (then) new Uganda language education policy, which promotes the teaching of local languages in the

first four years of schooling. The study through the use of questionnaires, individual interviews, classroom observations, focus group discussions and document analysis, discovered that both communities were aware of the new local language policy. They recognized the importance of local languages in promoting identity and cultural maintenance but they preferred English for their children's upward mobility so that they are part of wider and more international communities. Tembe concluded that parents/guardians and communities need to be better informed about the pedagogical advantages of instruction in the local language and that communities need convincing evidence to show that the promotion of local languages will not compromise desires for global citizenship. Tembe's study looked at the promotion of multilingual policies within language minority communities but the current study focuses on a monoglot policy in a multilingual setting.

Braam (2004) carried out a study on community perceptions to change in a school's language policy. The problem addressed was around the South Africa Constitution, the South Africa School's Act and the Language in Education Policy. All advocate for the development and promotion of all official languages in the country but the reality is that, English is still favoured above all other languages. The study examined the attitudes and perceptions of a local school community and reports on the perceptions of teachers and parents/guardians at a primary school in the Western Cape, during the process of determining a school language policy in accordance with the language in education policies of additive bilingualism. Braam used action research and surveys to raise the status of Afrikaans and Xhosa. There are similarities between Braam's study and this current research in that it also examines views, perceptions and attitudes of teachers, parents /guardians and other stakeholders. Though Braam's study was carried out in one school in the Western Cape, the current one was done using a survey of 19 primary schools in the urban district of Kampala.

2.4.3 Challenges of Literacy Acquisition through Mother Tongue Education

We saw in the above sections how the advantages said to accrue to mother tongue/bilingual/multilingual education, and the disadvantages associated with going straight for a metropolitan language, could be understood within the framing of linguistic citizenship. In this section, I will note how arguments against multilingual education can also be understood from a linguistic citizenship perspective, and how this

framework can even provide a more principled counter-discourse to some of the more common of these arguments.

In multilingual educational situations, decisions have to be taken not only about how to teach literacy, but also about in which languages children should learn (Stroud & Heugh, 2011; Mesfun, 2009). Stroud and Wee (2007, p. 41) contend that it is by "tapping" the strategies displayed by the students that teachers may help them engage in critical literacy and language acquisition and also point out that "What is needed is a broader view of reading and writing that integrates and emphasizes the many human abilities in a context of a changing world that requires their development and use". Educators need to know how African L1 children, who bring a different highly developed language from that of the teacher to school, one that is often as good as invisible, fare with literacy learning in a language they do not know well.

However, one of the main arguments against mother tongue/bilingual education in highly multilingual contexts often adduced is that large cities, especially in Africa, pose a peculiar problem as the population will contain substantial numbers of persons with diverse linguistic origins. In a study of L1 learning, Obanya (2004) addressed this point, putting forward a convincing argument to the effect that in most of those cities there is usually a dominant language, the language of the market place, of the road side workshop, of the playing field and the like that was accessible to most speakers, such as Yoruba in Lagos, Wolof in Dakar, Soussou in Conakry, Ewe in Lome, Lingala in Kinshasha, Kiswahili in Nairobi, Hausa in Kano, Igbo in Onitsha and for purposes of the current study, Luganda in Kampala. Such a language is usually learnt informally by the majority of citizens and it is usually the best-mastered language of second and older generations of immigrants. Learning in, with and from it, is therefore possible.

A related argument put forward against the feasibility of mother tongue education by many policy makers and implementers is the claim that there are just too many languages struggling for attention in any given African country, Uganda inclusive. So the choice of the first language to use in education is almost impossible. Again, Obanya (2004) refutes this, saying that the choice is perhaps difficult, but it is certainly not impossible. The demographic and social-linguistic strength of specific languages can in fact be determined with some accuracy. This has been used in a number of countries to determine 'zonal' languages for use in education for example six languages in Guinea, six in Zambia, four in DRC, four in Namibia and five in Uganda; the country in the current study.

Sanyu (2000) also addresses a similar point with regard to the specific challenges facing a policy of implementing teaching in the Mother Tongue in a Ugandan context. She says that it is not always easy to determine what the relevant local language might be. Even in very remote places, there are a variety of mother tongues. However, Sanyu poses a challenge: children who do not use English at home will be highly disadvantaged. Although they may be eager to identify with their counterparts who use English competently both at school and at home, their endeavor to learn will be frustrated by the lack of reinforcement in homes where semi-literate adults feel that using the mother tongues is a major means of asserting their identity. In addition, Sanyu leaves a question about area language choice in urban settings; when it comes to studying the area language as a subject, for instance which area language will be studied in the urban district of Kampala, where almost all the indigenous languages are being used? Other difficulties mentioned include; the existence of inter-ethnic marriages in Uganda which further complicates teaching in the mother tongue. Many mother tongues have as yet no writing system and teachers are not trained to use the mother tongue as the media of instruction in primary schools. The issues mentioned by Sanyu are key to this study but Uganda's multilingualism is similar to other African countries. Many researchers like Prah (2010) in South Africa, Stroud (2001), Stroud (2007) in Mozambique, Obanya (2004) in Nigeria and Banda (2010) in Cape Town, South Africa, have clearly responded to such challenges facing urban language in education policies in Africa.

The issues raised by Sanyu have also been discussed by Muthwii (2002) among others. This author carried out a multi-site case study in the five major language groups of Acholi, Luganda, Lugbara, Rukiga, and Ateso in Uganda with the aim of investigating the views and perceptions of parents/guardians, pupils and teachers on language use as a tool for enhancing pupils' acquisition of an all-round education. The study found out that while the policy statement on language education was theoretically plausible, in practice, it was faced with many problems. The global function that English performed led the respondents to prefer it to the mother tongues, which were thought not only to lack the necessary tools and resources, but were unpopular among the stakeholders.

The stakeholders' views on the preference of English to indigenous languages were further elaborated on by Nsibambi (2000), who noted that the functional utility of English, as an official language, a lingua franca, and as a medium of instruction, continued to sustain its privileged status in Uganda. Most important, and from the views of parents/guardians, was the fact that English controlled entry into

successive levels of Uganda's highly competitive education system. It is for such reasons that Kiswahili or the African languages could not easily compete to assume a similar status that English had.

The implication to draw from these studies is the need to entertain a broader, multilingual focus for teaching where the many different backgrounds, strengths and weaknesses are taken into consideration in a flexible way rather than a model where one size is seen to fit all. This is very much in line with a LC perspective as described above. In this context, Yigezu's (2010) study on language ideologies and challenges of multilingual education in Ethiopia, makes a critical appraisal of the implementation of vernacular education in the Harari region and examines the challenges of providing primary education in several Ethiopian and international languages. The study makes a comparative assessment of the use of languages as the media of instruction for primary education and concludes with an appraisal of the relative strengths and weaknesses in the use of each language, from both pedagogical and social perspectives. Yigezu concludes that the policy of vernacular education in Harari is clearly a multilingual education model, involving the use of three languages. Harari and Oromo are local mother tongues and Amharic is the indigenous language of wider communication. English and Arabic are foreign languages. The Harari region, as compared to other regional states, at least in its educational policy, has an accommodative pluralist approach towards basic education by virtue of recognizing as many as five languages. Yigezu's study used almost the same methodology as the current study, using both qualitative and quantitative research methods.

However, increasing the number of languages to be taught inevitably raises questions on cost and practicality. The issue of cost is routinely singled out as a reason for abandoning the principle of full multilingualism in favour of another regime. Mda (2004) also realized that most people fear the cost implications of recognizing many languages and argue that recognizing only English would be cheaper and more sensible since English is a 'world' language. Obanya (2004) refutes the argument that costs for training teachers and producing materials are unavoidable. However materials are not necessarily books; teachers need to be innovative and creative to be able to use societal resources. Obanya goes on to argue that a solid foundation in first language **does** facilitate the learning of the official language, since bilingualism in a solid manner **does** aid further learning. Furthermore, the psycho-educational benefits of initial learning in the first language cannot be matched by the prevailing patchwork approach that makes the learner a master of no language at all, which would immensely increase the cost in the sense of producing a poorly educated and unproductive work force.

Related to these points is the perceived difficulty, commonly mentioned, of having too many African languages without a written form, which is frequently claimed by policy makers to make their use in education impossible. Prominent researchers in this area like Obanya (2004) and Banda (2010) argue that first language learning need not begin with reading and writing, as a natural sequence for language acquisition is oracy before literacy. Moreover, the scientific capacity for developing orthographies is readily available in Africa. Africa already has an appreciably large number of "common orthographies" developed by African linguists for highly multilingual countries like Cameroon (Obanya, 2004). Further, Mda (2004) emphasizes that the 'seemingly undeveloped' status of African languages is because these languages were only taught as subjects and not used as languages of learning across the curriculum, especially beyond the foundation phase, and were not developed to have more functions and roles.

The argument of an undeveloped language feeds into the claim that not possessing the scientific and technical terms needed for understanding today's complex world would comprise a handicap for learners were they to concentrate too heavily on their first language. Obanya (2004) also contests this in an argument that; all human languages are capable of coping with their immediate realities and can easily expand their repertoire to absorb new experiences. African languages have proved over the years that they can do this and have done so through digging deep into their internal linguistic resources by borrowing, adapting from other languages and coinages.

Laitin and Mensah (1991) put across several suggestions for stimulating the development of African languages; advocates for such policies should form lobby groups to convince policy makers that using African languages is beneficial to the nation. Also, the establishment of charters such as the one in Canada that addresses linguistic identity and human rights would be beneficial for post-graduate students and academics of African languages to present papers in local languages even if the audience is small. This could make an intellectual base for these languages, establish and implement national policies to use local languages for teaching in the educational systems. National development plans should include a budget for implementing language policies. The state must subsidize production of literature in smaller languages, where without subsidies it would not be economically viable. It should actively dispel negative popular

notions about the developmental viability of African languages and establish multilingual and multicultural schools instead of ethnic ones.

However, there is also the argument to be made that in today's multilingual dispensation no languages are islands. Canagarajah (2006) in his review of studies on the ways local values are represented in oral, written and digital communication concludes that hybrid genres and mixed varieties of English in lingua franca communication create significant challenges for applied linguistics. There is still a bias in the field toward "systematized" varieties of languages. He adds that there is purism in the field that is condescending toward texts that irreverently mix languages. The pidgin-like varieties of English need to be taken seriously. They are not accommodated even in the varieties legitimized in postcolonial communities. The author finally makes a case for developing paradigms based on heterogeneity in applied linguistics to accommodate diversity in successful communication. He comments: "…..translation strategy, familiarity with standard varieties, expert use of local variants, and the rhetorical strategies of switching, suggest that multilingual communities have a long tradition of using such communicative practices" (p. 602).
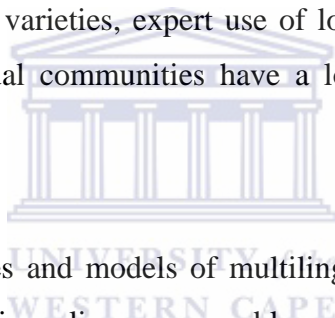
Again, we should look to practices and models of multilingualism as resources in the search for ways forward rather than seeing multilingualism as a problem to be overcome. This is also applicable to teaching. Commonly used pedagogies in bi/multilingual classrooms include interlanguaging (Widdowson, 2001) or translanguaging (Canagarajah, 2006). A body of research by (Firth &Wagner, 1997; Canagarajah, 2006; 2007; Garcia, 2009; Creese & Blackledge, 2010) has been carried out in this area of pedagogy. Canagarajah (2006) in his paper on the place of world Englishes in composition, identifies textual and pedagogical spaces for world Englishes in academic writing. The author presents code meshing as a strategy for merging local varieties with standard written English in a move toward gradually pluralizing academic writing and developing multilingual competence for transnational relationships. Canagarajah shows the implications of globalizing English and multilingual writing models; textual, pedagogical possibilities. He concludes that there is value in making gradual cultural and ideological changes in the notions of textuality and language among educationists and policy makers, building a coalition of disparate social groups and disciplinary circles, and winning small battles in diverse institutions toward an acceptance of hybrid texts, before we mount a frontal assault by using non

legitimized codes in high stakes writing. He however confesses that, he himself is unsure how to practice what he preaches.

Relevant to how the teaching and learning of languages is conceived is the conception of what it is to know a language. Canagarajah (2006) questioned the dichotomies, non-native versus native speaker, learners versus user, and interlanguage versus target language, which the author believes reflect a bias toward innateness, cognition, and form in language acquisition. He says that language learning and use succeed through performance strategies, situational resources, and social negotiations in fluid communicative contexts. According to him, proficiency is therefore practice-based, adaptive and emergent. The findings compel one to theorize language acquisition as multimodal, multisensory, multilateral and therefore, multidimensional. He affirms that the previously dominant constructs such as form, cognition and the individual are not ignored; they are redefined as hybrid, fluid and situated in a more socially embedded, ecologically sensitive, and interactionally open model. He concludes that language acquisition is based on performance strategies, purposive uses of the language and interpersonal negotiations in fluid communicative contexts. The author adds that:

> .. as historical conditions change, and when we encounter new realities, brought to light partly by the critique of existing models, we must construct new paradigms informed by our new knowledge. It is time to revise, reformulate, and refine our models of acquisition for the more egalitarian context of transnational relations and multilingual communication (p. 937).

Creese and Blackledge (2010) report on research that questions commonsense understanding of a bilingual pedagogy predicted on what Cummins (2005, 2008) refers to as the "two solitudes" assumption. Their work describes a flexible bilingual approach to language teaching and learning in Chinese and Gujarati community language schools in the United Kingdom. They argue for a release from monolingual children by means of bilingual instructional strategies, in which two or more languages are used alongside each other. Their work takes a language ecology perspective and seeks to describe the interdependence of skills and knowledge across languages. They conclude that further research is needed on classroom language ecology to show how and why pedagogic bilingual practices come to be legitimated and accepted by participants. The researchers emphasize the need to explore what "teachable" pedagogic resources are available in flexible, concurrent approaches to learning and teaching languages bilingually. Again, we see

how a practiced view of language learning and an understanding of multilingualism in terms of linguistic citizenship open up a particular set of possibilities for mother tongue /bilingual/ multilingual education that are foreclosed in alternative frameworks.

Ramanathan (2005) demonstrates how the use of strategies such as choral practice and code switching are part of the ideological and communal aspects of literacy and therefore demonstrate that literacy practices are saturated with ideology (Street, 1993, 1994 as cited in Ramanathan, 2005). In the same study, Ramanathan shows how educators and advocates of critical literacies scrutinize their actions and responsibilities through a discursive lens. Pedagogically, therefore, it is productive to consider that critical literacies, with oppositional readings, cross-examinations, and self-conscious, self-analytic orientations **do** occur in nonwestern realities, though not in the same way as in the west. This is possible when educationists or researchers distance themselves from "dominant text and discourse," and open up to new sites and possibilities to engage in the simultaneous learning and unraveling central to literacy and globalization.

By way of interim summary, all the views on politics of educational language planning in Africa, Bamgbose (1991), Schiffman (1992) and Akinnaso (1993) have this to say: in order to preserve the privileges associated with knowledge of the language of rule, the elite tend to resist any language planning attempt which seeks to promote the language of the masses. One way this is achieved is by covertly rejecting mother tongue education. The elite opt for private English academies that have mushroomed in the countries' urban centers, in which their children can enjoy an education through the medium of English. This scenario is similar to what is happening in the urban district of Kampala. Kamwangamalu adds that the exclusion of the indigenous languages from the higher domains such as education serves to deprive the population of access to the modern world, to democratization and to development. For African multilingual countries to develop, multilingual education may provide a comprehensive solution (Henrard, 2003). From the review and critique of the studies above, what then would a linguistic citizenship framing of mother tongue/bilingual/multilingual education involve? The final section in this chapter will look at a number of principles that follow from an LC perspective and that have been worked through on the basis of an extensive review of literature and reports.

2.5 Reflections on democratic model appropriate to the dispensations

Pulling together what has been discussed in the preceding sections on the implications of globalization for policy planning, for the nature of multilingual space, Stroud's (2002) 12 principles for mother tongue education may provide some guidelines. Stroud (2002, p. 70) argues that principles for education language provisions involve acknowledging the complex ways in which questions of politics and power impact on many different levels of multilingual education. Having other resources and publications on principles for multilingual education in mind (for example, Hornberger, 1989, 1998; Cummins, 1989; Grin, 2003; Christiansen, 2006; McRae, 2009), I have adopted Stroud's (2002) twelve principles for educational language provisions in multilingual settings. These principles are considered because they provide space for input from the various stakeholders in education, thus making it easy to determine the form and content of multilingual education. These principles are:

Principle 1: *Community control or ownership of bilingual programmes, and local input into and community management of, the bilingual programme should be maximized.*

Stroud explains this by drawing on evidence from a range of contexts (Papua New Guinea, New Zealand, and Aboriginal Australia) which contend that the participation of the local community in the design and implementation of programmes contributes to a more successful language provision. Stroud also quotes Fettes (1998, p. 145) who suggests that a fundamental prerequisite for educational use of indigenous languages is an acknowledgement of the importance of community ownership and the centrality of the home environment.

Principle 2: *Language provisions for minority communities should emphasize both maintenance and development of local languages and metropolitan languages throughout the entire educational system.*

Here Stroud (2002) (cf. also Grin 2003) talk about the concerns of social equity and democratic participation to involve indigenous languages and that this should be used and developed in all relevant contexts. He refutes a notion of schooling as fundamentally oriented to transmission of knowledge through the metropolitan language alone, noting that the only viable solution is to extend a well qualified intellectual use of indigenous languages throughout the child's entire school career and instruction in a language must be clearly integrated with content instruction.

Principle 3*: Language provisions in multilingual contexts should be structured around the notion of language portfolio.*

The emphasis here is put on the recognition of multilingual networks. This is seen as important for economic and political reasons. Access to multiple languages allows the expression of important individual and group identities. Stroud adds that a policy that attempts to link language in education to economic development and democracy, as well as to regional peace and stability, demands that multilingualism be taken into account, as local and regional economies, and the democratic expression of voice, are tied to the languages that people use.

Principle 4*: Language cultivation should be conducted from a grassroots perspective and be a central strategy of political empowerment for the community.*

This principle is about maintenance and cultivation of indigenous languages. It emphasises language revitalization needs as part of a more general transformative politics in order to succeed. The discursive resources and positions open to speakers are an important means of bringing about social and political transformations.
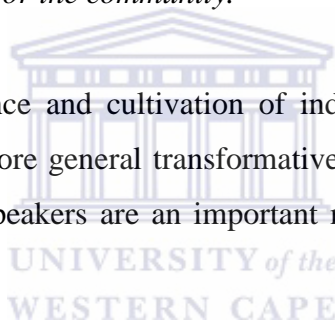
Principle 5: *Language cultivation and bilingual programme development should, where feasible, be conducted on a regional basis.*

This principle is in connection with principle 4, Stroud says that; in order to maximize individual's access to multilingual networks and to contribute to regional peace and stability through free movement of peoples, language cultivation is most appropriately conducted on a regional basis. He further adds that, strong regional cooperation would also help cushion the linguistic effects of globalisation, by reinforcing the 'strength' and position of local languages. It could also provide substantive arguments to counteract claims of too great a linguistic diversity among opponents to bilingual education. Regional solutions to language description may increase the constituency of languages by making them mutually accessible to large numbers of speakers.

Principle 6: Culturally sensitive teaching methodologies should be employed for both indigenous languages and metropolitan languages.

On this principle, Stroud means to refer to how local control easily permits the use of culturally appropriate routines in multilingual teaching contexts. Children's socio-culturally determined norms of interaction, learning styles, individual and social identities need to come into play in a learning process, and using mother tongues or indigenous languages is the most important way of doing this. Such routines can make language and content instruction more meaningful for the child by building on community specific values and resources. Stroud gives examples of a number of studies that have shown how children from culturally varied backgrounds may experience problems in mainstream classrooms with respect to how teachers manage interactions and assume certain types of learning style (Au, 1980; Shultz, Florio & Eriksson, 1980; Crago, 1992; Edelsky, 1991). For many children from marginalized language communities, schools are "alien institutions", where the norms governing behaviour, the goals of the actors and the messages that are conveyed, are often mysterious (Snow, 1990, p. 63). In that statement he meant that using a language and cultural framework that children are familiar with, removes the need for children to develop strategies to compensate for non-understanding, and for teachers to resort to mechanical face-saving.
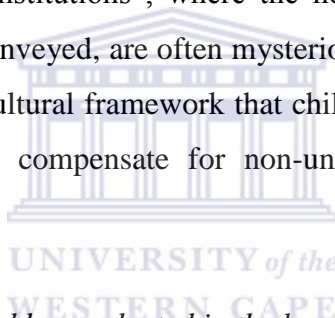
Principle 7*: Teacher training should be conducted in the language and culture of the community.*

Stroud asserts that, this principle may sound obvious, but it is far from the reality of teacher training as practiced today. Teacher training is often in the metropolitan language, as are syllabi and teachers guides. This is true with the case in this study where teachers in Uganda are trained in English. He further argues that, teachers will leave their training being hardly familiar with the native language as a language of instruction, and not being comfortably bi-literate. In point of fact, teachers should also be offered proficiency training in the local language, especially in the area of literacy skills, as many teachers will not have had literacy training in the language prior to having to teach it. Training should be provided in how to teach the future language of instruction, and trainers and manuals should also use the vernacular to this purpose in order to familiarize the teacher with the appropriate terminology and register of the disciplines. He presents the advantage of decentralized teacher training in indigenous languages; where the teachers' insider knowledge of what makes for a 'guiding-lights' pedagogy in indigenous language contexts can be more easily incorporated.

Principle 8: *Production of materials should be decentralized to the language communities as much as possible.*

According to Stroud, materials production is an important, albeit problematic, component of multilingual programmes. Book production can be an important guarantee that bilingual education programmes are actually implemented. The major problems he identified for the successful provision of multilingual services are printing costs and availability of books. Stroud put across some solutions; modern information technology offers all sorts of enticing possibilities for producing literacy materials in the community themselves, such as, the employment of modern techniques of desktop publishing. Also another method that was put forward by Stringer and Faraclas (1987) that can be considered is the so-called Multi-Strategy Method. The authors of this method claim that it can enable people to create relevant mother tongue literature at the local level in such a way that educational impact is high and financial impact is low. They suggest that teachers may be trained in this method to increase production. Stroud goes on to say that decentralization of materials production will increase materials availability and cut production costs. In general, teachers could be trained in developing materials as the outcome of the teaching process rather than working with published materials at the outset. Teacher training institutes might also find it worthwhile to train teachers in materials production and bilingual textbook design.

He summarises that there is evidence that materials that are produced locally and that links into adult community networks of local and regional economic activities are more sustainable than materials that are produced only for the school. Literacy and print are major resources not only for language development but also for language preservation. Decentralization of materials production can potentially contribute to local language maintenance and restorative activities.

Principle 10: *Multilingual education needs to be integrated into other spheres of society. Appropriate legislation should be formulated and appropriate steps taken for integrating language education into economic development.*

This principle is closely linked to principle 11. Stroud notes that policies on language and education invariably deal explicitly only with educational matters of language. By integrating multilingual education into other spheres of society, the author means linking questions of language in education to extra-

curricular issues such as employment, social welfare, or political participation. Stroud informs us that attitudes towards a language are the symbolic expression of speakers' structural position in society. This means that attitudes are not easily changed without a real change in the social conditions that frame the use of language. There has to be something that makes a community want to hold onto its language(s). Parents/guardians need to feel sufficiently motivated to socialize their children in the language, and this they can only do if the language has a viable and vital role to play in important arenas of people's social life.

Principle 11: *Adult literacy for programme sustainability*

In this principle Stroud gives a detailed explanation of the uses of adult literacy in relation to children's literacy development. He says that many studies have acknowledged the important role of children's primary network of caregivers in forming their language and literacy development. Children quite simply learn to read better when parents/guardians-teachers interact, when they themselves have ample opportunities to practice reading, when they pay explicit attention to meta-linguistic and meta-cognitive exercises or tasks that structure reading, and when they have access to literacy materials in their environment. Related to this is that sustainable literacy development and effective MT education for children presupposes a literate adult environment, and a number of studies have shown that, in contexts where adult literacy programmes are running, school literacy in MTs is enhanced.

Principle 12: *Good schools.*

In this study, Stroud mentions that good schools are those schools where teachers know what they are doing, where the principals are good leaders and where parents/guardians are attentive to the schooling of their children. Bilingual or MT programmes tend to be more successful in good schools than in poorer quality schools. He adds that a point relating to educational policies to promote good schools concerns the general nature of the services offered, rather than restricting the provision of bilingual education to disadvantaged groups only. Multilingual programmes should offer language provisions to a wide segment of pupils. Stroud cites Freeman (2000) who argues that an important parameter in ensuring an adequate implementation of MT teaching is that the local schools can withstand the surrounding societal pressures for a language shift to the metropolitan language.

2.6 **Conclusion**

In this chapter, I have reviewed literature related to this study through language resources and literacy practices. Literature reviewed was mainly around language policy and planning, politics of educational language planning, literacy and new ideas in multilingualism. From the literature reviewed on the topics above I have identified key points in relation to the study.

To sum up, successful development of multilingual education in Africa requires sensitivity to the real needs of the communities and should not remain a top-down political process as it has been in the past (Obondo, 2008). There has been very little involvement and input from the people at the grassroots level such as teachers, applied linguists, researchers, and members of society as a whole. In addition, success will also depend on initiatives from the local communities and institutions such as nongovernmental agencies, linguistically heterogeneous groups, small organizations, local departments of education and other local institutions.

We have seen that contemporary contexts comprise complex multilingual ecologies where the remnants of colonial language policies are framed in dynamic new patterns of language use brought about by contemporary globalization. One question is to what extent the new multilingual dispensation is reflected in contemporary African language policies and planning, and what forms this might take in such a case? There is a sense in which older language policies targeting the building of a nation state and managing multilingualism as a transitional arrangement might need to be rethought in contemporary contexts of intense transnational contact. There is also the possibility that new perspectives on multilingualism might breathe new life into old arguments on the benefits of mother tongue instruction for early literacy. One way of ascertaining this is to explore critically the stated and unstated rationales and assumptions behind contemporary policy, and this will be the task of one set of analyses to be conducted here. The other way forward is to actually investigate how the everyday linguistic, and specifically multilingual realities, are deployed in everyday contexts of literacy and language acquisition. Both these approaches will be used in the following chapters.

CHAPTER THREE
CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AND NEW LITERACY STUDIES

3.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I look at the theories used in the current study: Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and New Literacy Studies (NLS). These theories comprise an interdisciplinary approach which is followed in this study. I was aware that the respondents' responses would be full of inherent meanings, perceptions and attitudes. Therefore, I used the New Literacy Studies (NLS) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as the analytical frameworks for this study. NLS facilitates an in-depth understanding of what literacy is in a particular social context, such as in the urban district of Kampala in this study. At the same time, I needed the CDA to enable me to analyse the rhetoric of language policy instruments. I give an explanation on how each of the components of the theories selected, apply to my study. Thereafter, I look at specific studies that have used the key notions of CDA and NLS with an understanding of language and literacy as a social practice and a resource. The discussion begins with Critical Discourse Analysis.

3.1 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted (Van Dijk, 2003, p. 1). Although the details of historical origins of CDA are outside the scope of this study, suffice to note that CDA as a critical linguistics approach emerged as a reaction against such programmes as Chomskyan (structural) linguistics, which itself came as part of a revolutionary development at the onset of the post-Second World War. The Chomskyan linguistics programme focused on the structure of language with the exclusion of social and cultural dimensions. It was against this backdrop that CDA emerged as a 'movement of resistance' focusing attention, instead on the social aspect of language and its associated semiotic aspects. Van Dijk (2003) reveals that some of the tenets of CDA can be found in the critical theory of the Frankfurt school. The current focus on language and discourse was initiated with the "critical linguistics" that emerged at the end of the 1970s. Van Dijk adds that CDA has counter parts in "critical" developments in sociolinguistics, psychology and the social sciences.

As is the case in other scholarships (Gee, 1990; 1991; 2007; Wodak, 1999; 2006; Fairclough, 1995; 2010), CDA in the current study is multidisciplinary. It focuses on the ways discourse structures enact, confirm,

legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power and dominance in society. For this specific study CDA is intended to adequately analyse social problems related to language in education in the urban district of Kampala in Uganda. Such social problems are either spoken or written and hidden in the various documents on language issues in Uganda. Before the study goes into details of the CDA framework, it is necessary to take the reader through the meaning of discourse and discourse analysis.

3.1.1 Definition of Discourse and Discourse Analysis

The word 'discourse' is said to have derived from a Latin word *discurrere* which means 'to run to and fro' or from the nominalisation *discursus* which means 'running apart' in the transferred sense of 'indulging in something', or 'giving information about something' (Titscher, Meyer, Wodak & Vetter, 2000, p. 25). Scholars have attempted to define the term 'discourse' in various ways. Van Dijk (1977) simply referred to discourse as a 'text in context' and over the years the word has 'developed' and has been used in various forms depicting some form of interaction or 'learned discussion' and 'dialogue'. In this study, I will rely more on the definition of discourse by Gee (2007, p. 3) as ways of behaving, interacting, valuing, thinking, believing, speaking and often reading and writing that are accepted as institutions of particular identities or types of people. In the current study, which was carried out in primary schools, pupils, teachers and classrooms are understood to be different on different occasions and in different places (Gee, 1996).

At the same time Rapley (2007, p. 6) talks about the beginning of discourse in the following way; there is no simple creation story about the birth and development of the study of discourse. Rather than see it as a single, unitary approach to the study of language-in-use, we could see it as a field of research, a collection of vaguely related practices and related theories for analyzing talk and texts, which emerge from a diverse range of sources. It is often seen to emerge, in part, from the tradition of *'social constructionism'*. Social constructionism asks questions about everything we might take for granted - our identities, practices, knowledges and understandings. In the current study, nothing was taken for granted, all the data collected and documents analysed were scrutinised according to Rapley's questioning spirit.

Discourse analysis is often used to describe how some specific discourses are used across a range of interview transcripts or newspaper editorials. Others may take it to mean how specific words are used in

an audiotape of a conversation or a single scientific research article to argue a specific case. Rapley (2007) concedes that, irrespective of the approach, the primary interest is in how language is used in certain contexts. And context can range from a specific moment in a conversation to a specific historical period. Rapley adds that:

- People studying discourse are interested in how language is used in certain contexts. The focus is on how specific identities, practices, knowledges or meanings are produced by describing something in just that way over another way.
- Our understanding of things, concepts or ideas that we might take for granted are not somehow natural or pre-given but rather the product of human actions and interactions, human history, society and culture (2007, p. 7)

Such suggestions are very applicable in the current study which deals with an examination of LiEP in relation to literacy acquisition in Uganda. Specifically the current study looks at how language is used, especially in a hidden way in the language policy instruments. With that background of the term 'discourse' and 'discourse analysis', we can embark on the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).
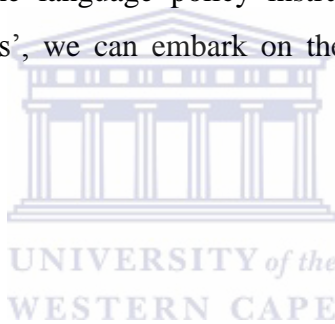
3.1. 2 CDA Framework

CDA, according to Fairclough (1995, p. 132-133), is a type of discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony.

Critical Discourse Analysis is often used by language policy analysts like Wodak et al (1994); Fairclough (1995); Lemke (1995) Wodak et al (1999) and Kovacs & Wodak (2003) with the aim of exploring the relationships between texts, discursive practices and events (Wodak, 2006). It shows how texts construct representations of the world, social relationships and social identities. It attempts to discover traces of

ideological bias in texts, for example the use and abuse of language for political power. Emphasis is put on highlighting how such practices and texts are ideologically shaped by relations of power (Fairclough, 1989). It is for the same reasons, especially the ones related to the social aspects and power relations, that CDA was selected as one of the analytical tools for the current study to help the researcher unpack and interpret the LiEP of Uganda and the urban district of Kampala in particular.

According to Fairclough (1995, p. 7) CDA is consolidated as a 'three-dimensional' framework where the aim is to map three separate forms of analysis onto one another. These are the analysis of (spoken or written) language text, analysis of discourse practice (process of text production, distribution and consumption) and analysis of discursive events as instances of socio-cultural practice. Looking at the current study, CDA is useful by way of analysing the preparation process of the language policy of Uganda and the LiEP for the multilingual urban district of Kampala, in particular. This analysis is herein done in this study by scrutinizing the preparation process of The 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda. This is done by way of analysing the discourse of the Constituency Assembly delegates' submissions about the language issue in the country. CDA is also used to analyse the Kajubi Report which is part of the preparation process of The 1992 Uganda Government White Paper on education.

Taking into account the LiEP of Uganda, CDA presents a viable mode for analysing the impact of the exposure to the medium of instruction and the language of examination and this study uses CDA to attempt to analyse LiEP instruments to investigate literacy acquisition processes in a multilingual setting. The LiEP states in part that: in urban areas the medium of instruction will be English throughout the primary cycle (Uganda Government, 1992, p. 19). This, as the current study will soon demonstrate, implies that the learners in primary schools in urban areas in Uganda are taught through the medium of English from primary one. Such a policy does not consider the role of other languages and especially the language resources on which the teaching/learning of English and the entire education can be based.

CDA is an approach to text analysis. It deals with studying and analysing both written and spoken texts. CDA focuses on inequality in society and the way in which texts are used to realise power and ideology (Fairclough, 1995; Titscher et al., 2000; Wodak, 2006). Van Dijk (2003. p. 1) elaborates that CDA allows

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the scholar to take an explicit position to understand, expose and ultimately resist social inequality. Luke (1997, p. 8) cogitates that CDA focuses on how social relations, identity, knowledge and power are constructed through the written and spoken texts in communities, schools, the media and the political arena. Almost all proponents of CDA believe that there exists in society social inequality and political control which actively constructs society and that this should be exposed. A glance into the conditions in primary schools in the urban district of Kampala reveals wide socio-political control. Observations and interactions show the power and influence of government. This makes CDA an appropriate framework for this study to understand, interpret and expose such influences and inequalities.

More recently, Fairclough (2010, p. 16) has added to our understanding of this framework by informing us about its three basic properties. These properties are: it is relational, dialectical and transdisciplinary. It is a relational form of research in the sense that its primary focus is not on entities or individuals but on social relations. It is an analysis of dialectical relations between discourse and other objects, elements or moments, as well as analysis of the internal relations of discourse. Since analysis of such relations cuts across conventional boundaries between disciplines (linguistics, politics, sociology and so forth), CDA is an interdisciplinary form of analysis here referred to as a transdisciplinary form of analysis. The interdisciplinary form of the framework makes it useful for the current study in the analysis of both the LiEP policy instruments for Uganda and the views of the various stakeholders about the policy. Such stakeholders include: researchers, curriculum developers, policy makers, teachers, parents and officials from NGOs with literacy development projects in Uganda. These stakeholders were interviewed and views analysed using tools of CDA with social relations in mind.

CDA focuses on what is wrong with a society and how 'wrongs' might be 'righted' or mitigated, from a particular normative standpoint (Fairclough, 2010, p. 17). Moreover, the critical approach foregrounds links between social practice and language, and the systematic investigation of connections between the nature of social processes and properties of language texts (Fairclough, 1995). That means that critique assesses what exists, what might exist and what should exist on the basis of a coherent set of values. Specifically for this study, this facilitates the integration of 'micro' analysis and 'macro' analysis including the analysis of the language used in education in Uganda. This analysis informs the current study of what exists in the policy documents, for example what is wrong with the LiEP in relation to

social relations, what ideologies stakeholders have about the policy and what should exist in the policy. After such analysis the study is yet to show what the LiEP should be by way of principles of a language policy in multilingual situations.

Other proponents of CDA like Wodak (1996, p. 17-20) bring together the principles of CDA to include, but not be restricted to the following:

- CDA is concerned with social problems. It is not concerned with language or language use per se, but with the linguistic character of social and cultural processes and structures. Accordingly, CDA is essentially interdisciplinary.

- Power relations have to do with discourse (Bourdieu 1991), and CDA studies both power in discourse and power over discourse.

- Society and culture are dialectically related to discourse: society and culture are shaped by discourse, and at the same time constitute discourse. Every single instance of language use reproduces or transforms society, and culture including power relations.

- Language use may be ideological. To determine this it is necessary to analyse texts to investigate their interpretation, reception and social effects.

- Discourse analysis is interpretive and explanatory. Critical analysis implies a systematic methodology and a relationship between the text and its social conditions, ideology and power-relations. Interpretations are always dynamic and open to new contexts and new information.

- Discourse forms a social behaviour. CDA is understood as a social scientific discipline, which makes its interests explicit and prefers to apply its discoveries to practical questions.

Considering the above principles, this study finds CDA fundamental and applicable to explicate LiEP of Uganda. This is the case because the above principles identify CDA as a good tool to analyse social problems in addition to power. it is likely that, the policy was done with less attention to the social and cultural relations and processes in the country. By the same principle, the issue of language use mainly for interpretation and reception is raised. It is probably the reason why a monoglot policy is recommended for a highly multilingual district like urban Kampala. These issues are specifically addressed in this study of the Ugandan language policy. The study analyses language policy texts to discover the attitudes and ideologies in the policy texts and the possible social effects of such attitudes and ideologies on the Ugandan community, especially in the education sector. In addition to CDA, which puts the current study

in a better position to understand the hidden assumptions of multilingualism and language policy power aspects and relations, the study also uses NLS as another analytical tool.

3.2 New Literacy Studies (NLS)

The term New Literacy Studies (NLS) was originally introduced in the early 1980s in the work of Heath (1983) and Street (1984). NLS has been associated with the work of literacy researchers from a range of disciplines. They have studied literacy in everyday social practice, on the understanding that literacy practices are always and already embedded in particular forms of activity; that one cannot define literacy or its uses in a vacuum; that reading and writing are studied in the context of social (cultural, historical, political, and economic) practices of which they are a part and which operate in particular social spaces. Literacy, from this perspective, is a shorthand term for the social practices of reading and writing which can be ethnographically studied in particular contexts.

The theories of New Literacy Studies start by looking at literacy as a social practice and problematise all literacies as inherently ideological. This is the tension, which is projected in the autonomous versus ideological debate around literacy. It needs mentioning here that NLS is, according to Gee, one of the many movements involved in what he terms 'social turn', which "reflects a shift away from a focus on individual behaviour … and individual minds towards a focus on social and cultural interaction" (Barton et al., 2000, p. 180). According to Barton et al, in the NLS tradition, literacy practices, specifically, reading and writing, "only make sense when situated in the context of cultural practices of which they are but a part" (p. 180). Before examining the details of NLS, it is imperative to look at the origin of the term "literacy".

3.2.1 The Origin of the Term Literacy

The word *literacy* is recent in the English language. It derived from the word *illiteracy* (Barton 1999, p. 20). Tracing the uses of these words, Barton informs us that the use of the word *illiteracy* dates as far back as 1660. The earliest uses of the words *illiterate* and *literate* and hence *illiteracy* and *literacy* show that these words meant being uneducated or educated, unlearned or learned respectively. In the 20th century, meanings were added to describe the state of those who were able to read and write. Scholars have

continued to revisit the meaning of *literacy* and found out that the concept is quite elusive and difficult to define (Heath, 1980; Gee, 1991; Besnier & Street (1994); Herbert & Richardson, 2001). Literacy covers a multiplicity of meanings, and many of its definitions carry implicit but generally unrecognised views of its function (Heath, 1980). Literacy has also been used to refer to the 3Rs; reading, writing and arithmetic. In another sense the term has been used to refer to knowledge and skills, like computer skills and then one is said to be computer literate or illiterate.

According to Prinsloo and Baynham (2008), research in Literacy Studies has contributed to the development of grounded and research focused approaches, concerned with the study of literacy as situated practices embedded within relations of culture and power in specific contexts. Prinsloo and Baynham have shown that literacy-related skills and practices are often distributed amongst co-participants, and that literacy in use is closely linked with other communicative modalities, most obviously speech but also image and gesture.

Barton, Hamilton and Ivanic (2000) helpfully summarised the characteristics of the NLS perspective on literacy as follows:

- Literacy is best understood as a set of social practices; these are observable in events which are mediated by written texts;
- There are different literacies associated with different domains of life;
- Literacy practices are patterned by social institutions and power relations and some literacies are more dominant, visible and influential than others;
- Literacy practices are purposeful and embedded in broader social goals and cultural practices;
- Literacy is historically situated;
- Literacy practices change and new ones are frequently acquired through processes of informal learning and sense making as well as formal education and training.
- The ways in which people use and value reading and writing are themselves rooted in conceptions of knowledge, identity and being (p.1-15)

In this study, I take the above characteristics seriously. I understand that literacy is a social practice which must be patterned by social institutions, and that this needs to be a central point of departure. Another key issue to note is that literacy practices are socially embedded which means that in order to help children attain reasonable literacy levels, attention needs to be paid to them.

3.2.2 Literacy as a social practice

The theoretical framework discussed here is based on work in multilingual literacies (Martin-Jones & Jones, 2000; Street, 1995, 2008), which is centrally concerned with the intersection of research on multilingualism, on the one hand, and literacy, on the other. For many years, Goody's (1977) universalizing theory which regarded reading, writing, and the mastery of grammar as separate individual skills, influenced the views of many educators. Goody's theory was also viewed as an autonomous technology of modernity, leading to the rational, psychological, and cultural transformation of people. However, a growing body of literature posits a divergent view of literacy embedded within a cultural context (Barton, 1994; 2001; Baynham, 1995; Gee, 1990; Heath, 1983; Scribner & Cole, 1981; Street, 1984, 1994). These studies have examined the literacy practices of individuals and groups, including people's uses and meanings of literacy and the value it holds for them. As a result, they have contributed to a theory of literacy as a social practice and collective resource.

The theoretical roots of the social and cultural approach to literacy are in ethnography, and grounded in accounts of real practice. A 'practice account' of literacy was first proposed by Scribner and Cole (1981) through their study of literacy and cognition among the Vai people of northern Liberia. The authors assert that cognitive skills commonly associated with literacy varied dramatically according to the wider social practices within which literacy was embedded. Literacy development as observed among the Vai was practice-specific, embedded within their cultural environment. Within the Vai community, there were three different literacies operating side by side. Only one of these was school-linked, that is, English literacy acquired in school. The other two were an indigenous Vai script and an Arabic literacy used for religious purposes. Thus each of the three different literacies had a particular context of use. From this observation, literacy events, they argued, were culturally patterned into recurring units which they termed literacy practices.

Since the work of Heath (1983; 1982), a key term in the study of literacy in a social context has been that of the literacy event. A literacy event is where "the occasions on which written language is integral to the nature of participants' interactions and their interpretive processes and strategies" (Heath, 1982). Literacy events, in Heath's conception, included those moments when inscription or decoding of text featured in any way, but not necessarily centrally. What was central was the configuration of action, talk and text, in

multiple and socially varying ways. Such a focus, drawing from sociolinguistic research, broadened the focus in literacy studies by taking account of the role of texts in social interaction. Heath (1983) showed the distinctive ways that three local communities in one town in the USA socialized their children into language and literacy practices. The current study adopts a similar understanding of literacy events where languages used in homes and schools in Uganda and the urban district of Kampala in particular are taken into account to research the ways and factors related to literacy acquisition among primary school children.

In addition, Street (1984; 2003) stipulates that what has come to be termed the "New Literacy Studies" (NLS) represents a new tradition in considering the nature of literacy, focusing not so much on acquisition of skills, as in dominant approaches, but rather on what it means to think of literacy as a social practice (p.1). This entails the recognition of multiple literacies, varying according to time and space, but also contested in relations of power. NLS, then, takes nothing for granted with respect to literacy and the social practices with which it becomes associated, problematising what counts as literacy at any time and place and asking "whose literacies" are dominant and whose are marginalized or resistant. Studies (Gee, 1991; Street, 1996; 2003) have shown the complex varieties of text-mediated social practice that characterise various socio-cultural settings, both across different societies and within specific societies. Regarding education, studies have contributed important ways of understanding low school achievement and the failure of large sections of children and adults to benefit from schooling, as may be the case in Uganda

Street established a dichotomy between opposing ways of viewing literacy. He proposed an alternative to the autonomous model of literacy which imposes western or (urban) conceptions of literacy onto other cultures (Street, 2001). The new approach to literacy, the 'ideological' orientation, emphasizes the social nature of literacy as well as the multiple and sometimes contested nature of literacy practices. Accordingly, the ideological model is culturally sensitive as literacy practices vary from one context to another. Street argues that the meaning of literacy cannot be separated from the social institutions in which it is practiced or the social processes whereby practitioners acquire it. That is why it is important for language planners as in the case of the urban district of Kampala, to understand that literacy has to be linked to social institutions.

The ideological model of literacy offers a more culturally sensitive view of literacy practices as they vary from one context to another. This model starts from different premises than the autonomous model - it

posits instead that literacy is a social practice, not simply a technical and neutral skill; that it is always embedded in socially constructed epistemological principles. It is about knowledge: the ways in which people address reading and writing are themselves rooted in conceptions of knowledge, identity, and being. It is also always embedded in social practices, such as those of a particular job market or a particular educational context and the effects of learning that particular literacy will be dependent on those particular contexts. Literacy, in this sense, is always contested, both its meanings and its practices, hence particular versions of it are always "ideological", they are always rooted in a particular world-view and in a desire for that view of literacy to dominate and to marginalize others (Gee, 1991; Besnier & Street, 1994). This study makes use of the ideological model of literacy in such a way that literacy is viewed as a social practice. For example in the current study which investigates how the learners in the urban district of Kampala acquire literacy, issues concerning the learners' environment, especially the languages they use both at home and at school, are part and parcel of the study.

From the ideological point of view, then, the focus on literacy development shifts from the individual, discrete skills to reading and writing as cultural practices. Literacy is a social practice, not a technical and neutral skill, embedded in socially constructed epistemological principles. This formulation is concerned with the extent to which literacy tasks are jointly achieved and the implications of collaborative activities, in particular, social circumstances (Prinsloo & Breier, 1996). Therefore, the ideological view of literacy calls for a conception of literacy that takes into account the people involved and the places in which it occurs. Under these terms literacy should be viewed both locally and historically, in terms of the individuals, histories, places, and the social relationships in which people find themselves (Barton & Hamilton, 1998). Kapitzke (1995) argues that an analysis of literacy should begin from an examination of the ideological assumptions, structures and interests of institutions charged with the official transmission and control of literacy. As such, understanding the specific context and the prevalent literacy practices is important to a study of language policy implementation, particularly in the multilingual urban district of Kampala in Uganda.

The New Literacy Studies (Gee 1996; Street 1995) view literacy as a social practice whereby literacies are positioned in relation to the social institutions and power relations that sustain them. Education is identified as one such institution. Readers and writers have different conceptions of the meanings of what they are doing and these meanings are not just 'individual' or 'cognitive' but derived from cultural processes. Academic and schooled literacy of dominant western elites represents only one form among

many, as the language variety used by such elites is only one dialect amongst many. Engagement in writing and reading varies considerably in everyday life in communities and neighborhoods, in workplaces, in rural and urban environments (Barton & Ivanic 1991; Hamilton, 2001). In this regard, Street (2008) says engaging with social literacies is a social act. Therefore how teachers and students interact is already a social practice that affects the nature of the literacy learnt and the ideas about literacy held by participants and their positions in relations of power. This therefore raises questions for literacy programs such as the ones in Ugandan primary schools. For example: what literacy practices and events are in homes and primary schools? What are the resources? How do teachers interact with the learners in the classrooms in multilingual Kampala despite a monoglot policy? These and similar questions are pertinent to the present study.

Methodologically, the approach has been grounded in linguistic ethnography and has drawn on discourse analysis as well as socio-cultural models of cognition and various strands of socio-linguistics and social theory for its analytical work (Gee 2000). Prinsloo and Baynham add that researchers have observed or recorded particular literacy events at their site of research and then tried to understand the wider discursive framings and social practices that cause such events to take their particular form and shape. "Literacy events" have thus provided the empirical units that frame both activities and conceptualisations of reading and writing. The same study has used a similar approach to discourse analysis and interpretation of literacy practices and events in both homes and primary schools in the urban district of Kampala. Basically looking at literacy as a social practice is motivated in the study by trying to understand what factors other than and together with the language of instruction, may facilitate or hinder literacy attainment in the classroom.

The NLS, as one of the social turn movements, is premised "around the idea that reading and writing and meanings are always situated within specific social practices within specific discourse" (Gee, 2000, p. 189). In the current study, NLS will enable me to problematise school literacy practices from a social aspect, the process of which has been possible through drawing from such notions as autonomous versus ideological models of literacy. This process has been possible drawing from the notions of 'context of situation' and 'context of culture', both of which profoundly impinge on how schools and homes as social cultural structures and with particular ideologies shape (or fail to shape) children's literacy acquisition practices. This makes NLS relevant for the current study, since the homes and schools are the main structures of cultural practices studied.

3.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed the analytical framework used in the study. This includes; Critical Discourse Analysis and New Literacy Studies. Critical Discourse Analysis and New Literacy Studies, as methods in critical linguistics, all aim at looking at language as discourse or social practice where text, whether written or spoken, is considered as discourse - produced by "socially situated speakers and writers" (Gee, 2007 :2). As social practice, the focus of CDA and NLS transcends texts as objects of inquiry - thus such an approach requires a theorization and description of both social process and structures which give rise to the production of a text and of social process and structures within which individuals or groups as social historical subjects create meanings in their interaction with texts (Fairclough, 2010, p. 21).

Based on these highlights therefore, the current study adopts CDA and NLS as frameworks to investigate the LiEP for Uganda, and the stakeholders' attitudes and ideologies on the choice of language in education. CDA is particularly used in the belief that it can help the researcher to discover the power and socio-political considerations that frame the production of language policy texts as well as explore how language ideologies are formulated and circulated across official documents. CDA is also believed to enable the researcher to decode and interpret the language policy texts and respondents' views on the MoI and LiEP and about their attitudes, values, and ideologies language resources in education. The study uses CDA in order to understand: the power relations inherent in the stakeholders' responses in the oral texts from the interviews; the alleges that underlie the choices they make about language use, both at home and in school. The researcher uses NLS to identify the literacy practices and events in which learners are involved, both at home and in school, and to evaluate the impact of those practices against literacy acquisition. NLS makes it possible to analyse the impact of the existing literacy practices in homes on literacy acquisition at school. NLS facilitates analysis of data on language and literacy practices and resources that is to say; networked social practices, where the role of material things in sustaining social practices is emphasised, thus enabling the current study to analyse data from the children, teachers and other stakeholders as they play their roles in children's literacy acquisition processes. In particular, NLS scrutinised findings from classroom observations, interviews, literacy tests, and parents' surveys. The common understanding between the two theories is that: they both recognize literacy and language as social-cultural practices.

CHAPTER FOUR
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the research design which is the overall plan used in the current study. It includes the research procedure, sample size and sampling techniques, data collection and data analysis. It describes the pattern which the research followed; data-collecting instruments; the respondents and the data collection process. This study was multi-methodical in such a way that it employed a quantitative approach and a qualitative design following studies in New Literacy Studies (Prinsloo & Breier, 1996; Martin-Jones and Jones, 2000; Baynham 2000, 2001; Machet, 2001).

The study employs a range of methods to collect data. The spirit of how data is collected is in accordance with the thinking behind a deeper ethnography namely; respect to context, the social situatedness of the children, critical stance on the voices of stakeholders, a focus on the subjects' own understanding rather than imposing the researcher's structuring of the problem. Flexibility and adaptability of how the current study poses the questions and understanding of the testing situation is a literacy event itself and the interview is a communicative event. The researcher had inside knowledge and a long experience at the schools. Testing in this study is not about reliability and validity only - it is also an NLS event.

4.1 The Study Design

A 'case study' is widely used in education research to refer to an intensive study of one instance, person, institution or place. Case studies are the preferred strategy when 'how' or 'why' questions are posed and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context (Creswell, 1998; Stake, 2010). For instance the current study is a typical example of a case study intended to evaluate educational programmes and real-life situations, such as implementation of a LiEP for the multilingual urban district of Kampala.

This research was an empirical case study, in which a mixed methods approach was used. This involved both qualitative and quantitative strategies of collecting and analyzing data. This concept of mixing different methods originated in 1959, when Campbell and Fisk used multiple methods to study the validity of psychological traits (Creswell, 1998, p. 18). Recognizing that all methods have limitations, I felt that biases inherent in any single method could be neutralised through using another method. Creswell (1998,

p. 20) emphasizes the need for mixed methods research to expand on the understanding from one method to another, to converge and confirm findings from different data sources. So in this study qualitative and supplementary quantitative primary data were gathered, described, classified, analyzed and interpreted.

4.1.1 Qualitative Approach

In the urban district of Kampala, the monoglot LiEP for a multilingual setting impacts on pupils learning in general and literacy acquisition in particular. However other factors like parents'/guardians' characteristics, the learners' characteristics and the school characteristics, also affect literacy acquisition. Probing into the nature of these settings could give me clues for understanding why certain categories of learners are able to acquire literacy with the same policy while others cannot. This was critical for the current study, as noted earlier in chapter three, to understand the kinds of literacy practices learners bring with them as they come to school, one has to analyze the classroom situations, the school environment and the home literacy practices to obtain a holistic picture. I endeavored to meet the informants in their natural setting and to scrutinize the information they gave in more critical detail in order to understand the ideologies, values and attitudes they hold with respect to Uganda in general and the urban district of Kampala in particular, that is to say, their everyday practices and events.

The qualitative approach was mainly used emulating studies in NLS such as those by Street (2001). The qualitative approach allowed me to inquire into the perceptions and aspirations of the target group, allowing them to reveal their experiences from a subjective perspective. This enabled me to capture the complexities and diversities of their experiences and salient aspects of context and practice and their significance for literacy. Creswell (1998, p. 15) defines qualitative research as a "multiple methods inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social, interactive and humanistic problem". Creswell goes further to say that in qualitative research "the researcher builds a complex, holistic picture, analyses words, reports detailed views of informants and conducts the study in a natural setting and the qualitative researcher often goes to the site" (Creswell, 1998, p. 20). This was done through qualitative methods of data collection. The qualitative methods that were employed to gather data are detailed below;

4.1.1.1 Interviews and observations

Interviews and observations were used to observe the educational practices in the schools by describing the type of schools, background of pupils, languages used in primary one, entry or exit levels for each language and the nature of the classroom. Interview guides and observation checklists were prepared in advance. In order to generate qualitative data of both a social and a linguistic nature, interviewing of key informants, including school head teachers, classroom teachers, curriculum developers, policy makers, officials of NGOs with literacy programmes and literacy researchers, were used. The methods jointly provide a useful way to study the attitudes of stakeholders towards language policy and literacy acquisition as well as multilingual education for primary education. Interviews with primary one Literacy teachers were conducted by the researcher in order to validate the information collected during classroom observations.

4.1.1.2 Document Analysis

A study of the history of educational language policies was made by consulting archives and historical sources in order to appraise the historical basis of Ugandan LiEPs and their ideological foundations. Documents were analyzed to attain a deeper understanding of policies and to find answers to research issues regarding the Uganda LiEP instruments provided for literacy education and multilingualism as a resource.

4.1.2 Quantitative Approach

A quantitative approach was also employed during fieldwork conducted in primary schools in the urban district of Kampala. This approach helped the researcher to correlate formal test results with informal literacy practices. The instruments and the procedures that were used in selecting the sample, collecting and analyzing the data, are described in the next section of the chapter.

4.1.2.1 Literacy 1 Test for Primary One Pupils

A written test of Literacy 1 in English was given to primary one pupils in the selected primary schools in the urban district of Kampala. The test was based on the National Curriculum and was developed according to test frameworks and item specifications prepared by the researcher and a team of two experts

in Early Childhood Education (ECE). The test was developed by a team of three experienced primary school teachers who work closely with the National Assessment of Progress in Education (NAPE) in Uganda, one National Curriculum Development Center (NCDC) official and one Uganda National Examinations Board (UNEB) Senior Examinations Officer.

The competences required in the test were reading comprehension and writing. Specifically, the learners were required to complete sentences, associate objects with words, associate actions with sentences, recognise missing letters, read a story of two sentences, identify words, write their own name correctly, draw, name objects, name activities, fill gaps with letters of the alphabet and write words correctly. All those sub-skill areas added up to a total mark of 100. The compositions of the test are given in Table 1 below. We need to understand that in this study, testing is a literacy practice and how children would be attempting the test in the classroom was an academic literacy practice but not doing what is right or wrong.
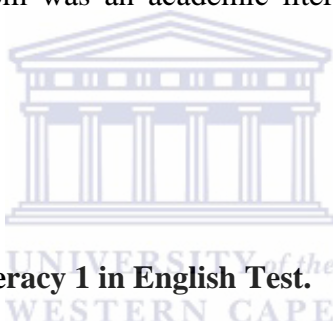
Table 1

Composition of Primary One Literacy 1 in English Test.

Skill Area	Sub-Skill Areas	Weight	
Reading Comprehension	▪ Completing sentence	10	
	▪ Associating objects with words	08	
	▪ Associating actions with sentences	08	
	▪ Recognizing missing letters	08	
	▪ Reading a story of two sentences	06	
	▪ Identifying words	04	
	▪ Completing words	06	
	▪ Completing sentences	08	

		08	58
Writing	▪ Writing own name correctly	02	
	▪ Drawing	06	
	▪ Naming objects	08	
	▪ Naming activities	08	
	▪ Filling gaps with missing letters	12	
	▪ Writing words correctly	06	
			42
TOTAL			100

4.1.2.2 A Questionnaire for Parents/Guardians
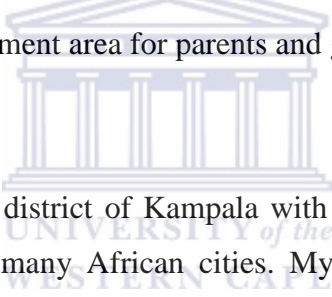
A survey using a questionnaire was carried out among the parents/guardians of those pupils who wrote the Literacy test and what goes on in homes was embedded in NLS. The questionnaire was used to gather information on parents'/guardians' attitudes towards and perceptions of literacy acquisition through a monoglot LiEP used in the multilingual urban district of Kampala. Specifically, the questionnaire gathered information on literacy practices and reading/writing materials at home, language used at home, language used at school, language preferred by the parent/guardian, knowledge of the LiEP and the parent's/guardian's economic level. The questionnaire had three main sections. The compositions of the questionnaire are given in table 2 below.

Table 2

Composition of the Questionnaire for Parents/Guardians.

SECTION A	Research Areas
PERSONAL DATA	▪ Name of the child who took the literacy test ▪ Class of that child ▪ Relationship with the child ▪ Nursery school attendance by the child ▪ Older children at home who go to school ▪ Gender of the Parent ▪ Parent's level of education ▪ Occupation ▪ Income per month
SECTION B	Research Areas
LITERACY ACQUISITION	▪ Buying books/materials for your child to read ▪ Language of the materials ▪ Other reading/writing materials at home ▪ Reading/writing activities at home ▪ Challenges faced
SECTION C	Research Areas
LANGUAGE IN EDUCATION POLICY	▪ Language used at home ▪ Language used at school ▪ Language preferred ▪ Reasons why preferred ▪ Information about the policy of teaching in English only ▪ Child's knowledge of English before commencing school ▪ Appropriateness of the policy ▪ Advantages of the policy ▪ Disadvantages of the policy ▪ Any other comments on the policy

4.3 Sampling procedure

This section describes samples of the schools and the different categories of the respondents who took part in the study. Data was collected from nineteen schools, eight of which were urban while eleven were from peri-urban Kampala. I had one-to-one interviews with five head teachers, and ten class teachers from the selected schools. Data was also collected from five lesson observations and five one-to-one interviews with key informants. In addition, I collected supplementary quantitative data from two categories of respondents; Two hundred and eighty five Primary One pupils did a literacy 1 test and two hundred and eight parents/ guardians responded to a questionnaire. Supplementary quantitative data was opted for to enable the researcher to understand the circumstances of the multilingual LiEP and its outcomes. This depended on the performance of the pupils in the test. The questionnaire for the parents /guardians was the most appropriate instrument to use, due to the busy schedules they seem to have at places of work and at homes. Being a town setting, it would be difficult and more costly to find the parents/ guardians at home. So the school was used as the catchment area for parents and guardians as well.

The study was based in the urban district of Kampala with its multilingual nature but with a monoglot LiEP which is no different from many African cities. My choice for this area (the urban district of Kampala), was influenced by the fact that Kampala is one of the districts with the highest literacy levels in the country, with more than 75% of the pupils rated proficient (UNEB, 2007).

Carrying out this research in Kampala was not problematic because I had carried out a pilot study in the same area a few months before and I had worked closely with the education office and some of the head teachers. This was important because qualitative research demands that the researcher becomes immersed in the day-to-day lives and activities of the people in their ordinary setting in order to discern the pervasive patterns of such life cycles (Creswell, 1998, p. 59-60). I needed to work in such an accessible area so that I could gather as much information as possible to help me decipher the respondents' attitudes, beliefs and ideologies about the LiEP for the urban district of Kampala.

4.3.1: The schools sample

This study took place in eight urban and eleven peri-urban primary schools in the district of Kampala. I have referred to the urban schools as U1up to U8 and the peri urban schools as PU1 up to PU11. The urban schools were located within the central division of the city of Kampala and the peri-urban schools were the ones in the divisions in the city suburbs - Kawempe in this case. These schools were selected through random sampling, because they had similar characteristics in relation to their location, literacy levels and the general school environment. In addition, they were in close proximity to each other. All the urban schools had the necessary infrastructure in place such as lockable classrooms, with furniture. From a general observation, the enrolment for all schools was high. The learners sat comfortably and there was ample space for the teachers to move around in the class whenever they wanted to give individual attention to learners. They had a great amount of learning materials in the form of textbooks and charts, inter alia, and sufficient numbers of teachers. There were many literacy artifacts both in the classrooms and outside on notice boards.

In each of the selected schools, the Primary One class was chosen to participate in the study. Primary One was chosen because, according to the LiEP for the urban district of Kampala, the learners are supposed to be using English as the medium of instruction (MoI) from day one of school, in order to avoid the many languages the learners come with from home (Uganda Government, 1992). I gave the test at the end of the year because the effect of any intervention or teaching programme can be seen after some time.

4.3.1.1 The Head teachers

These are all trained teachers heading the selected schools. All the five Head teachers interviewed are graduate teachers. They all have training as Grade Three teachers and also retrained to obtain diplomas, before pursuing the Bachelor of Education degrees. All of them have more than ten years of experience as head teachers. I chose to seek information from the head teachers by virtue of their administrative and managerial roles. I hoped to gather useful information about the day-to-day running of the schools and I needed information about the LiEP, resources and the facilities in the schools. I was convinced that the Head teachers of the schools were the most suitable people to provide me with that kind of information.

4.3.1.2 The Classroom Teachers

All the 10 classroom teachers interviewed in this study are professionally trained, four of whom are graduates, three are Grade Five and three are Grade Three teachers. It should be noted that the Grade Three training is the lowest professional course for teachers in Uganda.

Most of the teacher trainees take Grade Three training after completing four years of secondary school (the Ordinary Level), but a few take it after six years of secondary education (after the Advanced Level). The ones interviewed in this study did not take the two years of the Advanced Level. This two year course prepares teachers to handle any class in the primary school and once in the field, they are expected to teach all subjects in the primary school curriculum. All the teachers interviewed had taught for over five years. I needed to relate to the teachers to get an in-depth in and out of class experience from their perspective, and information about the policy of teaching in English only from Primary One. These teachers are the ones who stay with the learners for long periods in school. The guiding assumption here is that the teachers would know their learners and would be in a position to account for what goes on in their class and in the school in general.
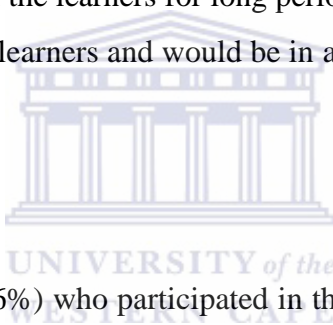
4.3.1.3 The Parents/Guardians

Most of the parents/guardians (29.6%) who participated in this study, mainly from the urban schools, had attained tertiary education followed by those who had secondary education who contributed to 27.1% of the total number of respondents. Thirty nine parents (13.9%) had primary education and only five parents/guardians (1.8%) had not attained any formal education. More than half of the parents/guardians who were involved in monitoring their children's performance are females, a percentage of 62.6% compared to males at 37.4%. The highest and same number of parents/guardians (63) was in the professional and unemployed category which contributed at 28.4% followed by 23.4% who belonged to the business category and the lowest was 19.8% who were casual laborers. The majority (44%) of the parents/guardians monitored their daughters' performance followed by 36% who monitored their sons' academic performance while the guardians who checked on the pupil's academic performance contributed at 20%. This indicates that it is mostly the pupil's biological parents/guardians who check on their academic performance rather than the guardians.

Table 3

Characteristics of parents/ guardians

Characteristics	Frequency	Percentage %
Education level		
No education	25	11.3
Primary Education	39	17.6
Secondary education	76	34.2
Tertiary education	82	36.9
Gender		
Male	84	37.8
Female	138	62.2
Occupation		
Unemployed	64	28.8
Professionals	63	28.4
Business	51	23.0
Casual labourers	44	19.8
Income (UGX)		
0-99999	35	15.8
100,000-199,999	27	12.2
200,000-299,999	27	12.2
300,000 & above	46	20.7
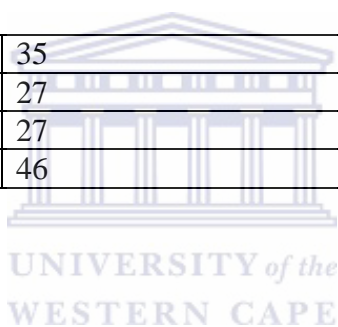
4.3.1.4 The Pupils

A total of two hundred and eighty five (285) pupils participated in the test and their characteristics like age, gender, knowledge of English before joining primary one and their academic performance is presented here. The test was given out to the same number of girls and boys (140) which is 50%. Of the 285 pupils who sat for the test, 56.8% of them were from government owned schools while 43.2% of them were from private owned schools. More than half of the learners (62.1%) were from schools located in peri-urban Kampala and 37.9% of them were from schools that are located in Urban (Central) Kampala. According to NCDC (2006), a pupil is supposed to be in primary one at the age of six years. According to this study, more than half (53.2%) of the learners were seven and above years, 36.8% were six years old and only 10% were five years old.

4.4 Sampling Techniques

A two-stage stratified cluster sampling design was used. The first stage involved selecting a random sample of schools, stratified by division. The central division of Kampala is the only one, according to its characteristics, that falls in this category of urban so it was taken automatically out of the other four divisions .Kawempe division was the one randomly selected from the four peri-urban divisions. In the second stage, a random sample of pupils present in the school on the day of the survey was selected from one Primary One class.

To select schools, a list of primary schools from EMIS was used to provide the sampling frame. A total number of 19 schools in both divisions were selected for the survey to have an acceptable representative number of pupils for the survey. From the central division 08 were selected giving a total number of 120 test takers and 11 from Kawempe giving a total of 165 test takers. The overall total of test takers was 285. The 165 test takers from the Kawempe division were a representative of the 5820 pupils with equal chances to take the test in the other peri-urban division. That is about 2.8% of the Primary One pupils represented.
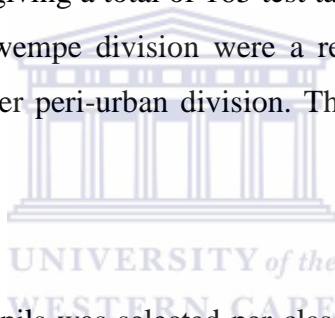
A simple random sample of 15 pupils was selected per class in each school. The sample size of 15 was agreed upon by the research team for a number of reasons. Firstly, increasing the number to more than 15 raises the accuracy level only by a negligible amount, and yet the cost of instrument production and administration becomes much higher. Secondly, most classrooms in Uganda take up to about 20 test takers with appropriate spacing (UNEB, 2010). Thirdly, one assistant can effectively supervise about 15 pupils. In all schools, a total number of 285 pupils were selected and given a test; 280 parents/guardians were given the questionnaire, 10 Primary One Literacy teachers were interviewed and 05 Literacy 1 lessons randomly selected for observation. The details of the sampling techniques which were used are summarised in the table below.

Table 4

Summary of Sampling Techniques

Category of Informants	Sample population	Sampling method	Number of respondents	
Pupils	Primary schools	Random Stratified	15 x 19 classes	285
Teachers for interviews	Primary schools	Purposive (05 lowest & 05 best in pupils' test)	10 classes	10
Teachers for lesson observations	Primary schools	Random	05	05
Parents/Guardians	Primary schools	Purposive	15 x19 classes	280
Head teachers	Primary schools	Random	05	05
Curriculum Developers	National curriculum development centre	Purposive	01	01
Literacy researchers	Institutions of higher learning	Purposive	03	03
Officials of NGOs	NGO with programmes on literacy	Purposive	03	03
Policy makers	Ministry of Education	Purposive	01	0
TOTAL				**593**

4.5 Data Collection

The study used concurrent triangulation strategy for data collection (Green et al., 1989; Steckler et al., 1992; Morgan, 1998). This model enabled me to use two different methods (qualitative and supplementary quantitative approaches) in an attempt to confirm, cross-validate and corroborate findings within this single study. Though concurrent triangulation strategy was used, priority was given to qualitative data and the quantitative data was used as supplementary. Integration of the approaches was done at the data collection phase, analysis and interpretation.

Qualitative data was gathered through archival study, document analysis, interviews and observations. The selection of these tools was guided by the nature of the data to be collected and the objectives of the study. The overall aim of this study was to explore the current language in education policy in Uganda. The study was mainly concerned with views, opinions, perceptions, feelings and attitudes. Data was collected using a multi-methodical approach to issues related to language policies following the principle of triangulation. The sources of data included; Head teachers, Classroom teachers, Literacy researchers, Curriculum developers and Policy makers, officials of NGOs with literacy programmes, observations of classroom literacy practices, archival study of the policy instruments and study of policy models of multilingual societies, which allowed me to get firsthand information and experience.

Unlike in scientific experimental and survey studies, where the methodological tools are prepared before going to the field, in a qualitative design, such as this study, the tools are worked out during the study to allow for potential data supplementation and verification (Baumgartner & Strong, 1998, p. 176). Therefore, I prepared and amended the tools while in the field. In qualitative research the researchers want to listen to the participants and shape the questions as they explore the topics of study and thus they tend to ask open-ended questions. In so doing they refrain from assuming the role of the expert researcher armed with the 'best' questions. The questions asked in this type of research tend to change during the process of research to reflect an increased understanding of the problem (Creswell, 1998, p. 19). However, through piloting and refining, this study developed the following instruments, which were used to collect the data: interview guides for head teachers, classroom teachers, curriculum developers, policy makers, officials of NGOs with literacy programmes, observation guides for lesson observations. It should be noted that these instruments acted as guides, and that more and more questions were continually generated as they arose from the informants' responses. What are presented in the appendices are just samples of the key questions.

After primary data was collected from the 19 primary schools in Kampala for a period of three months, the interviews with policy makers (1), curriculum developers (1), literacy researchers (3), randomly selected Head teachers (5) and officials of NGOs with literacy programmes (2) were scheduled and concluded by

the author. A total of 22 interviews were held including 10 for Literacy teachers of primary 1. All the interviews were audio recorded with permission from the respondents.

4.5.1 Interviews

Interviews are useful in research because they help the researcher to reach the respondents' communicative events, perspective assessment and their real experiences (Creswell, 2003). They also enable one to probe for as much information as considered to be useful to a study. Unlike the self-administered questionnaire, interviews provide insight into in-depth information and feelings, which help to get inside information by learning from non-verbal messages from respondents. The objective was to explore "what is happening" by using some guided questions to probe for deep information and knowledge.

Furthermore, in this study, a qualitative interview was a sincere attempt to understand the world from the respondent's point of view, to get the meaning of people's experiences and to 'uncover' their lived world (Greeff, 2002, p. 295). Patton (2002) explains this more deeply:

> We interview to find out those things we cannot observe…we cannot observe feelings, thoughts and intentions. We cannot observe behaviour that took place at some previous point in time. We cannot observe situations that prelude the presence of an observer. We cannot observe how people can organise the world. We have to ask people questions about these things. The purpose of interviewing, then, is to allow us to enter other people's perspectives (p. 135).

This is done through the attention the interviewer gives to the time of the interview and to the respondent's responses, in the form of words, intonation, actions, facial expressions and gestures. The purpose of my interviews was to elicit as much information as I could. I needed information that would enable me to fully understand the attitudes and perceptions towards the LiEP and literacy acquisition among the learners of primary school level in the district of Kampala. Thus, in order to enter the respondents' perspectives, so that I understood their points of view and got to the meaning of the experiences that accounted for their actions, I held one-on-one interviews with three categories of

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respondents: the head teachers of the selected schools, the Literacy teachers of the 19 classes, the curriculum developers, literacy researchers, the policy makers and the officials of NGOs with literacy programmes. All the interviews were conducted under relaxed conditions and this enabled me to solicit as much information as I considered necessary. With permission from the respondents, all the interviews were audio recorded. I also made field notes during all the interviews.

4.5.1.1 Interviews with Classroom teachers

In the urban district of Kampala, the school time tables differ; the ones for many of the private schools indicate a normal school day starting at 7.30am for the learners and 6.30am for the teacher and both end the day at about 5.30pm in the evening. In government schools it is slightly different; their normal day starts at 8.00am and ends at 4.00pm. During the eight or more hours, the teachers are in charge of the learners. This means that the teachers have more information about the children and would ably provide all the important data required for this study. It was for that reason that the researcher in this study opted for a one-on-one interview with the 10 literacy teachers of the Primary One classes in the selected schools.

The teachers prepared the venues for the interviews, though many of them preferred their classrooms and kept on referring to the children's works displayed in these classrooms, notebooks and the like. The teachers seemed more relaxed and happy to share their long-felt concerns with someone who is a fellow teacher and at a higher level. So with that in mind they participated with the hope that one day, things will change. The interviews with the teachers enabled me to get their views with regard to schooled literacy practices, how the learners read, wrote, listened and spoke at school, both inside and outside the classrooms, and about the LiEP in general. Since the teachers are the main implementers of the LiEP, through these interviews, I wanted to obtain data that would help me interpret the teachers' views, perceptions and attitudes towards the LiEP.

4.5.1.2 Interviews with Head teachers

These were the administrators of the selected schools in charge of all the activities that took place in the schools, and who could provide the information I needed about the day-to–day running of the schools. I interviewed three head teachers and two deputies to make a total of 05 interviews all together. All these interviews took place in their offices within the schools premises so they felt at home throughout the

interview sessions. I used my unstructured interview guide to keep me focused although more questions kept on being generated from the responses as I probed for additional useful information.

From among the head teachers I wanted to get information about their educational background, their understanding of the LiEP for the district of Kampala and what they understood by the term literacy and literacy acquisition. I was also interested in knowing from them how the teachers of Literacy 1 in primary 1 teach the learners the subject; what support the teachers receive from administration; and the criteria used to assign the teachers the various subjects and classes. At the same time I expected the head teachers to understand the environments where the learners come from and the general economic status of the parents/guardians. The head teachers provided all the information I needed and I was able to find out about their attitudes, perceptions and views about LiEP and literacy acquisition in multilingual Kampala. (See Appendix B for the interview guide for head teachers).

4.5.1.3 Interview with Policy Maker and Curriculum Developer

These categories of interviewees comprise government officials. The Policy Maker is an official in the Department of Pre-Primary Education at the Ministry of Education and Sports (MoES), and has served as an expert in this area for more than 20 years. On the other hand, the Curriculum Developer, who is an official at the National Curriculum Development Center (NCDC), is in charge of the Primary School Curriculum. I selected them for the study by virtue of the positions they hold at the MoES and NCDC. Also, I knew they had the information required for the study. The interviews took place at their offices and they gave me permission to audio record their responses. The interviews were conducted on different days and more or less the same interview guide applied to both officials (See Appendix A for the interview guide). These interviews again presented an opportunity to probe for as much information as I required.

The interview with the Curriculum Developer and the Policy Maker was influenced by the need to know more about the guidelines for making such policies as the LiEP, the gaps in the policy, the advantages and disadvantages of the policy, the possible hindrances in the implementation of the policy and how multilingualism can be utilized as a resource for literacy acquisition in Kampala specifically and Uganda at large. I expected the respondents to understand how other cities/ urban areas manage the issue of multilingualism in Education. The Curriculum Developer gave me all the information I needed and at the

end of the interview she was able to give me many reading materials about the policy to enable further consultations.

4.5.1.4 Interviews with the Literacy Researchers

Three literacy researchers were identified for the study. These were senior academics who have carried out several studies in the field of Literacy education. One of them is a Professor of Linguistics at one of the universities in Uganda. He has worked on quite a number of National/ Regional Language policies for different countries in Africa. He has been consulted on many issues pertaining to language in Education within the context of Africa and internationally. He is an expert of MT education. The other researchers are senior lecturers at another university in the country. One of them is a specialist in Early Childhood Education (ECE) and the other is a specialist in English language education and literacy. I expected the researchers to know about the policy, how effective it is and the gaps involved. I also suspected that they knew about other LiEPs for multilingual countries and what the possible model could be for multilingual Kampala. I interviewed them from their offices.

4.5.1.5 Interviews with Officials of NGOs with literacy programmes

I was able to reach three NGOs with literacy programmes in the district of Kampala. I interviewed the most top officials of these organizations. The interviews took place on different days on the organizations' premises and the environments were conducive. I was given permission to audio record the interviews. Two of the officials called in their secretaries to take notes while the interviews were in progress. After the interview at one of the organizations, I was taken around the premises for a rather non-formal chat with a few employees who were at their work stations at that time.

The NGOs I selected have very different agendas. One of them focuses on local language and culture education, another one on literacy among the special needs children and the third one on assessment of literacy programmes in Uganda and East Africa. I expected to get information about the practicality of the policy, gaps identified, and the kind of literacy programmes they work with, hindrances faced as they carry out their work and how multilingualism can be utilized as a resource for literacy acquisition in Kampala.

4.5.2 Classroom observation

With observation, the researcher watches, listens to and records events, behaviour, and phenomena of interest in the social settings chosen for the study (Marshall & Rossman, 1995). By observing the actual behaviour of individuals in the natural setting, one may gain a deeper and richer understanding of such behaviour (Strydom & Delport, 2002). In addition, with observation one gets a chance to see things as they are, thus the researcher gets firsthand information of the events. My intention was to observe what exactly goes on in a Primary One literacy classroom in multilingual Kampala. More specifically, my motive was to collect data on the medium of instruction, pupils' participation, size of the class, pupils' notebooks and textbooks, teacher's schemes of work and lesson plans, teaching/ learning materials and the library, materials from NGOs, tests and exam papers, literacy results for the previous assessment and the classroom environment in general.

The day I observed the lesson was not my first visit in the classes, I had been to the classes before to arrange for interviews, give a test and to try to make the learners get used to me. By the time I went to observe a lesson, both the learners and the teacher were free to behave in their natural way. I was given a seat at the back of the class and sat on a small chair like that of the learners in order to be at their level. I listened very attentively to the teachers and at the same time observed the learners. I made audio recordings of all the lessons I observed. I also prepared an observation check list prior to the lesson (see Appendix F for the observation protocol). After the lesson, I took photographs of the classrooms for future reference after the field, since I had already acquired permission from the school authorities.

4.5.3 Document analysis

Data from documents offers insight and understanding into the 'official' of the agency or school or the kind of institution under study (Baumgartner & Strong, 1998, p. 183). I took the same position while analysing documents. The intention for analyzing these particular documents was to have an authorized baseline of data that would form the basis of the study. Some of the documents analysed include; the 1995 constitution of Uganda, the 1992 Government White Paper on Education, which is the official document that guides language use in schools. I also critically looked at The Education Sector Strategic Plan 2007-2015 and The Uganda National Primary School Curriculum for Literacy. The analysis of these documents, would offer a deeper to understanding of the LiEP and the Curriculum in order to explore how these

impact on literacy acquisition among the Primary One learners in Kampala schools. The data from these documents enabled me to understand the state of the education sector in Uganda and to identify the biases and the gaps in both the LiEP and the Curriculum.

4.5.4 Supplementary Quantitative data collection

Quantitative data were gathered during field work in primary schools in the district of Kampala. These involved use of a Primary One Literacy 1 test and the questionnaires given to the parents/guardians whose children were the pupils who participated in the test. Two primary teachers, who specialized in Early Childhood Education (ECE) and at the time of this research were teaching in a primary school, were selected by me as research assistants. I trained the assistant for one day on the procedures of data collection. The assistants discussed fully and freely with me the questionnaire for the parents/guardians and the procedures of the test, especially on how to obtain a random sample of 15 pupils per Primary One class and how to conduct the test. Working hand in hand with the assistants, we gave the test to the selected 15 pupils of Primary One from a separate room for each of the 19 schools. The questionnaires were administered by the 19 Primary One Literacy teachers from the selected Primary One classes, who were briefed by me prior to the event and by the assistants on their second visit to the selected schools. The research team conducted the 30 minutes test, observed one literacy lesson (if the school was selected for lesson observation), and interviewed Primary One Literacy teachers (if selected) at only one school per day. The day timetabled for the school had to match with the Literacy 1 lesson already scheduled on its timetable for the selected Primary One class. Any abrupt changes in the class timetable were not accepted by the research team.

After the day for primary data collection at a school by the research team, questionnaires were left behind with the contact teacher (a briefed Primary One Literacy 1 teacher) to distribute to the 15 parents/guardians of the pupils who did the test. The research team realized that the teacher who was already used to the parents/guardians would be the best person to distribute and collect the questionnaires. The contact teacher was given leeway to help read, interpret and fill in the responses of those parents/guardians who could not read or write, especially as the questionnaire was designed in only two languages; Luganda and English. Another important issue to note is that the questionnaires were given to parents/guardians as they came to class to check on the progress of the pupils. The questionnaires were kept with the contact teachers for a full term (three months). The assistants could check on a weekly basis

for any filled out questionnaires so as to take them to the collection place. For those parents/guardians who did not check on the progress of the learners for a full term, despite the fact that the pupils did the test, they did not fill out the questionnaire. This also meant that those parents /guardians without filled-in questionnaires were not checking on the pupil's progress at school.

4.5.4.1 Literacy 1 test for Pupils

The Literacy test was comprised of two skill areas; Reading comprehension and Writing. The skill areas were then broken down into sub-skill areas and these included; completing sentences, associating objects with words, associating actions with sentences, recognizing missing letters, reading a story of two sentences, identifying words, writing own name correctly, drawing, naming objects, naming activities, filling gaps with letters of the alphabet and writing words correctly. All the sub-skill areas added to a total mark weight of 100. The objective of the p 1 literacy test was to explore whether the learners in Kampala primary schools had acquired the expected academic/ competence levels in literacy by the end of the first year as stipulated in the curriculum.

4.5.4.2 Questionnaire for Parents/Guardians

The questionnaire was meant for the parents/guardians who had their children selected for the test. This came to be the best method for collecting data from the parents/guardians because a questionnaire is a good method to achieve a high degree of anonymity and also it allowed for them to have time to think about their answers. The questionnaire approach reached quite a good number of them. The questionnaire included questions related to the respondent's background information, literacy practices at home and attitudes towards to LiEP for the district of Kampala. The questionnaires were self-administered except for those parents/guardians who are unable to read/write. For such cases the briefed Primary One Literacy teachers helped to write out their responses. Table 5 below summarises the data collection methods as they respond to the specific research questions.

Table 5

Data Collection Matrix

	Research Question	Category of Informants	Method	Instrument
1	What is the nature of LiEP for the urban district of Kampala? -What is the rhetorical content of the LiEP instruments for Uganda? -How do stakeholders interpret the LiEP?	Policy makers, Curriculum developers, Literacy Researchers, NGO officials Head teachers,	Interview Archival study	Interview guides
2	What comprises language and literacy resources in a multilingual context? -What classroom/home literacy events and practices are found in primary schools in the urban district of Kampala? -What pedagogies are used in the teaching of literacy in primary schools in the urban district of Kampala? -How is multilingualism a resource for literacy acquisition?	Parents, Literacy teachers, Learners	Interview, Classroom observation and Survey	Interview guides, Observation protocol, Literacy test and Questionnaire
3	What recommendations can one make for a language policy in a multilingual context? -What is the relevant LiEP model for the multilingual urban districts of Kampala? -What are the guiding principles for implementing bi/multilingual education?	N/A	Archival study	N/A

4.6 Reliability and Validity

Reliable and valid instruments result in valuable data. Reliability and validity give weight to the study. Reliability and validity increase the credibility, transferability, dependability and conformability of a study

(Lincoln & Guba, 1985; De Vos, 2002). There is objectivity and honesty in the research process (Baumgartner & Strong, 1998, p. 89). This section describes how I tried to enhance the validity and reliability of the current study.

4.6.1 Reliability

Reliability has been defined as the accuracy or precision of an instrument, the extent to which independent administration of the same instrument consistently yields the same or similar results under comparable conditions. Consequently, the more reliable the instrument is, the more dependable are the results (Bostwick & Kyte, 1981,p. 113-120; Delport, 2000, p. 168-169).

Even though I knew that the instruments would continuously change while in the field, I prepared tentative observation and interview guides. I piloted them in two schools, to ensure a reasonable level of reliability. This enabled me to review, rephrase, refine and enrich the basic questions. It also enabled me to foresee some of the other questions that I needed to formulate in order to obtain the desired data. These guides were used to start off and keep the process of each inquiry on track. This study essentially used unstructured instruments, which allowed extensive probing for the required information (Baumgartner & Strong, 1998, p. 182).
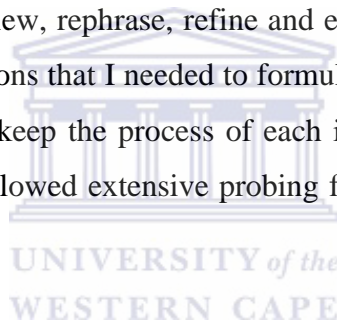
4.6.2 Validity

Delport (2000, p. 166) defines a valid instrument as one that does what it is intended to do. This means that an instrument should be able to solicit accurate answers for the questions the study seeks to answer, and/or elicit information that helps the researcher to comprehend the intricacies of the matters under investigation. I ensured the validity of the instruments used and the data collected in this study through a triangulation of the methods that included the use of interview guides, classroom/lesson observation protocols and a questionnaire. By measuring something in more than one way, researchers are more likely to see all its aspects (De Vos, 2002, p. 341). The basic intention for using a variety of instruments was that data from each instrument could enhance, corroborate, elaborate and illuminate data from the other sources so that the information elicited from all the instruments provides authentic data for the study.

This study further strengthened the validity of data through multiple informants: classroom teachers, head teachers, parents/guardians, curriculum developers, policy makers, literacy researchers and officials of selected NGOs dealing with literacy programmes (Baumgartner & Strong, 1998, p. 182; De Vos, 2002, p. 352). By comparing and contrasting the data from all these sources, I gained an in-depth understanding of the LEP and literacy acquisition.

4.7 Data Analysis

Data analysis is the process of bringing order, structure and meaning to the mass of collected data. In this study, various data were analysed separately; qualitative data was analyzed using two theories, the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and the New Literacy Studies (NLS) while quantitative data was processed using SPSS software and analysed using descriptive statistical methods. CDA was used to critically analyse the LiEP institutions which helped the researcher to go beyond speculation and demonstrate how texts work and NLS was used to analyse the respondents' views, opinions, perceptions, feelings and attitudes towards the policy.
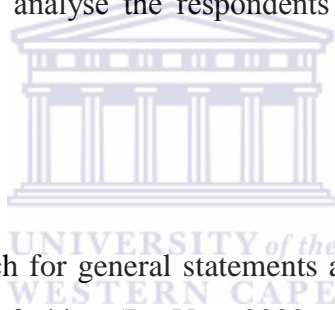
4.7.1 Qualitative Data analysis

Qualitative data analysis is a search for general statements about relationships among categories of data which does not proceed in a linear fashion (De Vos, 2002, p. 339). De Vos draws all this from Creswell (1998, p. 143-145) who describes the four stages used to analyze qualitative data. These four stages are discussed under the headings that follow.

4.7.1.1 Data managing

Data management starts very early in the process of data collection. It entails organizing the data into file folders, index cards or computer files (Creswell, 1998). It also includes filling in some gaps within the previously collected data. This includes harmonising field notes with recorded interviews. It is done regularly and continues throughout the process of data collection. Data management in the study was done immediately from the field when I could still clearly visualise what happened while in the field. In this study this stage also included transcribing the data from the audiotape, which was very useful in filling in gaps in the field notes, and in rephrasing, clarifying and enriching the questions.

4.7.1.2 Reading and Memoing

This stage involves getting a feeling for the whole database (De Vos, 2002). It entails making sense of the data by reading through it. One gets 'immersed' into the data by reading and rereading the field notes and the transcripts and by doing minor editing. This enables the researcher to become familiar with the data in intimate ways. It is very helpful because, if done quite early, it helps the researcher to identify missing information that can be sought on the next visit to the field. In the process one writes memos in the margins of the field notes and the transcripts. Memos are short notes, ideas, or key concepts that occur as you read. They may reflect clues and tentative answers to the research questions. Reading through the data enabled me to identify gaps so that I could go back into the field to seek clarification.

4.7.1.3 Describing, classifying and interpreting

According to Marshall and Rossman (1995, p. 114), this is the most difficult, complex, ambiguous, creative and enjoyable phase. De Vos (2002, p. 344) adds that this stage is the heart of qualitative data analysis. Here the researcher describes what has been observed in detail. As classification begins, the researcher develops categories of themes and sub-themes. These are then given codes that are related to the data they represent and are understandable to the researcher. During this phase data is 'cleaned' and reduced to small manageable portions according to the identified themes.

Interpretation refers to making sense of the data, gaining knowledge about, insight into and understanding of the data one has collected. Here the researcher engages in the critical act of scrutinizing, challenging and deducing reasonable explanations for the patterns that have emerged and for the linkages between them. At this level one also begins to analyze the data in relation to the research questions and objectives of the study.

4.7.1.4 Representing and Visualising

This is the last phase of the qualitative analysis process and it involves presenting the data, packaged in table, text or figure forms. These are used while reporting the findings of the study. This study, like most studies embedded in NLS, adopted and used these steps and thus categorized and did thematic/sub-thematic analyses of the qualitative data (Saxena 1994; Martin-Jones & Bhatt 1998; Baynham, 2000; Street 2000; Banda, 2003). The process ended in what is reported in the subsequent chapters of this study.

4.7.1.5 Quantitative Data Analysis

Information collected from the parents'/guardians' questionnaire and the pupils' test was statistically analyzed. The test was scored by me and the two assistants at a central venue in Kampala for a period of two weeks. The test scores and information from the questionnaire were captured using Epi DATA (version 3.02) and analysis was done using SPSS software (version 16). Both the test and the questionnaire were analyzed concurrently by entering information from a particular parent's questionnaire and at the same time considering test scores of his/her child.   Data was analysed at two levels, that is univariate and bivariate levels. At univariate level, descriptive statistics in the form of percentage distribution tables, were run to summarise the characteristics of parents/guardians and learners. At bivariate level, Chi-Square tests were done to establish if there was any relationship between the academic achievement of learners and all the independent variables. This analysis was to assess whether or not the associations were statistically significant. The level of significance was at 0.05, which is at a confidence interval of 95%.

The general formula of the Chi-square used is

$$x^2 = \sum_{i=1}^{r} \sum_{j=1}^{k} \frac{\left(O_{ij} - E_{ij}\right)^2}{E_{ij}} \quad \dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots..3.1$$

Where;

$j=$ 1, 2… k

$i =$ 1, 2... r

$O_{ij} =$ Observed frequency.

$E_{ij} =$ Expected frequency.

$k =$ Number of categories of the dependent variable.

$r =$ Number of categories of the independent variables.

4.8 Ethics statement

I obtained letters of introduction from the Universities (University of the Western Cape and Kyambogo-University of Uganda) introducing me as a PhD research student. I used the letters to seek permission from the Uganda National Council of Science and Technology (UNCST) which is the overall governing body for researchers in Uganda. UNCST presented my application to carry out research in Kampala to the Office of the President of Uganda. I was cleared and given an introductory letter to take to the Resident District Commissioner (RDC) of the urban district of Kampala for security reasons. I introduced myself to the Permanent Secretary at the MoES headquarters. I was then directed to the responsible officers to assist with my research.

I went to Education Management Information Systems (EMIS) where I obtained a list of primary schools in the urban district of Kampala. I got permission from the Uganda National Council of Science and Technology to be able to carry out this research.
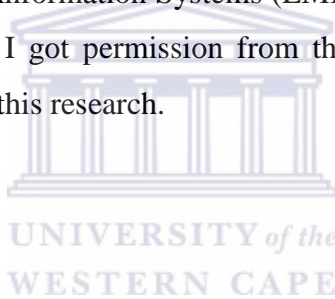
4.9 Conclusions

This study focuses on language policy and literacy practices in multilingual Uganda. This chapter has presented the entire plan of research design used in the study. This includes; research procedure, sample size, techniques, methods of data collection and data analysis. The methods of data collection discussed in the chapter are the ones used in this study. The study used deeper ethnography as it focuses the subjects on understanding rather than imposition of research. So this helped to collect data from children, teachers and other stakeholders in the literacy acquisition process. The methods used in this study behind the deeper thinking of ethnography include; interviews with stakeholders as communicative events, and observations and testing of children's academic literacy competences. Another method discussed is the archival study which helped the researcher to identify documents on LiEP from Uganda.

Data analysis techniques have also been presented in this chapter. CDA was presented as a tool used in the rhetoric understanding of monoglot LiEP without a local language in a multilingual setting and NLS was used to analyse data on language and literacy resources. All the stages of qualitative data analysis used in

this study have been discussed here: data managing, memoing, classifying, interpreting and visualizing. Supplementary quantitative data analysis was analysed using SPSS.

CHAPTER FIVE
LANGUAGE IN EDUCATION POLICY

5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents a critical analysis of the policy instruments, and also some critical commentary by some of those officially involved in the process of designing the policy instruments. By bringing in these different voices and by looking at a set of linked policy documents, the study is able to discern both the intertextuality of a long time period as well as areas of contention and agreement between policy makers. The policy analysis in these pages uses the tools of CDA primarily complimented and juxtaposed with a critical reading of the state-of art lens to go beyond speculation. This approach is transdisciplinary as mentioned by Fairclough (2010), as it brings together and connects rhetoric, Critical Discourse Analysis and concepts in political science (Reisigl, 2008). This chapter will then deal with the main research question below and two other sub questions:

- What is the nature of LiEP for the urban district of Kampala?
    - What is the rhetorical content of the LiEP instruments for Uganda?

In an attempt to answer those research questions, the following discussion will provide a basic critical analysis of policy documents.

5.1 Policy instruments

The policy instruments/texts considered for analysis in this study are:

- The 1992 Uganda Government White Paper on Education
- The 1995 Constitution of Uganda
- The Education Sector Strategic Plan 2007/2015.

The analysis of the above instruments is guided by the following questions;
- What is the rhetorical framing of the policy?
- What ideologies of language, especially multilingualism, do we find in the policy documents?
- What are the implications of the policy given critical reading of literature on multilingual education?

As social and political context is important,

- Who are the authors of the policy documents?
- When and where were they written and under what circumstances?

I begin with the Government White Paper which is the oldest and the mother document of all the other LiEP instruments in Uganda.

5.1.1 The 1992 Government White Paper on Education

In 1987-1989 an Education Policy Review Commission was put in place chaired by Professor Ssenteza Kajubi to review the education policy of Uganda. It is from the recommendations of this so-called 1989 Kajubi Education Policy Review Commission that the Government of Uganda issued the 1992 Government White Paper on Education. This later document in turn is the basis of official policy on the purposes and programs of education. While some of the programs have been revised as a result of subsequent developments over the more than 30 years it has been in existence, the White Paper's articulation of the purposes of Uganda's education system continues to guide all the activities in the sector. The general aim of the White Paper is "to promote citizenship; moral, ethical, and spiritual values; scientific, technical and cultural knowledge, skills, and attitudes; literacy as well as equip individuals with basic skills and knowledge" - in brief, "to contribute to the building of an integrated, self-sustaining and independent national economy" (Uganda Government, 1992, p. 15). It is not clear whether the White Paper will achieve that general aim without promoting all the languages in the country. For example none of the aspects above can be achieved without understanding Ugandans in their social-cultural settings, thus understanding language in particular as a social practice.

The Government White Paper 1992 also comprises the Language in Education Policy (LiEP). The LiEP runs from section 31 to section 37 excluding section 35. Sections 31 to 34 cover the recommendations by the Ssenteza Kajubi Policy Review Commission well as section 36 which gives guidelines on language use in schools as recommended by the government of Uganda considering the report made by the commission. While it is section 36 that gives the guidelines for language use in schools, it is worthwhile discussing the preceding sections as a background in order to highlight the serious issues that accrue from this policy. This also helps to give a clear picture of the underlying power relations embedded in Uganda's

LiEP. In this analysis of the white paper we will see that there is very little provision for multilingualism; that language matters are predominantly framed rhetorically in discourses along modernist versus traditional dimensions; that arguments for one national language are based on the imaginary idea of a unified nation-state; that language and multilingualism in indigenous languages are seen only in terms of transition. In what follows I will discuss sections 31 to 35 of the white paper which are entirely made up of the Kajubi report.

5.1.1.1 Ssenteza Kajubi Report: Rhetoric of Modern versus Tradition

Section 31 of the White Paper states (in part) that:

> Government fully agrees…that the diversity of local languages in Uganda makes it difficult for the country to achieve rapid universal and democratised education, literacy for all, and intellectualisation of all people as well as the attainment of the much needed national unity. Government has been fully aware that conflicting aims and prejudices resulting particularly from deficient views and outlooks on to life as well as narrow and selfish interests, have made it difficult for the country to develop a common national language for Uganda… (p. 15).

The statement above appears to be true if languages are autonomous but looking at practice you get a totally different picture. The major theme in this passage is in one sense language but on a closer study it appears to be more about the government positioning itself as forward planning, enlightened and generally interested in the development of the nation and its people. In the passage, it is clear that the white paper equates lack of progress with the situation of a multiplicity of languages. Progress is described in terms of literacy for all, intellectualization of people and national unity. A closer reading, suggests that the government views these difficulties to fundamentally lie in "conflicting aims and prejudices, deficient views and outlooks, narrow and selfish interests". We note that the language question is transposed, grafted onto, this more political frame of reference, in fact, it appears to be the case that, the issue of multilingualism is entangled with or compounded by the question of political legitimacy. The government is building its legitimacy around the language question. Rhetorically, the text constructs the government as enlightened "government has been fully aware" and consensus oriented, "government fully agrees". By rhetorically presenting itself in these terms, it also presents the views and voices of others as unworthy of

serious consideration. In summary, in this text, the very "diversity of local languages" is seen to be the result of the squabble among "narrow and selfish interests".

From one interpretation, one cannot quite draw the conclusion that government does not understand multilingualism to be a resource. On the contrary, the fact that the government perceives how diverse interests connect to diverse languages suggests that they see these languages as resources for the speakers and their interests but, that this is a problem for the government of Uganda itself. The style used in the text above is a top-down or 'inverted pyramid' structure (Van Dijk, 1988) where information is presented in descending order of importance. The policy maker / author started with the issue of many local languages being a problem and then mention national language at the end of the text simply meaning that had it not been that there are many local languages, Uganda would have had a national language. The text does not show who is responsible for conflicting aims and prejudices, deficient views and outlooks and narrow and selfish interests. Neither does it show whose these are and where these come from. There is lack of specificity. Government proposes no constructive remedies for the development of a national language, it only shows obstacles. Government is on one side and the citizens on the other. It does not talk about languages but one language. This is not in any way different from the colonial mentality which promoted one language; it is old fashioned, traditional and smacks of colonial influence. There is no evidence from sociolinguistics that many languages are a problem rather than a resource (Ruiz, 1984) for intellectualisation. We need to be reminded in this study that multilingualism is a norm and languages are a resource which the government of Uganda does not consider relevant at all. So the government needs to understand how multilingualism can be accommodated in the entire policy to facilitate literacy for all, unity and others.

Further, section 32 of the 1992 Government White Paper on Education states (in part) that:

> Government, therefore, is strongly convinced that in order to develop a genuinely rich culture and to achieve national unity and rapid development, Uganda's language policy in education must be centred around the emphatic and deliberate development of a national and educational language policy that can contribute to the development of greater patriotism, nationalism and Pan-Africanism among the citizens, leading to the achievement of increased and beneficial communication and co-operation among various ethnic groups in the country, and beyond Uganda's borders. It would also facilitate the rapid achievement of permanent developmental and functional literacy and intellectualisation of all the people; an increased sense of African and

international solidarity; the creation of integrated national and regional economic markets… (p. 16).

Here, rhetorically, the same message is emphatically repeated again and again. The text hammers home the need for; national and educational language policy, greater patriotism, nationalism and Pan-Africanism, communication and cooperation among various ethnic groups and an increased sense of African solidarity. The message is framed in strongly positive phrasing "strongly convinced", "deliberate", "facilitate", "generally rich" and the underlying message is unification and efficiency at the scale of the nation, region and global context. What is lacking here is attention to the scale of the local, which not uncommonly is represented either through its absence "as in section 32" or in terms of disorder and chaos in "section 31". It is not clear how this national cohesion is to be achieved; since the government seems to have self defeating arguments.

The use of the modal verb "must" shows that it is very important that Uganda gets a national and educational language policy that can contribute to the development of patriotism, nationalism and Pan-Africanism and not any other kind of language policy. Looking at the criteria set by the government, for a language which can do that in education, none of the local languages, of course after referring to them as "local", can qualify. This language should be able to facilitate "communication and co-operation among various ethnic groups in the country, beyond borders in a sense of African and international solidarity and economic markets", So the criteria above qualifies only one language in Uganda; English. And if it is one language then the many MTs/ multilingualism are irrelevant.

Section 33 of the same paper states that:

> Government has considered, from a scientific point of view and with a flexible attitude, the traditional arguments concerning the ease with which children are supposed to learn in their mother tongues. Government regards the issue of language and educational instruction in a much more dynamic, realistic and progressive manner. It has noted the capacity of many Uganda children – particularly in the growing urban centres where most of the good schools are located - to learn quickly and enthusiastically when they are taught in English, even if they learn it for the first time in schools; and that children at the most malleable stage of their childhood have the highest capacity and desire to learn new languages… (p. 16).

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In this section we note again a common rhetorical device in one paper for the government voice to present itself as enlightened, benevolent, caring and modern and it set itself against the shaky supposition and 'ignorance' of inflexible traditionalists. Knowledge and a scientific point of view is set against traditional arguments. Again, government positions itself as a *change agent,* "dynamic", "realistic" and "progressive". However, on the question of language it is anything but. It sees the progressive, dynamic nature of these policies as reflected in the capacity of quick and enthusiastic young learners in urban areas to learn English. This is almost a trope for the young nation of Uganda, enthusiastically modernizing its cities and learning through English, the language of international modernity. One can read section 33 as proposing that problems with language are really basically problems with the school. Again urban areas lead the way forward in terms of progress in the country.

As we go into the details of the White Paper, it does not show anything new but only emphasises the use of one language, English. Multilingualism is not catered for anywhere in the statements. The statement provides no evidence or argument in respect of what would happen if children were taught in their mother tongue. From the above extract, government is saying that arguments to do with MTs are traditional and old fashioned, thus declining to engage with scientific evidence to the contrary. It is surprising that the government claims that its arguments are based on a scientific point of view, but there is no scientific evidence attached showing how easily children in urban areas can learn English and the capacity these children are said to have is not clear. In fact the government should know that the ambiguous scientific evidence shows that children learn with greater facility in their MTs.

So, the white paper is not flexible itself and it does not recognise cognitive reasons for using L2 from day one of school. The policy makers are using the argument that children learn languages effortlessly to oppose the 'traditional argument' about the importance of mother tongue first. The paper positions the government as enthusiastic but impedes the use of other languages in urban schools. The paper does not rhyme with such findings like those of Bunyi (2005) in Kenya who showed how students whose first language is different from the language of instruction in school, are at a disadvantage in that their existing language skills are not available, a foundation for learning to read and write. Likewise, Cummins' (1993,1996) threshold and interdependence hypotheses emphasises that children must attain adequate levels of competence in their L1 as this enables them to experience relative, cognitive and linguistic transfer in L2 learning.

Besides, when the government notes the capacity of many Ugandan children – particularly in the growing urban centres where most of "the good schools are located"- to learn quickly and enthusiastically when they are taught in English, even if they learn it for the first time in school, we are faced with several questions, such as: what is meant by "good schools"? The White paper does not explain what 'good schools' are. There are no known classifications of schools in Uganda. Probably, I could borrow from Stroud (2002) who defines "good schools" as those where teachers know what they are doing, principals are good leaders, and parents/guardians are attentive to the schooling of their children. As far as this study is concerned, the government of Uganda takes it for granted that most of the schools located in urban centers are 'good', which is not the case.

Section 33 goes on to say that:

> Government has also observed that in East Africa as well as elsewhere in Africa and in many parts of the world, countries that have adopted a clear-cut national language have achieved a high level of national unity, attained rapid high levels of literacy as well as socio-economic development, and maintained a reasonable measure of stability and peace (p.16).

This particular section of the white paper is closely connected with section 31 which talks about diversity of languages being a problem linked to conflicting aims, prejudices, and deficient views as well as narrow and selfish interests. This section of the policy again reinforces the importance of a clear-cut language policy for national unity and development. Again the argument is 'scalar', referring to regional neighbours as evidence for how a clear-cut language policy has brought about their successes and by reference to the rest of the world. This is an interesting rhetorical strategy as it equates the success of 'more developed' nations such as Japan, UK, Germany, Sweden and USA as depending on having one clear-cut national language policy and neglecting the many historical advantages these countries have been afforded through colonial and post-war developments.

Furthermore, at the time the white paper was written, East Africa had three main countries, Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania, so the countries "observed" in East Africa were Kenya and Tanzania who have one national language; Kiswahili. Kiswahili in Uganda is a 'foreign' language, besides having a negative historic record. It is known as the language of the army and associated with criminal elements. This is one reason it has taken so long for Kiswahili to take root in Uganda, despite all the efforts which governments

past and present have made to see it develop (Parry, 2000). So to the policy makers, a clear-cut national language policy meant one language, English, and this was believed to foster high levels of national unity, high levels of literacy, socio-economic development and stability and peace. The policy statement shows again unwillingness to address its policies to a level of scale which deals with the local realities of the majority of the population. The question poses itself, who is the policy for, who are the addressees? However, although the language policy was believed to be clear-cut, none of the goals have materialized, despite the fact that the policy has been in place for the last 20 years. For example there are cases of opposition and conflicts with some ethnic groups (Besigye, 2012) and low literacy levels (UNESCO, 2003; National Curriculum Development Center, 2006; Ministry of Education and Sports, 2007).

Further in the white paper, section 34, speaks about how:

> Government is determined to prevent the development of a national language policy that is based on, and is likely to promote in society the problems of, emotionalism, sectarianism, reactionary prejudice and inflexibility, and therefore likely to hinder progress… Government has been taking a broad-minded and development-oriented approach in considering the question of the national and educational language policy. The benefits of national unity, harmony and rapid socio-economic development in favour of the masses of people - these have been regarded as the most crucial guiding principles… (p. 16).

This section repeats the dualism between on the one hand, multilingual diversity which the government equates with "emotionalism, sectarianism, reactionary prejudice and inflexibility", and on the other its own broad minded and development oriented approach that appears to accompany the choice of one national language. The rhetorical frame is identical to earlier sections where government's position is presented in the most favourable terms while simultaneously creating a counterpart among those who would promote indigenous languages. Interestingly, government sees itself as acting "in favour of the masses of people". Considering that the masses speak languages other than English as their MT, this would appear to be a somewhat paradoxical position to take. Clearly, the government of Uganda has no plan at all for indigenous language education or specifically for multilingual education and definitely no plan for a multilingual language policy.

Section 34 also includes recommendations made by the commission on how to ensure the implementation of the above guidelines in sections 31 to 33. The Commission recommends herein that:

i.   The mother tongue should be used as a medium of instruction in ***all*** [my emphasis] educational programmes up to P 4.

ii.   English should be taught as a subject from P 1. From P 5 onwards, English should be the medium of instruction.

iii.   From S 1 …English should continue as the medium of instruction.

iv.   The teaching of Kiswahili should be strengthened at secondary level in order to prepare for the training of teachers of this language (p.16-17).

It is clear that these recommendations confirm what I have pointed out earlier in the analysis. Although sections 31 to 34 did not explicitly name any language, it becomes clear in the recommendations that the unifying language of broad based national development and progress is English. MTs are recommended for use in education, not as a way of acknowledging multilingual diversity but solely as a prop in preparing for better teaching through the medium of English. In all the recommendations, MTs are to be used as a MoIs up to primary four and the rest of education in Uganda should be provided through English. Kiswahili was given a special status besides English as a national language. A choice between indigenous languages was excluded as these were thought likely to cause problems of division and competition. Their choice of Kiswahili in this capacity again reflects the government's pre-occupation with singularity.

However, when the government responds to the Commission's suggestions made in section 34, it gives the following recommendations in section 36:

i.   In rural areas the medium of instruction from Primary One to Primary Four will be the relevant local languages; and from P 5 to P 8 English will be the medium of instruction.

ii.   In urban areas the medium of instruction will be English throughout the primary cycle.

iii.   Kiswahili and English will be taught as compulsory subjects to all children throughout the primary cycle, in both rural and urban areas…

iv.   The relevant area languages will also be taught as a subject in primary school; this applies to both rural and urban areas. However, students may not offer this subject for

PLE examination. UNEB will, nevertheless, provide for examinations in all five Ugandan languages (Luo, Runyakitara, Luganda, Ateso/Akarimojong and Lugbara) in PLE for those who study any of these languages as a subject for examination

v.   English will be the medium of instruction from senior one… [The first year of secondary school] onwards (Uganda Government, 1992: 19).

There are two points to note in items (i) to (v). Firstly, in this choice of phrasing, we once again see government distancing itself from MTs and the consistent removal of language from local voice. The tactics of the government are similar in all cases, namely, to disregard the 'lowest scale languages' for consideration.

Secondly, although there is a new emphasis on teaching area languages as subjects, the examination of these languages is not made compulsory. This implies in reality that students are unlikely to choose these languages as subjects. And in fact, by the time of this study, no PLE examination had ever been prepared by UNEB in any of the area languages. Because the education system in Uganda is examination oriented, if a subject is not examined then there is the possibility that it will not be taught. With that in mind, the recommendation that relevant area languages may not be offered for examination is enough to not teach those languages. It makes it clear to teachers, parents, students and the entire community that those languages are not equally important. This is evidently indicated by the findings from this study about parents having bad attitudes towards teaching their children in and through indigenous languages.

It is questionable whether or not these recommendations are sufficient to attain the stated objectives of the government of Uganda for national unity, development and literacy for all. In order to realise such objectives, the government needs to appreciate the indigenous languages of Uganda through teaching them and through them to be able to realise that (Obondo, 2007). The association of colonial languages with social status, economic power and societal modernization provides a powerful rationale for their inclusion in LiEPs. Ex-colonial languages continue to operate as languages of vertical control (Phillipson, 1992; 2000). They serve as powerful exclusionary mechanisms by which those who cannot operate effectively in these languages are prevented from accessing the high skills sections of the labour market and also high political office, nationally and internationally. The importance of pursuing a multilingual LiEP as recommended in this study is supported by the fact that, in practice, a mixed language economy

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generally prevails in the labour market regionally. Closely linked to the White Paper is the current constitution of the Republic of Uganda which is analysed below.

5.2.2 The 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda

A Constituent Assembly (CA) was established to represent the people of Uganda to debate the draft constitution which was prepared by the Uganda Constitutional Commission and to adopt and enact a constitution for Uganda. After the work of the CA, a Constitution of the Republic of Uganda was adopted and enacted on 22nd September 1995. This Constitution is based on the principles of unity, peace, equality, freedom, social justice and progress. This Constitution has 288 Articles. As a matter of importance, Article 6 is the one concerning the language issue in the country.

There are two interesting reasons for reading the constitution in the light of what has been said in the White Paper. Firstly, the constitution provides a sanctified and structured statement on the language deliberations of the white paper and the commission. Secondly, because the constitution allows space for comments and debates on issues of policy formulation, it is a good source with which to study language ideological debates. With respect to the first point, the 1995 and the current Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, Chapter five, Article (6) Clauses (1) and (2) states that:

(1) The official language of Uganda is English.

(2) Subject to Clause (1) of this Article, any other language may be used as a medium of instruction in schools or other educational institutions or for legislative, administrative or judicial purposes as may be prescribed by law (Uganda Government, 1995: 29)

There are two important points to note about Article 6 of the Constitution. One, it establishes the general rule that English will be the official language and then, two, creates an exception to the effect that "any other language may be used as a medium of instruction in schools." There are two possible meanings that could be given to the aforementioned exception: one that Article 6(2) refers to only indigenous Ugandan languages and two that the word "any" is broad enough to include any language other than indigenous Ugandan languages. However, Article (1), talks of "official language", not languages, meaning one language and not many. So multilingualism is not catered for in this constitution. This shows a "top-down" political initiative (Wodak, 2006: 170). Rhetorically the structure is short and concise and to the

point and functions almost as performative in stipulating, bringing to life, the state of affairs where English is the official language. Typically, the exception to the rule as in section (2) is the verbal, long winded sentence structure that in detail specifies exactly what may be used as a MoI. These are all structural characteristics of those preferred 'records'. Arguments for one language and especially, language of the colonial master are not new in this discussion

The interesting ideological language debate linked to this constitution is relevant to Article 6(2). In order to study this, it is critical to first understand the drafting history of that provision. In 1988 Uganda embarked on the process of creating a new Constitution. The Uganda Constitutional Commission, which was known as the Odoki Commission after the chairperson Mr. Odoki, sought peoples' views on what should be included in the new Constitution. It should be recalled that Uganda's first Constitution which was adopted in 1962 and subsequently amended until it was abrogated in 1986, although it provided for English as the official language, was silent on the issue of local languages as a medium of instruction.

In the report that the Uganda Constitutional Commission (1992, para. 4.17-4.38) put forward for discussion in the Constituent Assembly (CA), it is silent on the issues of language as a medium of instruction although it deals with the justification of national language. However, as will be shown shortly, the Draft Constitution that was prepared by the Uganda Constitutional Commission included a provision for the question of local languages as a medium of instruction. Many CA delegates made submissions on the issue of English and Kiswahili as official languages with some arguing that English and Kiswahili should be official languages. The majority view, which was also the view of the commission, that English should be the official language, was endorsed and subsequently made its way into the Constitution.

Because of the fact that the Draft Constitution included a provision for indigenous languages as a medium of instruction, CA delegates made submissions on that question. One delegate argued that the people he represented supported 'the use of English as an official language so long as the Constitution guarantees the use of other indigenous languages as media of instruction in institutions of learning and for legislative, administrative and judicial purposes as may be deemed appropriate.' Another delegate argued that "Kiswahili should be adopted as the National Language for the time being…but … indigenous languages

should be taught and promoted so as to allow a national language to evolve with time". It was also argued that some Ugandans noted "with satisfaction that the current education policy advocates for the promotion of local languages and Swahili. It is through this policy that the national language will emerge". Another delegate added that "local languages should be allowed to evolve and develop. They must be taught in their respective local areas...".

One of the members of the drafting Constitutional Committee made the following detailed submission on the issue of local languages as a medium of instruction:

> The Committee considered Article 5 Clause (1) regarding language and found that Uganda is not yet in a position, to adopt any other language as the official language. So the committee recommends that we adopt the formulation in the Draft Constitution which reads: '*the official language of Uganda is English.*'...We considered Clause (2) and...recommend that we stick with the formulation which is in the Draft Constitution to read: *"Nothing in this Constitution prohibits the use, of any other language as a medium of instruction in schools or other educational institutions or the use of any other language for legislative, administrative or judicial purposes as may be prescribed by law".* I realise that many of our people in Uganda are not yet fluent in the official language and therefore, they, should be permitted to use their native languages for purposes of education and attending to court and matters of legislation (p. 2853)

The submission by delegate one above is in sync with the discussion in the current study. This delegate understands the importance of local languages as MoI in schools and other spheres of life. The delegate also knows that English is not used by many people in Uganda in their daily practices. However, a majority of the other delegates did not concur with the arguments of the first delegate about language being a social practice and that is why the constitution remains with English as the only official language of Uganda. The majority of the delegates still accrue to the notion of one nation, one language, that is to say, the desire of the monoglot policy.

A second delegate submitted that:

> ...If we left the provision as it is now to state that *nothing in this constitution,* we are saying that even the provision we had passed that the official language is Englis,h should be ignored. Then we can use any other native language as an official language. I would have been comfortable if we had started the phrase with *notwithstanding the provisions of this*

article, any other native language can be used as a medium of instruction in schools or for legislative purposes. That would accommodate the fact that, the Constituent Assembly officially recognises English as the official language of the country and then it does not prohibit the use of any other native language for certain specific purposes (p. 2854).

This delegate also realizes the need for native languages but does not guarantee that any of them will attain the status of official language in Uganda. The delegate strongly supports the notion of one language and the language talked about is English and not any of the native languages. It comes out clearly from the discussions that English is understood by a small minority of the Ugandan population but it should be maintained as the official language and native languages are still undermined so they cannot be official languages.

The third delegate made it very clear that:

> I think the provision here protects all languages because some people feared for some of their languages - there are some private languages some people have never heard spoken around in the streets. So, this one caters for such languages in case they want to be taught in schools in those rural areas. Some people feared that by introducing a national language, other languages would not be considered and catered for. So I think this provision looks after all other languages (p. 2854).

From the submission above, the delegate concurs with the provision already made about "any other language". The delegate justifies the phrasing of article (2) because the delegate thinks that the provision adequately accommodates minority (the delegate refers to them as private) languages in the country. In brief, the delegate advocates for the development of many languages as official languages other than having one official language, although it was not mentioned whether it is English or native.

A fourth delegate sought clarification on the issue of the use of indigenous languages in schools. He submitted that:

> Whereas the clause appears as it was in the Draft Constitution because we have not amended it yet, it will cause a lot of confusion particularly where it says *as a medium of instructions in schools.* I would like it to be clarified. Shall we be setting examinations in

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our local languages also? And in doing that are we not reducing the standard of education? (p. 2856).

In relation to the issue of MoI, the fourth delegate expressed a negative attitude towards the use of "any other language as a medium of instruction". To the delegate, this would cause commotion especially around the issue of examinations in these languages. For this delegate, the provision of "any language" needed to be amended and made explicit to show the extent to which those languages can be used, for example to clarify the issue of examination. However, the delegate was mistaken to say that the setting of examinations in local languages will affect the standard of education. This means that the delegate is not informed about the benefits of local language in education and how resourceful it can be to improve the standards of education other than using a language in which learners and teachers may not be very competent.

After all the above submissions, the CA Chairman gives a concluding remark and at the same time responds to questions submitted by the four delegates. The CA chairman's answer to that question was a brief "no", "that is a question of argument really". "But I think Hon. Delegates you are wasting a lot of time on this" (p. 2856). Deducing it from the submission by the CA chairman, it is clear that there was a lot the house would have liked to discuss about the language issue but the delegates were turned off by the chairman. By saying "no" the chairman was authoritative and used his powers to close the debate on issues of language. This clearly shows that the debate on language was not concluded. In addition the chairman saw the issue of language as a waste of time not knowing that language is part and partial of the community and a vital vehicle for development. Not surprisingly, the current constitution of the Republic of Uganda was drafted in 1995 but up to now, 19 years later, the issue of language, especially in education, has not been resolved, which has prompted studies like the current one.

The Constitution supports the fundamental right of all citizens to preserve and promote their languages. However, this right is conditional; it is subject not only to the requirements of Article (6) but also to law. These conditionalities, I have argued, have strengthened the power of the central state and through this, undermined the relative autonomy of decentralized districts in regard to area languages. Schools just act as gatekeepers of the LiEP so as to filter through learners that are proficient in English and who perform well academically, while others stand a lesser chance of upward social mobility (Tollefson, 1991; Cummins, 2001; Alexander, 2000). Because of the endorsement of this policy by every subsequent regime, the

problems regarding learners' language difficulties in the English medium, or developing sufficient and quality materials in local/ area languages for literacy acquisition, have not been addressed adequately. The sustained low literacy rates nationally, and the high levels of under-employment within high skill areas, call into question the effectiveness of the country's language policy. In the next section, I present the current ESSP.

5.2.3 The Uganda Education Sector Strategic Plan 2007-2015

The Ministry of Education and Sports (MoES) Education Sector Strategic Plan (ESSP) 2004-2015 was prepared in 2003 to provide a framework for policy analysis and budgeting. It succeeded the Education Strategic Investment Plan (ESIP) of 1998-2003. The ESSP was later revised and a newer version produced in 2007. The revised edition of the ESSP 2007-2015 is the one considered in this study because it captures issues of LiEP where the use of English as a MoI, earlier emphasised in the White Paper and in the constitution, has not facilitated literacy for all.
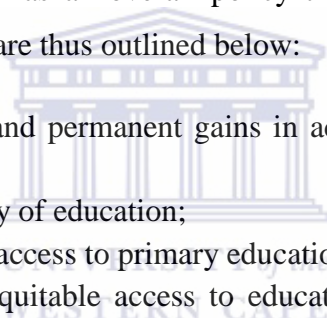
First and foremost, the ESSP 2007-2015 aimed at addressing three critical concerns of which one of them is directly linked to this study; "Primary schools were not providing many Ugandan children with literacy, numeracy and basic life skills" (MoES, 2008,p. 3). In addition to the critical concerns, the decision to re-cost and update the ESSP was prompted by the addition of six items to Uganda's Education Policy agenda since the launch of the ESSP 2004-2015. Among the six items added to the education agenda was one which sought to improve the quality of primary education through the introduction of local language instruction and a simplified Thematic Curriculum (p. 3). The Thematic Curriculum as earlier mentioned in chapter one (see Section 1.5), organizes the content into themes.

As discussed above it is now clear that the key issue affecting literacy acquisition in Uganda is the LiEP which does not cater for local languages in the urban district of Kampala. It is probably the reason that the ESSP added the teaching of local languages to the agenda to improve the quality of primary education. Teaching local languages as a subject may improve literacy levels in a multilingual Uganda. As Uganda is multilingual it follows that the LiEP should be multilingual. The purposes of the ESSP which is directly

connected to this study is: "To support, guide, coordinate, regulate and promote quality education and sports to all persons in Uganda for national integration, individual and national development" (p.6).

As seen above the MoES deems it clear that in order to improve the quality of education, it has to make local languages part and parcel of primary education. Including the teaching of local languages means that it is possible to have national integration and development for Ugandans. However, the MoES should know that the addition of local languages only, without teachers using them, may not foster quality education and national integration. It is also not clear whether urban areas like the urban district of Kampala are part of this design.

Looking further into the ESSP, it has an overall policy thrust. Some of the issues related to literacy acquisition in multilingual Uganda are thus outlined below:

a) Making significant and permanent gains in achieving equitable access to education at all levels;
b) Improving the quality of education;
c) Assuming universal access to primary education as well as to post primary education with a view to achieving equitable access to education at all levels and contunuing support to Universal Primary Education (UPE) emphasising reducing school dropouts;
d) Improving the quality of education at all levels, from primary to tertiary…..(p.16).

Going deeper into the ESSP, by the time of its revision, the government of Uganda had realised the low levels of literacy as it is stated in the forthcoming extracts. That is evidenced in the revised ESSP, where it states that: The revised plan puts the highest priority on solving three problems, the first problem is that:
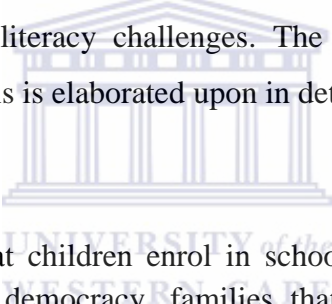
a) Children are not learning basic skills in primary school. The focus of the first Strategic Plan (1998-2003) was on getting all children into primary school-access. The focus of this plan at the primary level is to help pupils in primary school learn the basic skills of literacy and numeracy, and life skills-quality (p.22).

Another problem put across in the Strategic Plan is that:

a) Students are not acquiring the skills and knowledge they need for either the world of work or further education. At the post-primary level, the bifurcated system between academic preparation for higher education and vocational training for technician jobs is not appropriate for Uganda's national development needs. A key objective of this plan is to help students acquire competences they need to join the work force and to continue their education (p.22).

Strategies to achieve this are laid down in the ESSP, and one of them is to make more efficient use of resources, although what these resources are is not specified. However, it should be noted that multilingualism, through education, is one of the resources that can be harnessed to enable students to compete in the world of work. The ESSP has a strategy which states that: the MoES will revise the Curriculum to give much more time during the school week to literacy and numeracy (p.17). More time for teaching literacy as a subject may not be a solution to improving literacy levels. The other issue which needs to be looked at is the LiEP which has not yet been revised. The pupils are taught using a monoglot language policy (using English) in a multilingual setting instead of a multilingual policy, that if not addressed, may continue to fuel literacy challenges. The ESSP intends to improve the quality and relevance of primary education. This is elaborated upon in detail as follows:

> It is not enough that children enrol in school. Uganda needs citizens who can actively participate in their democracy, families that care for the health and welfare of their members and communites, and a workforce comprised of competent professionals, technicians, and labourers who can modernise the economy in the context of self-sustainability, domestic integration, independence and globalisation (p.22).

The text above, indicates a discourse of discontent within the Uganda Ministry of Education and Sports. Discontent is shown by such phrases like *not enough that children enrol in school*, *Uganda needs citizens who can actively participate in their democracy…* meaning that the current school graduates are not quality graduates as earlier anticipated in the previous policy intruments. This means that the product required in the market place; modernised economy, self-sustainabilty, domestic integration and globalisation is not the one prepared by the education system in Uganda.

In summary, bearing in mind all the objectives of the ESSP at all levels of education in Uganda, interventions have been put forward, one of the interventions number iv, states:

> The Ministry's policy and actual practice are to use local languages as the medium of instruction in Primary One to Primary Four. This practice is highly recommended, as it is now incontrovertible that learners can master literacy in a second language (English) more readily if they learn first to read and write in their mother tongue. Though the barriers to teaching literacy in local languages in Uganda are considerable (producing written materials, persuading parents/guardians, and resolving political problems surrounding languages of instruction), the Ministry will aim to provide sufficient quantities of reading materials in local languages and English, both by procuring and distributing them and by helping teachers develop their own reading materials (MoES, 2008, p. 36)

From the offset, this section of the ESSP contradicts section 33 of the 1992 Government White Paper which said that "children learn quickly and enthusiastically when they are taught in English, even if they learn it for the first time". The ESSP (2007-2015) now in place as a plan (but not the language policy) states here that "it is now incontrovertible that learners can master literacy in a second language (English) more readily if they learn first to read and write in their mother tongue" (MoES, 2008, p. 36). The ESSP makes the white paper seem out-dated considering the time it was written and the events now underway in education in Uganda. It is now clear that, the language in education policy is in need of significant review to stand the test of time.

The barriers to teaching in local languages are also mentioned here as earlier in the white paper. These comprise; "producing written materials, persuading parents/guardians, and resolving political problems surrounding languages of instruction" (MoES, 2008, p. 36). Unlike the white paper which is not flexible on issues of MT as a medium of instruction, the ESSP is flexible when it advocates teaching literacy using MT at least from Primary One to Primary Four. However, the ESSP talks about providing sufficient quantities of reading materials but does not mention anything about the other obstacles. Thus suggesting that these are difficult issues which the government is determined to avoid as earlier emphasised in the white paper. ESSP has neglected the barriers above so the suggestions put across by the ESSP may not work and this makes it no different from other policy instruments in terms of multilingual education.

5.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have critically analysed the discourse of the LiEP instruments of Uganda that include; the 1992 Government White Paper on education, the 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda and the Education Sector Strategic Plan. The data generated from the analysis showed three main themes; a negative stance towards local languages by the government, diversity of languages as a problem and disrespect for Linguistic Human Rights (LHRs). On the issue of attitudes, it is the strong aspiration and supremacy granted to English by the government which eventually influences people's language attitudes leading to stigmatization of local languages in the country. The hegemony of English also comes out very strongly in the Government White Paper on education and the 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda. The seed of this ideology was planted in the colonial period.

This view of English, held by the government is similar to Webb and Kembo-Sure's (2002) observation that the speakers of African languages generally hold their own languages in low regard. In addition, this attitude reflects the global positioning of English due to its high 'linguistic capital' (Block & Cameron, 2002; Bruthiaux, 2002; Omoniyi, 2003; Benson, 2004b). These findings confirm what Block and Cameron (2002) observed concerning the impact of globalization and the attitudes people hold towards languages and language learning. While languages were previously valued as symbols of ethnic identity, globalization brought about by the post-industrial economy has resulted in some languages being valued more because of being a symbol of social and political modernization. This is reflected in the views held particularly by parents/guardians given their metropolitan world views, what Phillipson (1992) refers to as cultural imperialism.

Understanding this policy and the foundations on which it is based has made going beyond considerations of language alone and critically addressing the social, economic and political assumptions that framed the formulation and circulation of the policies. From the discussion of language planning policy models, we recall that Stroud and Heugh (2004) and Fettes (1997) lead us to the need to consider language policies in the social, economic and political contexts. This is a language policy that only addresses language as a material resource predominantly and sees language not as a set of practices but as structural entities. That brief leads us to the next chapter which considers literacy instruction and acquisition in the urban district of Kampala reflecting on multilingual language policies.

CHAPTER SIX

LANGUAGE POLICY, LITERACY INSTRUCTION AND ACQUISITION

6.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I present research findings and discuss results on literacy/language instruction and acquisition in primary schools in multilingual the urban district of Kampala. The discussion includes findings from both qualitative and quantitative approaches. The qualitative approach included findings from interviews with primary teachers. At the same time, findings from classroom observations are presented here. The quantitative approach included findings from the parents/guardians questionnaire and the children's literacy 1 test. This investigation aimed at revealing the literacy learning processes and approaches used in actual classroom delivery, and other issues related to multilingual literacy instruction. Essential to literacy instruction and acquisition is research into how children are taught to read and write in a multiplicity of languages. A close look at the instruction methods used, medium of instruction, reading materials available and lesson preparations are accompanied by classroom observations and interviews with the teachers. All the information collected from the classroom is intended to explore the day–by- day implications of framing a multilingual lesson in terms of a monoglot policy.

This chapter is divided into two sections, the first of which deals with literacy events and practices. It captures literacy practices including specific activities both at home and at school. The second section presents findings from the learners' literacy 1 test. This chapter addresses the following main research question and three other sub questions;

- ▪ What comprises language and literacy resources in a multilingual context?
    - o What classroom/home literacy events and practices are found in primary schools in the urban district of Kampala?
    - o What pedagogies are used in the teaching of literacy in primary schools in the urban district of Kampala?
    - o Is multilingualism a resource for literacy acquisition and if so in what way?

6.1 Literacy events and practices

The LiEP obviously lays the foundation or frame for what languages to teach in and through, and how to structure literacy. However, actual classroom practices may differ from those which official documents may stipulate and therefore, in order to arrive at a more absolute understanding of literacy acquisition and instruction, literacy events and practices were studied. We need to be reminded that literacy practices are internal processes of the individual which connect people with one another and they include shared cognitions represented in ideologies and social identities. On the other hand literacy events are observable episodes which arise from practices and are shaped by them (Barton & Hamilton, 1998).

The prime focus of this study is on the acquisition of literacy among Primary One learners (beginners) in the multilingual urban district of Kampala. Canagarajah (2006) warns us that rather than teaching grammatical rules in a normative and abstract way, we should teach communicative strategies, creative ways to negotiate the norms relevant in diverse contexts. In such a pedagogy the home/ local language may not be of hindrance or an " interference" but a resource (Braam, 2004, p.14). The learning processes were scrutinised and a literacy test was given in English to the learners. In this part of the study, the learners' ability to use academic literacy was checked.   Details of the test results are given below, but briefly only 27.4% of the learners in primary one had fully acquired academic literacy as required by the curriculum.

6.1.1 Literacy events and practices in the school

The school selected (hereafter referred to as NK) is a grade one (first class) public school. The school was selected because it is located in the city centre so it accommodates learners with different ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds (rich, middle class and poor urban families). Having learners with different backgrounds, it is anticipated that a variety of languages are represented in the school. This provides a reliable multilingual setting as required by the study. Its location also attracts learners with various academic histories that is to say, those who have attended pre-primary institutions (nursery and kindergarten) and those who encounter reading and writing in Primary One for the first time. These were some of the variables required for the quantitative analysis in the current study.

In this school, each class in the lower primary is allocated two teachers; a class teacher and a co- teacher. In the beginning they are both normal teachers with the same training as primary teachers, however the level of education may differ as some may wish to upgrade. In the lesson I observed, the class teacher was the one responsible for teaching literacy while the co-teacher was there to help her with classroom control, as it is the role of the teacher who may not be teaching at that time.

6.1.1.1 Classroom literacy practices

Classroom observations were used to examine how children in primary one are first introduced to reading and writing. The classroom observation study documented the instruction methods used, medium of instruction, reading materials available and the teacher's efforts to prepare for the lesson. Observations focused on prominent literacy events (Street, 2000) like the introduction of new letters, reading and writing those letters, syllables, words and other related instructional interactions. Ethnographic data gathering tools, such as audio recordings and note taking techniques, were used to document what was going on in the classrooms. The lessons observed were all 60 minutes. Due to the similarities in all the five lessons observed, the same curriculum, the same timetable, and almost the same teaching methods, on comparable approaches, related stages in teaching reading and similar literacy activities, only one lesson has been presented for discussion in this report.

Since I had already visited the school several times and had been to this particular class on a number of occasions, the learners were already familiar with me. I arrived in the class 20 minutes before the start of the lesson. I was given a seat on the side of the classroom on a small chair like those of the learners. I observed a 60 minutes lesson between 8.30 am and 9.30 am on the 8th of July 2011. The teacher gave me copies of her lesson preparations to enable me keep track of what was happening in the class. The items she gave me included; a literacy timetable, a scheme of work and a lesson plan. The table below shows the literacy timetable for Primary One in NK primary school.

Table 6

Literacy Timetable for the Primary School Presented

Day	8.00-8.30	8.30-9.00	9.00-9.30	9.30-10.00	B	11.00-11.30	11.30-12.00	12.00-12.30	12.30-1.00	L
Monday	Reading & Writing	Reading & Writing			R					U
Tuesday			Reading & Writing	Reading & Writing	E					N
Wednesday					A	Reading & Writing	Reading& Writing			C
Thursday	Reading & Writing	Reading & Writing			K					H
Friday								Reading& Writing	Reading& Writing	

Note: Where spaces appear in the timetable, they belong to lessons for other subjects.

WESTERN CAPE

Looking at the literacy time-table, it is clearly indicated that learners have ten lessons of reading and writing in a week but there are likely to be other literacy practices learned in the other subjects although not reflected in this particular study. This is also derived from the curriculum which recommends more literacy hours a week so that the literacy levels can improve. The thematic curriculum allocates two literacy lessons each day, Literacy I and Literacy II (NCDC, 2006, p. 31) Everyday should have at least one hour in which the learners practice reading and writing in the class.

After studying the timetable, I then looked at the work scheme in order to see what was in the work scheme and whether it was structured in such a way that it would enable the learners to acquire reading and writing skills. In this presentation, I did not capture the whole scheme of work provided, I only extracted the section which was related to the sub theme in the lesson plan and this was dealt with in week

seven. According to that section of the scheme, the theme was "phonological awareness"; the sub theme was reading vowels and syllables. The content included the five vowels (a e i o u) of the English alphabet. The vowels were handled for the whole week seven of the scheme where each day the teacher taught one vowel and used it to form syllables in the same lesson. According to the teacher's remarks written at the end of each lesson in that scheme of work, all lessons were said to be successfully taught and lesson objectives achieved, meaning that the learning process had gone well.

Before I present what transpired in the lesson, let me give a brief background to the classroom environment and the teacher herself. This was a female teacher initially trained as a Grade II teacher but later upgraded to Grade III and about four years ago (2008) she acquired a Diploma in Primary Education, specializing in infant education. She has a co-teacher in this class who teaches other subjects while she is responsible for Literacy teaching. The classroom was well organised, learners sat in six different groups. The class walls were all decorated with posters and other reading materials in Luganda and English made by the teacher, including stories, poems, and alphabets and newspaper cutouts of various pictures of people in the community. There were also pictures and displays of learners' work. An important point to note here is that not all the work displayed was in English, some was in Luganda. However, the materials in another language were far less compared to the ones in English, which probably indicates that for the schools in the urban district of Kampala, the MoES does not distribute materials in local languages which is not surprising since the policy does not recommend the usage of these languages. But all the same, due to the need for local/ area language in the classroom literacy practices, teachers have gone ahead and improvised materials. This meant that the LiEP for Kampala primary schools is not followed 100%. So, there is evidence in this school that other languages are also used, at times, simultaneously with English in a single lesson where some of the pictures displayed in the Primary One classroom of NK primary school are shown below.

Figure 1

Displays in the classroom
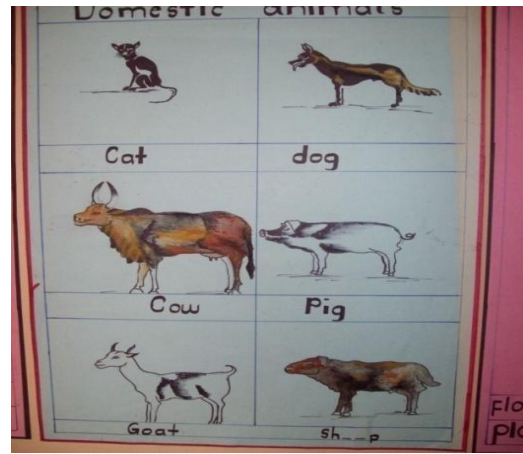
After looking at the displays above which show evidence of another language being used alongside English which is recommended in the LiEP, let me now present a list of artifacts found in the classrooms.

Table 7,

Literacy Events/ Practices and Artefacts in Classrooms

Activities/practices	Artefacts in classrooms
Reading	• Black board
	• Notice board
	• TV
	• DVDs
Speaking	• Charts and cards
	• Story books
	• Textbooks
Singing	• Posters
	• Letters to parents/guardians
	• Dolls
Writing	• Toys
	• Library materials
	• Learners'work displays(pictures, stories)
	• Childrens exercise books
Listening	• Magazines
	• Notes by the teacher

	• Musical equipment • News reports • Newspaper cutouts

Table 7 above, summarises the literacy artifacts in a Primary One classroom in NK primary school. Such materials can be expected to create a good teaching/learning environment to facilitate literacy instruction and acquisition in cases where children have access to them. The researcher learnt that there were more artifacts in English than any other language. The ones in other languages were mainly in Luganda and Kiswahili. However, those in Luganda were mainly made by the teachers. This is an indication that the MoES does not distribute materials in local languages to Kampala primary schools, probably because of the policy which stipulates that in Kampala the MoI is English. With a background of what displays and other learning materials are in the classrooms, let me present the lesson plan as it was prepared by the teacher. The table below shows the lesson plan for the class I observed.
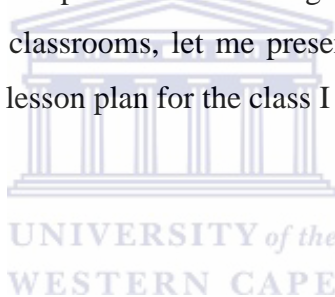
Table 8

Lesson Plan

Date	Time	Class	Learning Area	No of Pupils
8/10/2011	60minutes (8.30-9.30)	Primary 1	Literacy 1(Reading)	94

THEME:	Phonological Awareness
SUB THEME:	Reading vowels and syllables
COMPETENCES:	Reading vowels
	Reading syllables in order and over again
	Reading syllables when mixed up
	Forming words using syllables
	Forming sentences

ACTIVITIES:	Naming letter sounds, Reading, Writing and Singing.
METHODS:	Phonic, Syllabic and multisensory method
INDICATORS OF LIFE SKILLS AND VALUES: Effective communication, Fluency and Audibility.	

INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS: Cards, wall charts, picture cards and zig zag book.	
STEP I: INTRODUCTION:	Sing a song about the five vowels.
STEP II:	Learners read the vowels and the syllables below : u o i e a
	b*o bu ce ci co cu da de di du do fa fe fi fo fu mu ma me mi mo ta te ti to tu*
STEP III:	After all children have got a chance to remind themselves of the vowels and the syllables then they will give more examples of letter sounds and use them to form syllables. Such letter sounds are *k g l n p* and so on.
Break for 10 minutes	
STEP IV:	The teacher will guide pupils on how to form words using syllables to begin with and later syllables with letter sounds. For example words like; *ba-g, ca-n, ba-n, be-d, ca-t, di-g*.
STEP V:	Learners write the words formed in their exercise books.
STEP VI:	Learners who can construct sentences, start with simple sentences verbally, later they can be written on the blackboard.
REMARKS:	

Note: Remarks are filledin by the teacher after the lesson.

At the start of the lesson the teacher greeted the class in English and later greeted them again in Luganda. After the greeting, she asked for a volunteer learner who could sing for the class a song about the vowels. She pointed at the blackboard where she had written the vowels. Most of the learners excitedly put up their hands and the teacher chose on a girl to sing the song. She sang once and the whole class joined her.

Extract 1: (8/ 10/ 2011)

Tr: Who can sing for the class a song on vowels? (Teacher chooses one girl)

Pupil: a e i o u ze nnukuta zaffe ettaano ezoogera

          (Translated in English to mean: a e i o u are our vowels which give other letter sounds)

Tr   :   Ffenna   (Translated in English to mean: all of us)

Class: a e i o u ze nnukuta zaffe ettaano ezoogera.

          (Translated in English to mean: a e i o u are our vowels which give other letter sounds)

The teacher then asked the whole class to read the vowels and syllables after her, then to read after her in groups (a, b, c, d, and e). Then the teacher called on individual learners one from each group, to come upfront and read for the class. The rest of the learners listened attentively to the ones reading.

   u   o i e a

   b*o bu ce ci co cu*   *da de di du do   fa fe fi fo fu*   *mu ma me mi mo*   *ta te ti to tu*

As the lesson progressed, the learners were more attentive and seemed to follow interactively. This was noted in such a way that where the teacher needed any response or a contribution from the class, almost all the children raised their hands.

The teacher then asked the learners to give more letter sounds which can be blended with vowels to form syllables. Almost all hands were up. The letter sounds given by the learners were *v y w g*. The teacher realised that some of the letter sounds in her lesson plan were not mentioned, then she asked:

Extract 2 (8/10/2011)

Tr: Class you have given letter sounds *v y w g* , what about sound k?

Class: Yes

Pupil 1: Teacher there is also sound *n*

Tr: Thank you

Pupil 2: Teacher, sound *p*

Tr: Good!

Tr: Thank you children. You are my friends. *Mbagala nnyo*! (Translated in English to mean: I love you so much!)

Class: Thank you teacher for teaching us!

Tr: Children, run quickly to the toilet, good children wash their hands after the toilet.

In the extracts above there is clear evidence of code mixing and code switching as a strategy used by the teachers to help learners understand what is being taught so that learning can take place. Although this strategy is backed up in the LiEP for Kampala, in many post-colonial classrooms as noted by Canagarajah (2006), Martin-Jones (2007) Martin-Jones & Jones (2000) and Garcia (1997), students and teachers who are expected to adopt English only (or monolingual) pedagogies practice bilingual discourse strategies that enable them to develop more relevant classroom interactions, curricular objectives and learning styles.
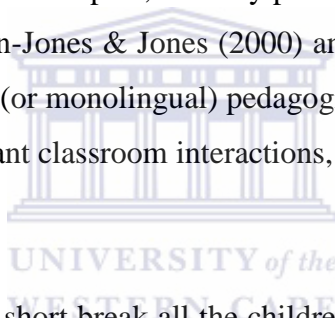
Back to the classroom; during that short break all the children left the class with the co-teacher following them, while the literacy teacher used those minutes to open a box with cards written on various syllables. All the cards she put out had open syllables. These could only form Luganda words. She put a bundle at the center of each group. She also got out bundles of pupils' exercise books and tins full of sharpened pencils and placed them on the tables of the same groups. By the time the learners returned, they found bundles of cards, exercise books and pencils on their tables. They got their respective books, picked pencils from the tins and waited for the teacher's instructions.

Extract 3 (8/10/2011)

This was an activity for the learners to form words using the cards provided by the teacher.

Tr: Children use two cards from your table and make words of your choice. (Whoever finished picking two cards put his/her hand up, the teacher walked around and the pupils with the correct words wrote them on the blackboard and stayed at the front)

Pupil 1: *mu-ti*   Pupil 6: *fu-ka*

Pupil 2: *bi-be*   Pupil 7: *bu-fi*

Pupil 2: *ma-ta*   Pupil 8: *bu-de*

Pupil 4: *ba-fu*   Pupil 9: *te-ma*

Pupil 5: *fu-ba*   Pupil 10: *to-ba*

Tr: Thank you children, the rest will write their words later.

This activity seemed to be a bit complicated for some of the learners but at the same time, they appeared to find it interesting. The teacher then turned to the blackboard and read the words formed as the whole class chanted after her. The teacher re-wrote the words more neatly on the blackboard because some of the pupils had not left enough space between the syllables and some had written them in a slanting form. After this syllable blending exercise, the teacher prepared the learners for the writing exercise.   The learners were to copy the words formed from the blackboard into their exercise books. The co-teacher and the literacy teacher moved around and guided the learners by (for example correcting mistakes and, showing them how to handle the pencil). I also observed some learners writing across lines diagonally and some writing from right to left. At the same time the teacher went around marking those who were writing the words correctly.

After that writing exercise, the teacher introduced another activity of forming words. This was done in groups. She brought another bundle of letter sounds, only without a vowel. She told the learners to pick from the cards they had on their table a syllable made of sound *a,* these included: *ma, fa., ba, ta, ga, ca, ka, na, pa,* and *la* and blend them with the new letter sounds which she gave them. Each group would give one word formed at a time. The learners managed to form words with ease. The words they formed included:

Pupil 1: *ma-n*	Pupil 6: *ca-t*
Pupil 2: *fa-t*	Pupil 7: *na-p*
Pupil3: *ba-g*	Pupil 8: *ma-t*
Pupil 4: *ta-p*	Pupil 9: *da-m*
Pupil 5: *ga-s*	Pupil 10: *ba-n*

These words were read out in class and the teacher promised to put the words on a chart. The teacher ended the lesson by asking group leaders to collect the exercise books and put them on her table. The learners again went out to relax for a few minutes, as the other teacher was preparing for the next lesson. The lesson extracts above indicate that bilingualism is in place, thereby doing something very different to what the LiEP recommended. Here the teacher and the learners draw on linguistic resources that as Heller (2007) notes, are organised in ways that make sense under specific social conditions, emphasizing how language is a social practice and has no boundaries. As the learners managed to form words from the local language, Martin-Jones (2007) informs us that in bilingual classrooms, students not only have to become acquainted with a new interactional order themselves in learning lessons, but they also have to learn the local routines for the management of multilingual resources and repertoires.

This literacy teacher in NK primary school appeared to use a variety of student centred teaching methods as encouraged in the Thematic Curriculum. She also used teaching/learning aids such as charts, cards and lesson activities which kept learners active. However, the teacher faced the challenge of a very big class of 94 pupils which kept her moving all the time around the class to have at least all of them learn something by the end of the lesson. The grouping of learners in the classroom was a good opportunity where group leaders played an instrumental role in making sure that every learner was part of the learning process. In summary, it is clear that the teacher was not using English only. She continued throughout the lesson to code mix English with Luganda thus using Luganda as a resource. Sometimes she translated her instructions from English to Luganda. So far, considering the data from lesson observations which were very similar as in this chapter, the teachers do not use English only in Primary One in the urban district of Kampala.

It is also important to note that the teachers use translanguaging (Canagarajah, 2006) and interlanguaging (Widdowson, 2001) in the foundation phase to teach reading in English. Teachers use the syllabic approach in one of the local languages as a foundation for teaching English. They prefer the syllabic approach rather than the phonic one at the stage of word formation. This is in agreement with what Mesfun (2009, p. 5) said that, accessing to the phoneme is a cognitive burden for many children learning to read an alphabatic script, and it is considered the most important predictor of reading problems. The syllable on the contrary is more easily accessible, even for young children (Wood & Terrell, 1998).

6.1.1.2 Teachers' views about classroom literacy practices

Data about the learning process was gathered from teachers' interviews, where teachers were asked what approaches they use in teaching reading. Teachers appear to give special attention to reading rather than writing in Primary One. One of the school teachers mentioned that, "when a learner masters the reading skill, the rest can follow with ease". Almost all the teachers interviewed reported that they used similar approaches for reading interventions namely; "*phonic, syllabic, look and say and whole language*". When probed further, they suggested the various advantages of different approaches. In the phonic approach children are able to recognise single letters and say their sounds. At the same time the phonic approach enables children to read unfamiliar words provided these are in letters they already know. With respect to the syllabic approach a teacher from PU4 school said that;

> I commonly use the syllabic approach in such a way that children who have mastered Luganda syllables find it easy to read some English words on their own. Such syllables are: ma, ca, te, bo,da, do. I can use them to form words like ma-n, ca-t, bo-y, da-d, do-g. So the approach is good in the formation of words, pronunciation, spelling words becomes easy and therefore learners become confident of themselves (Extract from field notes November 2011).

In the teacher's response above, there is evidence of translanguaging in practice, which Canagarajah (2006) explains as a pragmatic pedagogical strategy of using the local variants as a means for transitioning to the established code. Cummins (2008) also supports that one language can play a positive role in the development of another.

The teachers mentioned that after the phonic and the syllabic approaches, the children can use the 'look and say' approach to recognise the whole word and then read familiar words easily. Lastly, teachers revealed that they use the whole language (real books) approach. By the time children read real books, they have mastered the reading skill. They now start to read for meaning. Taking all the interview reports from the literacy teachers into consideration, it is apparent that they all agreed that in the same class, one can have learners at different literacy acquisition stages, which results in teachers using different approaches for different learners in the same classroom. Here we need to remember that children in Primary One in Kampala join at different levels of literacy/language acquisition; some have attended kindergarten and nursery school, while others have not.

The other question asked of the teachers was about the methods they use when teaching literacy, the question was: what methods of teaching do you use, when teaching literacy? The methods of teaching commonly used as per the teachers' responses are: group method, story telling, demonstration, participatory, discussion, chalk and talk, role play, dramatisation, project method, inquiry, experimental and try and error method. I noted from the teachers' responses that the same as it is for the approaches, methods also differ depending on the type and stage of development of literacy of the individual learner. For example, teachers said that if a learner has never read anything they usually use story telling to enable learners to develop oral skills. For the learners who are able to read and write, they apply almost all methods but interchangibly.

Furthermore, teachers were asked about the use of local/ MT first for literacy acquisition. The question was: Do you see any benefits of using local language/ MT first for literacy acquisition? The responses were many but not very different in content. The following teacher's voice is representative of the others in similar schools. This teacher works in a private school which would be expected to use English only due to the class of parents/guardians and learners who go to such a school.

> Yes, the local language is beneficial in a sense that, when I use Luganda in my case, children easily acquire life skills which are values one needs to live and relate easily with other children.

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So I help my learners to develop these skills, such skills are self confidence, leadership, communication and creative thinking. All that content is covered easily using the local language (Extract from field notes November 2011).

The teacher added that:

However, many of the parents/guardians do not want us to use vernacular (local language) when talking to these children. The kind of parents/guardians we have are those who want their children to speak English but some of them, especially rich businessmen and women did not go to school. Me as a teacher, I am after excellent results, I want learners who can communicate, solve problems, be confident, work with others and have life skills. And at the end of the day it is me who is answerable (Extracted from field notes November 2011).

This teacher has expressed how beneficial the local language was to him and to his learners in terms of skills development and general academic achievement in the classroom. He minds less about the policy which recommends English only and the parents/guardians who want their children to master English immediately and he concentrates on learners being able to read and write. In such a case authors like Canagarajah (2006) express that language acquisition takes place in multilingual contexts with an engagement with many codes although such pedagogical realities have previously not been acknowledged by education policy makers in Uganda. This is so because it has been an embarrassment to the dominant pedagogies which prefer the purity of the instructional code and the validity of monolingual approaches. Canagarajah adds that it is becoming difficult to suppress the use of many codes in classrooms and that this practice is pervasive.

In summary, teachers gave the steps followed when teaching reading. As I mentioned earlier, writing is given less attention in Primary One. The table below summarises the stages mentioned by interviewees.

Table 9

Stages in teaching reading in primary schools in the urban district of Kampala

S/N	Stage	Possible activities

1	Pre-reading	Picture reading, sizes of objects, shapes, what is missing, etc
2	Phonemic awareness	Identifying sounds around us, use of actions and body language
3	Alphabetic principle	Show printed letters/ symbols, print awareness
4	Phonological awareness	Sounds of vowels and consonants, sounds that make up words.
5	Teaching syllables	Joining vowels with consonants to form blended sounds.
6	Word formation	Making words usimg syllables or single sounds, sight words
7	Spelling	Checking spellings of words formed
8	Sentence formation 1	Making simple sentences using words formed and common sounds in stage 1
9	Sentence formation 2	Making sentences using any syllables, words and sounds
10	Writing	Writing of sounds, syllables, words and sentences
11	Vocabulary development	Form words of own choice, listen and write words heard.
12	Comprehension	Read fluently and comprehend.

Considering the findings above on the learning process, the Primary One literacy teachers seemed to be fairly confident in teaching literacy using more than one language. It appeared to be normal in some cases, for the teachers to teach English while mixing it with Luganda. At times teachers used the knowledge of Luganda language among the learners as a foundation to teach reading in English. Some of the English syllables, which have the same letters like those syllables in Luganda were seen and read by the learners with ease. So learners could competently identify an English word which the teacher wanted them to form. The majority of the teachers preferred this approach at the stage of word formation. Thus to a certain extent, this confirms Diaz's (1999) argument that the use of a familiar language to teach beginning literacy facilitates an understanding of sound symbol or meaning-symbol correspondence. Although these teachers

were using a familiar language to teach beginning literacy, we should stay cautioned that none of them went through a teacher training programme designed for bi/multlingual education. This kind of programme has not yet been effected in Uganda. We should be reminded that, as a matter of principle, bi/multilingual teacher education should be conducted in the language and culture of the community (Stroud, 2002).

6.2. Primary one Literacy 1 test results

An English literacy test was administered to 285 Primary One pupils from nineteen urban, peri-urban, government and private primary schools in Kampala. The purpose of this test was to check whether the Primary One pupils had acquired literacy skills by the end of the year. The literacy test was given towards the third term which is the end of the last term of the year, in 2011, hoping that learners had covered the expected content of the curriculum.

My expectations in this study were that after administering the literacy test and scoring it, I would be able to conclude whether the Primary One learners in Kampala had acquired literacy skills or not. If yes, and the study finds that the learners acquired literacy skills as per the curriculum, what could be the supporting reasons and if not, what could be the possible hindrances? So to have that research question answered and other gaps related to the literacy test results filled, the parents'/guardians' questionnaire was analysed concurrently with the test results.

The dependent variable was achievement in literacy which was categorised into advanced, adequate, moderate and basic in terms of academic literacy levels. An advanced learner scored 79% and above, an adequate learner scored between 66% and 75%, a basic learner scored 50% and 65% while an inadequate score was 49% and below. Here the study wanted to categorise the learners' performance in specific scores to be able to understand how many had acquired literacy as per the curriculum and what other factors may be instrumental in supporting this? This meant that after the analysis, the study would draw upon these reasons and strongly recommend for good literacy acquisition practices. For those learners whose scores put them in the category of the inadequate it is an opportunity for this study to use the possible causes of such poor performance to call for more action to be directed towards literacy acquisition in schools in Uganda and more so within the urban district of Kampala.

6.2.1 Learners' competence in literacy

Out of two hundred and eighty five (285) learners who participated in the literacy test, the highest percentage of 31.9% had basic knowledge of the subject, followed by 27.4% of them who had advanced knowledge of the subject. Twenty three percent (23.5%) had adequate knowledge and 17.2% had moderate knowledge of the subject. The figure below is a graphical representation of learners' performance in the test.

Figure 2

Percentage Distribution of Learners' Performance in a Literacy Test
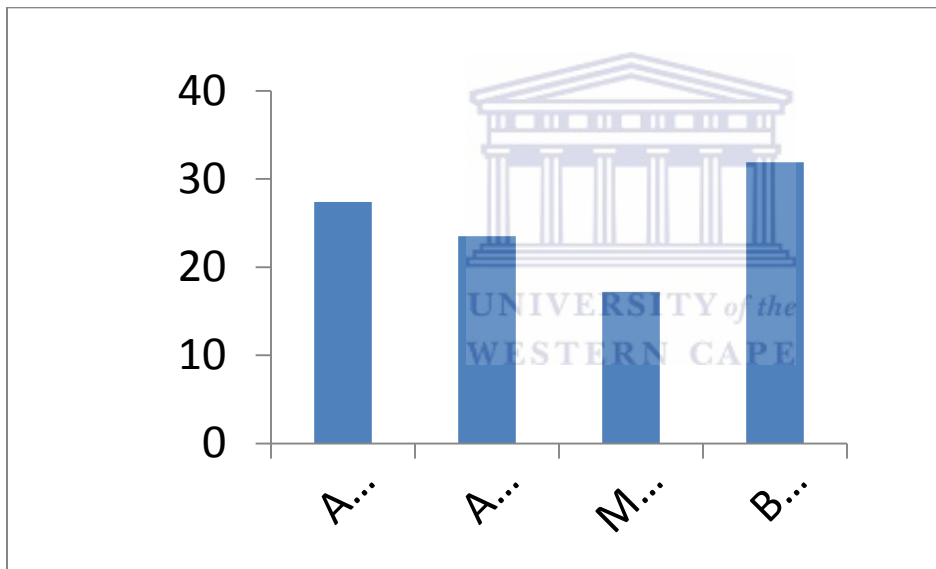
Considering the learners' performance in the test, it is clearly shown that the learners in the 19 schools in Kampala have not fully acquired the necessary literacy skills as required by the Curriculum. However, despite the fact that LiEP for Kampala may be responsible for that kind of performance, since it recommends use of English from the start of primary school, there are other determinants of literacy acquisition in the district which were identified in this same study. These are described below.

The majority of the learners in Primary One (31.9%) have only basic knowledge of literacy as a subject which means they have not yet acquired the required literacy skills as per their level. After categorising

the performance of the learners, apart from the LiEP, the study is now able to point out the other factors affecting literacy acquisition in Kampala primary schools. These factors are the ones found to be statistically significant in relation to that kind of learners' performance in literacy. These influencing factors include: educational level of parents/guardians, their occupations and relationship with the child, the buying of reading materials at home, the language of those reading materials, age and gender of learners, nursery attendance by the learners, school location and school ownership. The effects of the LiEP need to be seen in conjunction with the learner. The factors mentioned, here are handled in detail in order to know how each of them is an issue leading to poor achievement in literacy among Primary One learners.

The level of education attained by parents/guardians is important in determining the academic achievement of the learner because the parent helps the learner with homework and also makes educational decisions on behalf of the learner. Here we see the effects on schooling of the material and social conditions of socio-economically underprivileged families. A highly educated parent is likely to impact positively on the education of his/her child, especially on issues of literacy acquisition which may require the purchase of reading materials for the child. That is probably the reason why from this study, it was found that 34 learners out of 82 of parents/guardians with tertiary education (41.5%) had the highest percentage of pupils who had advanced literacy achievement compared to 18 out of 76 (23.7%) whose parents/guardians had secondary education and 9 out of 39 (23.1%) and 1 out of 5 (20%) of parents/guardians who had primary and no education respectively. There was a statistically significant relationship between education level of parents/guardians and learners' academic achievement at *p*=0.001.

Related to the level of education of parents is occupation, where, parents are in different occupations depending on their levels of education. The educated parents/guardians are placed in a professional category and are believed to re-enforce literacy acquisition of their sons and daughters compared to those parents/guardians who are not professionals. Unemployed parents/guardians, that is, with no income at all, impact negatively on the education of their children. It is likely that their children could not perform well in the test because reading and writing were not normal activities in their home background. The findings at this stage revealed that 27 out of 63 (42.9%) learners of professional parents/guardians had advanced results in the test compared to 16 out of 51 learners of casual labourers and 9 out of 64 learners of parents/guardians who were unemployed. Most of the pupils of the unemployed parents/guardians (25 out of 64) scored inadequate marks in the test and this was significant at a p value of 0.002. Similarly, Hill and

Taylor (2004) concluded that, a higher education level of parents is positively associated with a greater tendency for them to advocate for their children's placement and actively manage their children's education.

Another factor found to affect learners' achievement in Kampala primary schools is the parental relationship with the child. The majority of learners (daughters and sons) who stay with their biological parents/guardians performed better than those who stay with other relatives as 55 out of 166 (33%) achieved advanced results compared to 8 out of 41 (20%) staying with other relatives who included sisters, brothers, nieces, nephews and other relatives or adopted children and this relationship was statistically significant (p=0.008). This is interpreted to mean that children who stay with their biological parents/guardians are in a better position to perform well compared to those who stay with other relatives. This means that for a child to thrive in school and acquire an acceptable level of literacy, parental psycho-social support is significant. This parental support can be from biological parents/guardians or other caring relatives.

Also important to note is that among the biological children, daughters performed better than sons as 39 out of 92 daughters achieved advanced results compared to 16 out of 74 sons. And generally females scored better in the test than boys as 35.9% (51 out of 142) of the girls obtained advanced results compared to 18.9% of the boys (27 out of 143). Gender of the learner and academic performance was significant at p=0.009. This means that gender is an issue in literacy acquisition. Research (Benson, 2002, p. 89) shows that, girls do better than boys in tests of language especially the second language. Benson elaborates that girls lead boys in their early development, particularly in terms of language. Girls tend to talk, read, and count earlier in their lives than boys do.

It is important to note that 32.4% of the learners of parents/guardians who buy reading materials achieved advanced results in the test while those of parents/guardians who never buy reading materials, 6 out of 37 were at (16.2%). More than half of the learners whose parents/guardians never buy reading materials (51.4%) had inadequate results compared to 23.8% of learners of parents/guardians who buy home reading materials. A statistically significant relationship was found between learners' academic achievement and parents/guardians who buy home reading materials at a p value of 0.007. This means that learners who had reading materials had some literacy re-enforcement in homes thus performing better compared to those whose parents/guardians did not provide reading materials.

Attached to reading materials is the language of these materials. It was found that most of the learners (17 out of 44) whose home reading materials are in English and a local language got advanced results in the test (38.6%) compared to 31.2% (43 out of 138) whose home reading materials are in English only. None of the learners whose home reading materials are in local languages only scored advanced results. Also, most learners whose home reading materials are in English only scored inadequate results (26.1%) compared to 18.2% of the learners whose home reading materials are in English and local languages. The relationship between language of home reading materials and academic achievement of learners was significant at p=0.03. The teachers reported using a translanguaging strategy involving translation of English to Luganda and vice versa. This is the possible reason for the good performance exhibited by the children through matching Luganda and English. These are children with a bilingual family background where parents buy reading materials for more than one language in this case English and Luganda.

From these kind of findings, a few issues need to be clarified. Firstly, learners with materials in more than one language English and the local language, although the local language is not specified, performed better than those with materials in only one language English. This shows the presence of bilingualism with a local language at play, leading to good performance in Primary One in Kampala. Considering the statistics, I join a class of renowned researchers (Pattanayak, 1986; Cummins, 1993, 1996; Krashen, 1996; Garcia, 1997; Thomas and Collier, 1997; Henrard, 2003; Heller, 2007; Stroud, 2007 and others) on bilingualism to agree on the cognitive, linguistic, affective and social benefits of bilingual education with a local language.

Secondly, Primary One learners whose reading materials are in English only cannot acquire good levels of literacy. Although English is the language recommended as MoI in the multilingual urban district of Kampala to achieve universal and democratized education and literacy for all, it is painful to note that learners with reading materials in English only cannot achieve desired levels of literacy, apart from very few whose home language is English. The chances are that children in urban areas do well because they have classroom practices and materials in both languages. This is partly so because some of these learners having no re-enforcement of the English language at home. These learners are probably suffering the destructive effects of a too-early abandonment of the home language as a language of learning and teaching (LoLT) in favour of a language of higher status. Variations of such "subtractive" approaches

include target-language submersion from day one schooling, delayed sudden immersion, and gradual immersion in the target language (Pluddemann et al., 2000).

Lastly, where the LiEP recommends English as the MoI and language of examination, learners whose reading materials are in a local language only cannot competently achieve the desired literacy levels. This category of findings shows how local languages in Uganda are disempowered by the LiEP and those parents/ learners who concentrate on the local language only cannot thrive in a monoglot LiEP with a foreign language. This is exactly what Sanyu (2000) puts across; children who do not use English at home will be highly disadvantaged. Although they may be eager to identify with their counterparts who use English competently both at school and at home, their endeavor to learn will be frustrated by the lack of re-enforcement in homes where semi-literate adults feel that using the MT is a major means of asserting their identity.This is in line with what Kirunda (2005) found was happening to learners in rural areas in Uganda. This would suggest that increasing the use of English as the language of learning and teaching (LoLT) in the foundation phase at the expense of learners' primary languages negatively affects teaching and learning in many primary schools in Kampala.

Another key factor affecting literacy acquisition in primary one is nursery attendance. A higher percentage (33.7%) of pupils who attended nursery education had advanced test results compared to 13.6% pupils who never attended nursery school. Most of the pupils who never attended nursery education (45.5%) scored inadequate results in the test compared to 24.2% of those who attended nursery education. This relationship was significant at a p value of 0.006. This confirms that in the same class; Primary One in Kampala you find learners who attended nursery education together with those who have never attended that stage. This means that a child who has not attended can be easily frustrated when he/she compares him/herself with those who acquired nursery education and can interact freely a in classroom where English is the MoI. So it not surprising that those learners who attended nursery education can perform better than those who did not.

The age of the learner is another factor affecting literacy acquisition. The MoES recommends that learners in Primary One should be age six. It is likely that the majority of the learners who did the test were age six, which is considered by the MoES as the right age. The findings indicate that pupils aged six years performed better than those of other ages. 36 out of 103 (35%) of those aged six years scored advanced

results compared to 24.7% of those aged seven years and above and 14.3% of those aged five years. This was significant at a p value of 0.021. This means that children around six years of age are at the right stage of development to be able to read and write compared to either being below age six or far above age six.

In the same study, school location and ownership are the other factors found to be affecting literacy acquisition. Almost half (40.1%) of the pupils located in peri-urban areas scored advanced results in the literacy test compared to 6.5% located in the urban centre and more than half (62%) of the pupils in the urban centre scored inadequate results compared to 13.6% (24 out of 177) of pupils in peri-urban Kampala who scored inadequate results. School location and learners academic achievement was highly significant at p=0.000. Learners from private schools performed better than those from government schools. 51 out of 124 (41.1%) of those from private schools scored advanced marks compared to 17% (27 out of 151) from government schools. 72 out of 161 (44.7%) of those pupils from public schools scored inadequate marks compared to 15.3% of those from private schools. The relationship between school ownership and leaner academic achievement was significant at a p value of 0.000. The findings show that in Kampala private primary schools are good compared to government primary schools. This is true in a sense that good schools are those schools where teachers know what they are doing, where the principals are good leaders and where parents/guardians are attentive to the schooling of their children (Stroud, 2002).
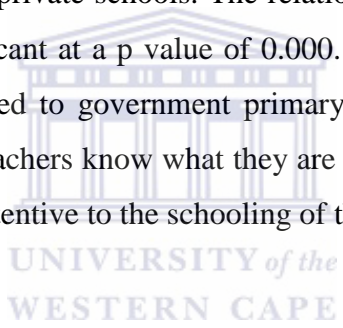
Table 10,

Other Determinants of Primary Achievement in Literacy

Characteristics	Pupils achievement in literacy				
	Advanced	**Adequate**	**Moderate**	**inadequate**	**Total**
Education Level of parents/guardians					
No education	20	40	20	20	5
Primary Education	23.1	20.5	2.6	53.8	39
Secondary Education	23.7	30.3	18.4	27.6	76
Tertiary education	41.5	19.5	23.2	15.9	82
$X^2=0.001$					
Occupation of parents/guardians					
Unemployed	14.1	31.2	15.6	39.1	64
Professionals	42.9	14.3	27.0	15.9	63
Business	31.4	31.4	13.7	23.5	51
Casual labourers	31.8	20.5	11.4	36.4	44
$X^{2=}0.002$					

Relationship with child					
Son	21.6	23.0	24.3	31.1	74
Daughter	42.4	26.1	10.9	20.7	92
Others	19.5	19.5	19.5	41.5	41
$X^2=0.008$					
Buy home reading materials					
Yes	32.4	25.4	18.4	23.8	185
No	16.2	18.9	13.5	51.4	37
$X^2=0.007$					
Language of home reading materials					
English only	31.2	21.7	21.0	26.1	138
English & local Language	38.6	31.8	11.4	18.2	44
Local language only	0	100	0	0	3
$X^2=0.03$					
Nursery attendance					
Yes	33.7	23.0	19.1	24.2	178
No	13.6	29.5	11.4	45.5	44
$X^2=0.006$					
Gender of learner					
Male	18.9	23.8	21.0	36.4	143
Female	35.9	23.2	13.4	27.5	142
$X^2=0.008$					
Age of learner					
Five years	14.3	10.7	21.4	53.6	28
Six years	35.0	28.2	13.6	23.3	103
Seven & above	24.7	22.7	18.8	33.8	154
$X^2=0.018$					
School location					
Urban	6.5	17.6	13.9	62.0	108
Peri-urban	40.1	27.1	19.2	13.6	177
$x^2=0.000$					
School ownership					
Government owned	16.8	23.0	15.5	44.7	161
Privately owned	41.1	24.2	19.4	15.3	124
$X^2=0.000$					

The table above summarises findings on determinants of Primary One achievement in literacy. The survey found that learners' achievement depended on education level of the parents/guardians, their occupation, their relationship with the child, those who buy reading materials for their children and the language of those reading materials. Other learners' characteristics like the age, gender and nursery attendance also

influenced their achievement. School location; urban or peri-urban and school ownership also determined the learner's academic performance. Surprisingly, some factors like a Primary One child knowing English before joining school, having older siblings and older siblings attending school, language used at home, language used at school, gender of parent, income of parent and checking on child progress which were hypothesized to have an effect on learners achievement in literacy were not statistically significant in this study. A similar finding exists in White (1982, p. 73) who found that socioeconomic factors and academic achievement are weakly correlated. However, this does not mean that such factors do not have an influence on the child's achievement in literacy. In other cases, for example, Davis-Kean (2005, p. 294) found that the socioeconomic factors were related to children's academic achievement. Hill and Taylor (2004, p. 3) also noted that parents from higher socioeconomic backgrounds are more likely to be involved in schooling than parents of lower socioeconomic status. They elaborate that, because parents in lower-socioeconomic families often have fewer years of education themselves and potentially harbour more negative experiences with schools, they often feel ill equipped to question the teacher or school.

6.3 Conclusion

The findings discussed in this chapter show that the LiEP on paper is somewhat different from what is implemented especially during the learning process. The teachers of literacy are code-switching and mixing English and other local languages to facilitate literacy instruction and eventually acquisition. The identified cause of this is that learners come to Primary One with no or not enough English proficiency for the teaching/ learning process to take place. Canagarajah (2006, p. 587) notes, the classroom is a powerful site of policy negotiation. The pedagogies practised and texts produced in the classroom can reconstruct policies ground up. He adds that the classroom is already a policy site; every time teachers insist on a uniform variety of language or discourse, they are helping reproduce linguistic hierarchies. However, teachers mentioned a challenge regarding a lack of enough skills for bi/ multilingual education and insufficient teaching/ learning materials for local languages. Those challenges were areas identified for further research in this study.

The practice of teachers building on what learners come with is not in a gap, it is manifested in NLS where scholars have emphasized the need to search for and build on the positive literacy aspects children bring with them as they enter school (Fishman, 1989, p. 467; Heath, 1982; Gregory, 1994, p. 49; Hall,

1994, p. 17; Barton, 2001; Street, 1996, 2000; Gregory and Williams, 2000, p. 39). The belief is that those positive aspects can enhance the learning process, because the children would have a concrete foundation on which to build as they deal with the new concepts. It was for this reason that an effort was made in the current study to consider the literacy events and practices in children's homes in order to determine the kind of circumstances in which the learners live.

Much in these findings are in line with what other studies (Heath, 1982; Street, 1996; Canagarajah, 2006; Stroud, 2001) have found in language, literacy and school success. It should not be surprising that privilege in the form of social, economic, symbolic (multiple languages) capital can be transferred onto to the cultural capital relevant to school success (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). What however does seem of interest from this data is how the practice of multilingualism and the use of translanguaging, rather than the use of any one single language contributes a significantly capital advantage and compensates for other social variables such as income and occupation. This suggests an approach to language policy that should take the notion of LC as a point of departure that emphasises precisely multilingualism and the everyday practices of translanguaging. Having presented the findings on literacy instruction and acquisition, I now present findings on multilingualism in education in the next chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN
MULTILINGUALISM IN EDUCATION

7.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I present findings on multilingualism as a resource in education in Kampala. I present views and perceptions of stakeholders about LiEP and suggest LiEP model relevant for the urban district of Kampala. At the same time I present principles of a LiEP for the multilingual urban district of Kampala. The discussion presents findings from the key informants who included: Primary One literacy teachers and head teachers, curriculum developers, officials of NGOs with literacy projects, literacy researchers and policy makers. The principles that guide multilingual education were mainly gathered through related literature and from the findings in this study. This chapter shall handle the following study question;

- Given a critical analysis of a policy framework and given an understanding of what comprises language and literacy resources, what recommendations can one make on a language policy in a multilingual context?
    - How is multilingualism a resource in education?
    - What are the guiding principles for implementing bi/multilingual education?
    - What is the relevant LiEP model for the multilingual urban district of Kampala?

7.1 Multilingualism as a resource for literacy acquisition

This section puts across findings from the key informants about multilingualism as a resource in education in Uganda. All the key informants were asked almost the same questions to find out their knowledge, views and perceptions /attitudes towards multilingualism in Kampala as a resource for literacy acquisition. The question was: "Do you think multilingualism in Kampala can be a resource for literacy acquisition?" Explain.

First and foremost, all the respondents knew that the children's home/ local languages were important resources which could be harnessed for successful literacy acquisition but their worry was about the number of languages available. On this issue, the policy maker said that teachers need to be creative to be

able to simultaneously use the local languages alongside the English language. She then said that the MoES is very aware that the teachers are using the local languages in addition to English to improve learner interaction although this is not emphasised in the policy. She adds that:

> I know of a school in Kisugu-Namuwongo which uses Kiswahili in the lower primary. They have a list of poems and songs in Kiswahili. They decided to use Kiswahili because the majority of their learners come from the barracks, so they understand Kiswahili better than any other language so Kiswahili resources are being utilized that way (Extract from field notes January 2012).

The Literacy researchers and the Curriculum Developers understand very well the advantages of multilingualism and how it can be a resource. The Curriculum Developer was asked the same question: "Do you realise in any way how the state of multilingualism in Kampala can be utilized as a resource in Education?" The response from the Curriculum Developer was that the Thematic Curriculum is doing very well in the areas where local languages are used because it requires the learner to understand the surroundings. Furthermore, the Curriculum Developer said that:

> The curriculum is divorced from the learners who use English most of the time. This curriculum requires a commonly used language/s, which the learners are believed to know better, because it needs a variety of songs, stories, riddles and so on, mainly from the surroundings. The lessons should be learner centered, that way multilingualism is a good resource (Extract from field notes January 2012).

I understood the response above from the Curriculum Developer in such a way that; the many languages are a resource for literacy acquisition in Kampala. And that the languages needed for proper literacy acquisition should be the ones commonly used by the learners in all environments. Therefore, the Thematic Curriculum which is the current curriculum for primary schools in Uganda, requires more languages for learner participation. This can be best achieved through the use of many languages especially the ones known to the learner.

On the same question on multilingualism as a resource in Kampala, more exciting findings were discovered from the NGO officials who are already carrying out literacy activities in some Kampala primary schools. They were very confident that multilingualism is a very big resource which the Government of Uganda and specifically the MoES, need to tap as soon as possible. These NGOs go out to

the schools and use a local language and they have greatly impacted on learners and the entire community. One NGO Officer said:

> When we started our activities in one of the schools in the Kampala slums, some parents/guardians never wanted us to involve their children in our activities because most of the activities are done in Luganda. But when they realized that their children improved in academic performance and liked coming to school because of our activities, their attitudes changed. When we call on parents/guardians to participate in storytelling they turn up in big numbers. They are now interested in the children's learning and they are involved in other school activities (Extract from field notes January 2012).

The role of local communities and institutions has been noted as key in successful implementation of policies that promote the use of local language (Stroud, 2002; Obondo, 2008). Other motivating findings were from the head teachers and the Primary One literacy teachers. They both confessed that the policy says that English should be employed from day one of school but it hinders learners' creativity and resourcefulness. One head teacher said:

> We put posters on the school compound which tell pupils to use English while at school but I also sometimes ask myself about a child who does not use English at home and is coming to school for the first time, from where could that child have learnt English? Whenever they could see the poster they could not play. So I ignored that rule. After leaving the learners free, during break time they are able to play all sorts of games and they even now come with play materials from home. Before that, we had to provide them with play materials (Extract from field notes November 2011).

The head teacher's comment shows innovativeness on the side of the learners which teachers need to value for critical literacy acquisition. This speaks to Helot and O Lauire's (2011) argument that teachers may use cross-linguistic learning strategies and learners' meta-linguistic awareness as learning resources across languages and even across school disciplines.

A Primary One teacher from PU4 confessed that in the beginning she did not know how resourceful local languages were for literacy acquisition. It was an experience where her own learners forced her to use Luganda in her story teaching time. The question asked of this teacher was: "Are the many languages in your classroom used as a resource for teaching literacy?" In her reply she said:

We use English story books but whenever I told my learners that it was story time they could shout; "*awo olwatuuka*" that is in Luganda meaning "once upon a time". That signaled to me that they have stories and they want to tell them in Luganda. I changed my style. Before we read the English stories I ask one or two to tell a story. They have since then told different stories some of which are accompanied by a song or a rhyme. All are in Luganda, none of them has ever told a story in English (Extract from field notes November 2011).

The quote above indicates vivid evidence for local language as a resource where stories are narrated in another language within an English story telling lesson. Thus Ruiz's (1995) language orientations, and in particular the language as a resource point of view is useful in harnessing the rich resources of multilingualism in schools. In connection to language as a resource, Batibo (2005) mentions that African languages are used for cultural transmission by way of narration of stories, fables, proverbs, idioms, sayings, riddles, songs, poems and verbal education.

Another Primary One teacher had a different experience of multilingualism as a resource. He uses local languages to teach some of his topics in Primary One. It is possible for him because he can speak four languages which are: Runyoro his MT, Luganda as the area language, Kiswahili as the LWC and English as the official language. He said:
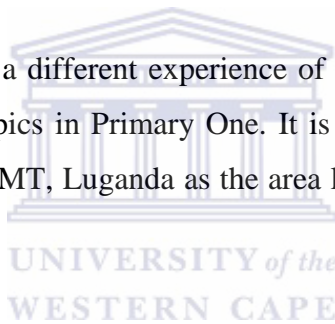
> Whenever I have to teach lessons on 'our environment' or 'our home' I prepare the various names of things in the languages I know. The learners interact and understand better when you ask them to name things in their various languages. So in such a lesson we mix languages although the majority of them are most comfortable with Luganda. Those lessons have always been successfully taught (Extract from field notes November 2011).

The scenario above, where the teacher uses words from different languages in one lesson is in line with Clyne's (1997) argument on multilingualism as a resource. Clyne argues that multilingualism leads to lexical and grammatical transfers, from one language to another and code-switching. In connection with Clyne's argument, the understanding in this study is that a commonly used language in the schools environment or catchment area and not necessarily the local language, will have informal backup learning opportunity outside the school walls. Such languages are normally evident among the pupils during their informal or free play time which creates space for free language choice for the children.

There was evidence of communication breakdown from one of the teachers. This was in such a way that the teacher expressed frustration at a situation in which he could not communicate effectively with the majority of the learners in English. Thus interaction between the teacher and learners and between the learners themselves was stunted. A teacher at U7 School narrated:

> Usually in the first term of the year I am worried because I cannot make the children understand what I teach them in English. They come when they do not understand English so they cannot understand my instructions. The only way which helps me out is the translation into Luganda, so that way the local language is a very useful resource to me (Extract from field notes November 2011).

The teacher found a solution to communication breakdown by using another language familiar to the learners as beginners other than English. He uses translation as a tool for promoting transfer across languages (Canagarajah, 2006). This makes the classroom a "language-friendly place" as Obondo (2007) calls it. This helps learners to develop confidence and self-esteem which in turn increases motivation and cognitive development.

From the presentation of the findings above, it is noted that in schools in Kampala multilingualism is a resource. It is indicated by the practice of translanguaging, through the use of translation (Canagarajah, 2006) and the use of stories, local names of places, games, rhymes and songs. So languages are used as an oral resource for the purposes of explanation, classroom interaction, integration and elaboration in the teaching of English literacy. Possibly this is done in recognition of the children's funds of knowledge (Moll & Diaz, 1987; Moll & Greenberg, 1990) that could be tapped through familiar languages as well as a useful way to lower their affective filter (Krashen, 1996) in order to facilitate learning. In addition, this shows that teachers could explore further the use of the pupils' MT/ local language in the development of their literacy. Indeed this corroborates with a study from the greater Toronto area in which the students using their home language and English were able to author a dual language text (Cummins et al., 2006). Similarly, Bismilla et al (2006) report on students views about using their first language in writing and reading in English. Their responses highlighted the transfer of concepts and strategies across languages, further confirming the need to allow students access to their first language as a resource for learning. Finally, Cummins (2008) asserts that translation is an integral part of creating dual language identity texts as it enables bilingual pupils to participate actively in instruction.

7.2 Views and Perceptions of Stakeholders about LiEP

This section conjoins the findings from stakeholders on LiEP in Uganda. Stakeholders include; parents/guardians, teachers and head teachers, policy makers, literacy researchers and NGO officials with literacy projects. All the stakeholders were asked the same questions to find out their knowledge, views and perceptions towards the LiEP for Kampala. The questions were; (1) Do you know what the LiEP says? And (2) what are your views about the policy? Is it fit for the multilingual urban district of Kampala? Yes/ No. Explain. All stakeholders according to their responses to question 1, were aware of the policy. They also knew that in Kampala, it is the English language that is used as a MoI from primary one. However, when it came to question 2, their responses varied. They had different views about the policy.

7.2.1 Policy Makers' Responses

One policy maker when asked about what the LiEP for Kampala is, had this to say;

> For Kampala the policy is that the MoI should be English from Primary One although nationally we are saying MoI should be the area language from Primary One to Primary Four then English starts as a MoI (Extract from field notes January 2012).

When asked why the language of English should be used from Primary One for Kampala, she continued to say that:

> The problem with Kampala is the many tribes found here, so when we talk of an area language it may be very difficult to zero on one area language. If you were to take a census for Kampala, all the tribes in Uganda are represented. So in order to strike a balance to cater for all the interests we recommend English. Although we put on a rider that: in an area where a school sees that the majority of the learners can be covered by the area language, they can go ahead to use that language. The decision is taken by the school management committee and the ministry is informed such that materials can be sent to the school (Extract from field notes January 2012).

From the policy maker's response here, she views many languages in Kampala as a problem and not a resource. This is the same way many in which languages are viewed in the 1992 Government White Paper analysed above.

When asked whether there are any challenges in implementing the policy, the policy maker responded that;

> There could be some challenges especially during teaching/ learning in lower classes. So in our teacher trainings we have told the teachers that if they see no communication taking place, no learning going on; the children are lost completely in English then they can use a nearer language. Here the teacher is allowed to translate and code mix to help the learners understand (Extract from field notes January 2012).

From this response, it is evident that if a teacher missed the trainings and seminars, he/she may not know the government's plan when there is a communication problem. Therefore, as a government, they should be able to distribute either the written policy in all schools, distribute a written circular to this effect or even an entire revised copy of the LiEP!

As the interview progressed the policy maker was asked the question whether a bilingual education policy with a local language can be a good policy for Kampala. She hesitated and later said that;

> Umm…much as they are supposed to use English as a MoI, Luganda as an area language is required to be taught as a subject. Anyway using a local language in Kampala is rather political. Some of the parents/guardians who are not native speakers of Luganda do not want their children to be taught through Luganda as the MoI but the parents' attitudes are different from children's attitudes. The children in Kampala enjoy Luganda lessons and if the children were given a chance to choose the language they want as a MoI, they would choose Luganda (Extract from field notes January 2012).

It is not understandable why such communication is not officially given to the teachers. The fears of the policy maker about bilingual education with a local language, political challenges and bad language attitudes, are already addressed by the ESSP. So such a communication for the teachers in Kampala to use a common language, the language of the "market place" as referred to by Obanya (2004), has a formal back up. What is remaining is educating politicians and parents/guardians about the significance of language in education especially for the urban district of Kampala.

On the same question the policy maker added that:

The issue of the area language is complicated for Kampala. When U.P.E was introduced, children were supposed to go to the schools which are within their residential areas but unlike developed countries where schools have the same standards, our schools are not. So parents/guardians look for 'good schools', the ones with high standards. So in Kampala schools do not necessarily benefit the local community. The people in the area may not even benefit from the school in the same area so the area language in Kampala cannot work (Extract from field notes January 2012).

The issue raised here by the policy maker is about "good schools". It is as if she says that UPE schools are not good quality and that is why parents/guardians take their children to far away schools from their areas. If I am not mistaken from the policy makers' response above, the urban district of Kampala has almost one common/ area language; Luganda. But all the same, good schools are the ones concerned with the nature of services offered, rather than restricting the provision of bilingual education (Stroud, 2002). The meaning drawn from this is that a school cannot be taken as a good quality school because it provides education in one language, for that matter English, as the case is in Kampala. Kampala being multilingual; a first-class school would be one that appears to teach using more than one language with an area language, enabling the children to fit in the area of their residence which is the urban district of Kampala.

As the interview reached the end, the policy maker concluded with some remarks about the policy:

We are aware the policy is not 100% implemented but for the time being it is a good policy since we do not have a national language. We need to wait patiently until Uganda comes up with a national policy or a review of the current one, which time we do not know (Extract from field notes January 2012).

From that response the policy maker is aware that the policy of using English, a foreign language as a MoI from Primary One has not been entirely implemented at all schools in the urban district of Kampala. It reveals that the MoES is aware that teachers have somehow deflected from the policy and improvised other means of MoI to supplement the policy. Another key issue to note from the policy maker's words is that, she talks of Uganda not having a national language. The policy maker forgets that the country is multilingual which calls for multilingual education, gradually leading to the promotion of local languages to the status of national language. From that submission, it is important to note that problems relating to language policy in Uganda are still awaited. This is in line with Blommaert's (1999b) belief that issues of language policies do not end.

Having discussed the responses from the policy maker, I present findings from the researchers. There were three researchers who participated in this study and they are coded as Researcher 1; Specialist in MT education, Researcher 2; Specialist in English Literacy and Researcher 3; Expert in Early Childhood Education.

7.2.2 Researchers' responses

Researcher 1's general observation about the policy is that when the indigenous languages are not emphasised in the policy, the schools concentrate on English only. He said:

> The policy recommends English as the MoI for Kampala schools but this has caused the children in Kampala to miss out on a variety of resources which can be gained from African languages. I know they are supposed to teach local/ area language as a subject but there are no materials and no trained teachers (Extract from field notes January 2012).

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Usually, the challenges to bilingual education, especially with a local language, are lack of trained teachers and sometimes materials. This has come out here again from the researcher's response. Learning from the earlier discussions, the ESSP has a plan to produce and assist teachers make teaching materials for local/ area language teaching. However, it is not mentioned anywhere, in any of the policy texts that teachers shall be trained in bi/multilingual education. Producing materials in a local language does not mean bi/multilingual education; teachers need training in this kind of education. This means that the response from the researcher is valid if bi/multilingual education is to be implemented in Uganda. These issues raised like; lack of trained teachers and written materials are in Stroud's (2002) caution on the principles of bi/multilingual education that teacher training should be conducted in the language and culture of the community. Also, the production of materials should be decentralized to the language communities as much as possible.

Further in the discussion, the MT specialist added that:

> Things like stories, riddles, poems, songs and the alike can spice up learning and help learners develop cognitive skills. That is the reason why here in Kampala schools, there is a lot of cramming, and how can children think in a foreign language? And effects of that are

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mega; such children are not creative and eventually cannot create or find jobs even after tertiary education. No wonder we have so many unemployed youth these days (Extract from field notes January 2012).

From that submission, two concerns related to this study are raised; (i) local/ area languages spice up learning and (ii) local area languages develop learners' cognitive skills thus- thinking creatively leading to job creation. Using local/ area languages to spice up learning is one of the resources talked about in this study. This can be challenging to teachers but I draw on a process of *re-sourcing resources* suggested by Stein (2000) to reclaim what is available within the local context. At the same time linguistic citizenship (Stroud & Heugh, 2004) gives a strong back up for language resources as being intimate, symbolic and global. With the utilization of such multilingual resources learners can be creative. About unemployment in Uganda, the possible cause could be lack of creativity or lack of knowledge on and of the common languages. This adds to research on rampant unemployment like that of Loughlin (2009) who found that the use of ex-colonial languages in many cases no longer has the allure it once had. This may be because their use in isolation from local/ area languages sometimes results into unemployment among university graduates.

The same researcher was asked about the language policy model which he thinks is relevant for Kampala and he suggested additive bi/multilingual education. His only concern is about the human resource, where teachers need to be trained in bi/multilingual education. He also touches on the issue where parents/guardians need to be sensitised about such a policy to help them understand that education is beyond speaking English. He suggested;

> The best language policy model in my view is the one which admits bi/multilingual education. The only challenge but short term is lack of trained teachers and sensitization of parents/guardians. The parents /guardians judge the quality of the school by the amount of English the child in that school can speak and how soon the child speaks the language. I know the MoES knows the advantages of such a policy but I wonder why they cannot implement it (Extract from field notes January 2012).

Another interview was held with Researcher Two and she commented strongly on the policy for recommending the use of English as the only language for examination. She lamented that this was not

fair to the rural learners who study English only for three years out of the seven years of primary education. I quote Researcher 2;

> The policy is not fair, English is the only language recommended for examinations. The learners in Kampala start English as early as primary one whereas the rural learners have only three years (p.5-p.7) to master the language and be able to write their examinations. So you find that they fail the language and the content, not surprising it is most of the times the district of Kampala is the best in final examinations. The MoES needs to revisit the policy especially on the issue of the language in which examinations are set (Extract from field notes January 2012).

The disparity issue of language of examination raised by this researcher is very critical as Kirunda (2005) had also dwelt on the same issue. This policy recommends examinations in the various area languages for the rural learners, although it is not yet in practice. One cannot be sure whether it will ever be put in practice because since the renewal of the Curriculum in 2001, it has been twelve years to date and it has never been implemented. This seems to indicate that issues of language politics in Uganda are endless. On the other hand, it should be understood that using English only in the urban Kampala schools causes learners to miss the benefits of area/ local languages. So if the policy has to be made fair, the language as a resource issue can be considered for Kampala learners and at the same time when it comes to the language of examination especially for the rural learners who already enjoy the resources in local/ area languages, examinations can be set in local/area languages.

Researcher Three, who is an expert in Early Childhood education, makes the following comment about the policy;

> The policy is long overdue for review. In addition to English, many Kampala schools are using Luganda, which is the common language in the area and they are making a good foundation for children. Those schools which are strict on using English which English has no re-enforcement at home are just confusing the children. You can imagine some schools have now introduced French to these children and the MoES is silent about it (Extract from field notes January 2012).

It is evident here that MoES needs to review the policy as researchers are already aware that the teachers have gone ahead and improvised their own means of communicating with their learners. Again from the researcher's submission it is clear that many languages, both local like Luganda and foreign like French,
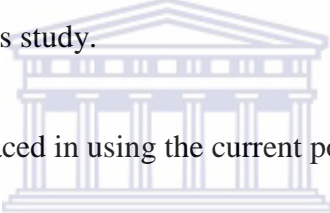
are being used in classrooms in Kampala. Having many languages is not a problem as far as this study is concerned but the languages have to be socially embedded which is not the case with French in Uganda. That is an indicator that the MoES is not concerned about what is happening in schools.

Researcher Three's point of view is related somehow to what is shared by Researcher 1 who mentioned that teachers are using local/ area language for cognitive development which is a good foundation for the learners.

7.2.3 Literacy Teachers' Responses

The Literacy teachers had an interesting story as, they are only concerned about results, having learners who are able to read and write. They want children to understand what they teach them. They argue that without children's ability to read or write, the teachers can lose their jobs. As their responses were very similar, I selected only a few for this study.

When asked about the challenges faced in using the current policy, a teacher from PU4 said that,

> It does not make sense for me to use English only which the learners cannot understand. I also use Luganda language which is basically understood by all the learners in my classroom. The learners in my class including those from other tribes freely interact in Luganda and it really looks very normal to them compared to situations where they must use English (Extract from field notes November 2011)

This shows that the teacher does not use English only but mixes it with Luganda which the learners use freely in his class. It is evident from the teacher's response that the use of Luganda language which is the local language in the urban district of Kampala is normal for some of the teachers and the learners.

Another teacher from U1 School had a similar response when asked about the appropriateness of the policy, she said:

> The policy is on paper and we have had much training about its implementation but it does not work for me. I am not a native speaker of Luganda but I use the language to be able to teach my Primary One class. Without knowing Luganda, the area language, teaching in the schools here can be very challenging. And to me multilingualism is not evident, all my

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learners throughout the years understand Luganda. So the languages I use in my class are mainly Luganda and English (Extract from field notes November 2011).

She adds that,

> Probably what I need at the moment is training on how best I can use more than one language in a single lesson. During my teacher training, I was only exposed to use English but now things have changed (Extract from field notes November 2011).

Another teacher from PU6 School said this about the appropriate LiEP for the urban district of Kampala:

> The policy which can work for me is the one which does not strain the teaching learning process in terms of communication. The one which allows me and my learners to use all the languages we want to enable communication and free interaction in class (Extract from field notes November 2011).

Taking into consideration U1, PU4 and PU6 school teachers' responses, she confirms what has been discussed earlier that the policy is not 100% implemented, something that the MoES is already aware of. Also important to think of is that even teachers who are non-native speakers of some area languages can learn the languages and are able to teach through them. Their ability to learn and use the area languages may be enriched by provisions of the environment. The major issue to consider here is about how language attitudes can change if one knows the importance of a particular language in a given situation. The teacher also voiced her need for training in bilingual education, which is already an issue of concern raised in the findings of this study.

7.2.4 Parents'/Guardians' responses

The majority of the parents/guardians said in their questionnaire that the policy of using English as a medium of instruction from day one of school is a good one. So they preferred English to other languages as a medium of instruction for the urban district of Kampala. Almost all the 222 parents/guardians who responded to this question support the hegemony of English. English is preferred by 91.4% as the only medium of instruction followed by 5.9% who preferred the use of English and a local language while 2.7% preferred the use of a local language only for teaching Primary One pupils. In practice, the parents/guardians tend to 'englishize' their children by insisting that they learn English at school. This

seems especially desirable for parents/guardians who have been locked out of the upper echelons of society and who perceive the acquisition of English as being the stepping stone to a life of upward social mobility. They seem to be the majority in urban Kampala and that class has the highest number in the survey of 66.2%. They have backed up their decision with a number of reasons:

- English is the language used for examination,
- Unifying, official/national,
- International language,
- Easy communication in the future,
- Improves child's performance,
- Avoids confusing children when still young,
- Key master to job opportunities,
- Children to gain confidence and self esteem,
- To prevent Luganda from being acquired by children at school.
- For the family pride (parents'/guardians survey, November 2011)

Looking at the reasons given for choosing English only, parents/guardians have followed the Constitution and the Government White Paper which emphasize national unity and globalization issues. To a large extent these are structural reasons cited by the parents which reasons can be changed. In other words the perception of English is dictated by contingencies of political and economic nature that lie in the hands of government to change through a raft of cross sectional policies like labour market policies. In this case the notion of linguistic citizenship (Stroud & Heugh, 2004) is relevant because it considers language policies in the social, economic and political contexts. The parents'/guardians' views are not new, Kamwangamalu (2003) noted that the hegemony of English continues to have an enormous influence on the LiEPs currently implemented. English is the language of science and technology, of job opportunities, of cross-border and international communications and of business of the state.

There is a contradiction between the teachers and parents'/guardians' language ideologies. There is evidence that some teachers use the local language as a resource in their classrooms and at the same time there is evidence that some parents/guardians do not like the area language to be used. This leaves a gap in the classroom practices, calling for parental sensitization since even the policy makers in the ESSP

realised the undeniable fact that learners can master literacy in a second language more readily if they learn first to read and write in a local/area language.

Although English is undoubtedly the most prestigious and desired language in this area of Kampala, it is only used as a home language in very few homes. In the survey, parents/guardians were asked about the language used at home and the findings were that; more than half (60.8%) of the parents/guardians use a local language at home followed by 31.5% who use English and a local language while only 7.7% use English only at home. This issue of lack of re-enforcement at home was raised by Researcher 3. This view fits in with what Obondo (1996, 2007) and Phillipson (1992) observed about the language groups. Such language groups often include parents/guardians with low economic and political power, who protest vehemently about the promotion of indigenous languages as languages of education. According to research, (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1988; Obondo, 2008), these parents/guardians often prefer to speak a foreign language despite limited competence, in the belief that the earlier their children have access to such a language, as English in Uganda, the more likely they will succeed in school and be able to compete in the job market. The findings corroborate with the work of Nsibambi (2000) regarding the functional utility accorded to English in Uganda and thereby positioning it above the other languages in education, a situation that spells doom for the indigenous languages.

7.3 LiEP Principles for the Multilingual Urban District of Kampala

Since the Jomtien 1990 and the Dakar 2000 World Conferences on Education For All (EFA), the concern for access and equity to quality education has taken a centre stage. In Uganda, the government introduced Universal Primary Education (UPE) in 1997 resulting in a rise in pupil enrolment from 2.3 million in 1996 to 6.5 million and 8.3 million in 2010. The Government of Uganda should, therefore, provide quality education to the learners through the provision of a user friendly LiEP, learning and teaching materials and well trained teachers to be able to avoid school dropouts. The language of instruction is critical in keeping children in school as it forms the foundation of what can be learnt in the curriculum. Therefore, against the background of the findings presented in the preceding chapters, and from the literature cited that enumerates the benefits of multilingual education, I propose five LiEP principles for the multilingual urban district of Kampala.

Principle 1: Policy makers should view multilingualism as a resource rather than a problem to be solved.

There is a need for policy makers to put in place a language policy which fits in a paradigm shift for Kampala from a monolingual to a multilingual education policy. The specific languages choices can be done at school level. Policy makers need to be well informed of current research on literacy acquisition and the promotion of multilingualism in education. Debates on multilingualism view it as a resource for education rather than a problem to be solved like the case it is in Uganda's language policy documents. Multilingual education can be integrated in other aspects of life. Corpus planning, which follow on from status planning requires development of orthography as well as elaboration of vocabulary in order to respond to the expanded functions of the local languages to be able to facilitate multilingual education. That requires setting up a national terminology databank for the indigenous languages of Uganda. This can be done at regional and national level. It should be in partnership with publishers, writers of learning support materials, academics and other stakeholders like NGOs. The target would be to collect and make available terminologies currently used and others being coined by academicians and other practitioners for purposes of language acquisition. It is vital to complement corpus planning 'from above' with spontaneous corpus planning 'from below' in order to maximize and extend the use of indigenous languages in 'content subject' teaching and textbooks.

As realized from the analysis of the LiEP, the government of Uganda sees multilingualism as a problem (see Section 5.2.1) and for that reason government recommends English as a MoI in the urban district of Kampala primary schools. It is likely that by the time the policy was made, in 1992, there wasn't much attention paid towards multilingual education and multilingual resources. But in this era where the world values multilingual education and understands multilingualism as a new linguistic dispensation (Blommaert et al., 2005; Stroud & Wee, 2007; Aronin & Singleton, 2008; Djite, 2008; McLaughlin, 2009; Mesfun, 2009; Banda & Olayemi, 2010; Prah, 2010), the government of Uganda needs to understand such issues in accordance with the understanding that academic research has grounded. Researchers like Ruiz (1984; 1995), Garcia (1992), Clyne (1997), Stroud and Heugh (2004), Batibo (2005) and Cummins et al (2006) have expressed how multilingualism is a resource for lexical and grammatical transfers, social integration, cultural transmission, a global and intimate resource. Given that the new global order is one of

multilingualism the government needs to recognise this reality and to adjust its policies and practices thereafter.

Principle 2: All stakeholders should be sensitized before a new language policy is put to use.

The biggest challenge would be to change the stakeholders' beliefs about and attitudes towards local languages, which are mainly dependent on the perception of macro-structure. The community needs to know that these languages can be used as learning resources across the curriculum and throughout schooling. These languages should come to be seen as viable codes for learning at all levels and most especially the early levels of education. Parents should be educated that learning takes longer in an unfamiliar language. A child must not only master the language of instruction, but also the content at the same time, which makes it particularly challenging. Use of a child's mother tongue ensures easy access to content material being studied. It also helps to develop critical thinking and foster effective communication. This requires sensitization by people who understand the theory (for example researchers and curriculum developers) and can explain it in practical terms to stakeholders.

Apart from policy makers and researchers, it was found in the current study that the other stakeholders who were interviewed were not conversant with the policy already in place and the various roles they needed to play with regard to its implementation. For example some teachers talked about the policy being on paper and the policy not being practical for them. Parents do not seem to know what the LiEP for Uganda is about, what they want is their children to learn English and through an English medium. Considering research (Cooper, 1989; Tollefson, 1991; Pennycook, 2006; Grin, 2003; Hornberger, 1994; 2006; Omoniyi, 2006; Shohamy, 2006; Ricento, 2006), language policy is interdisciplinary and education language planning is part and parcel of the general social, economic and political planning. This calls for orientation and sensitization of all stakeholders before a new policy is put in place.

Principle 3: Schools should embrace multilingual education

There is enough evidence in the current study to show that schools are practicing multilingualism at some level, within the classrooms and within the outside activities. Schools need to be empowered by the government to develop their own language plans in trying to implement the thematic curriculum. It is up to schools to find ways of monitoring the realization of the plan and supporting teachers in doing so. School management committees as governing bodies play a pivotal role in this regard and have the duty to

educate and convince parents of the merits of using the local languages as vehicles of learning and transition to English amongst other things. Specifically, the schools need to consider the following aspects; (1) find out which the various languages that are spoken among the learners and parents preferences and choices, (2) identify and train peer interpreters if they are needed; these may be retired teachers or parents, (3) develop materials or share with the neighbouring schools, sensitise parents on literacy issues and lastly if necessary link up with NGOs with literacy related projects to promote quality education.

Research (Ricento, 2002; Spolsky, 2004; Braam, 2004; Shohamy, 2006; Yigezu, 2010) has shown that the existence of an explicit policy does not guarantee that it will be implemented and that language in education specifically refers to language policy decisions in schools. That means that without schools accepting a language policy, little can be achieved. From the findings in this study, for example, schools are implementing a different policy from what is on paper. It is believed that partly the cause of that is lack of schools' and specifically teachers' full approval of the policy.

Principle 4: The development of teaching/ learning materials should involve the community.

Given that there is little publication in support of local languages, there is an urgent need to encourage materials development and publication in both English and local languages with a central focus on the promotion of multilingual education. Large-scale materials like books and other learning support materials in local languages should be developed. This can be done by of collecting textbooks, stories, rhymes, riddles, songs, charts, posters and other resources in the various local languages. This takes into consideration parental/ community participation in materials development. Teachers and the community should be oriented towards writing materials. Government, especially local governments like district language boards, should tap into the available resources within their respective districts, such as the many trained but unemployed teachers, as well as those who have retired.

The role of the community in the production of learning materials is key and strongly backed up by research (Fettes, 1998; Stroud, 2002; Grin, 2003). This helps to ensure ownership of both policy and materials. The responsible community also takes responsibility of maintenance and of updating the materials where necessary.

Principle 5: Teachers should be trained in multilingual education.

The promotion of bi/multilingualism in pre-service and in-service courses is important in order to facilitate multilingual learning. It is imperative that teacher training includes in its core curriculum a specialization in multilingual education which calls for curriculum review at the college level. Specifically TTCs and training institutes for nursery/kindergarten teachers should put emphasis on MT/ local language education and eventually multilingual education. Teachers should be able to know that multilingualism is not about referring to languages as a static, homogenous, target or about mastery of grammar but about discourse as changing, hybridity, repertoire and linguistic awareness. There is a need for a new set of language requirement for entry into teacher training, most especially infant teachers. In addition to training in languages, there is the need for the intersection of the thematic curriculum with multilingualism in the schools. The target should be to enable all teachers to teach competently through the medium of at least more than one language.

Research (Adler, 2001; Coelho, 2004; Creese, 2005) has been consulted on pedagogy in multilingual classrooms. They all emphasize language issues as being central to initial teacher training. Their studies are in agreement with the current one that multilingual education should not be placed on the shoulders of teachers without relevant training in the areas of multilingual pedagogies. In this study, for example, teachers in some Kampala primary schools are trying to apply bilingual education without any background training. Such a scenario can be destructive to the teaching/ learning process.

7. 4 Relevant LiEP model for the Multilingual Urban District of Kampala

Findings from empirical data and review of literature in this study proved a helpful method for identifying the relevant LiEP models for the multilingual urban district of Kampala. Shohamy (2006), as already mentioned in my review of literature, poses questions on how to make choices of language instruction. Such questions like; which languages to teach and learn in schools? When (age) to begin teaching these languages? For how long (years and hours of study) should they be taught? Who is qualified to teach, who is entitled to learn and how? It is in this section where I attempt to identify a relevant model for the urban district of Kampala that such questions shall be answered.

Sociolinguists now view the ever increasing spread of multilingualism worldwide (Grimes, 1992; Edwards 1994; Okech, 2001) as a rich resource to draw on in education (Garcia, 1992). And Stroud and Heugh (2004) emphasize language as a symbolic, material, global and intimate resource which we need in day-to-day life. However, in order not to privilege a few languages, there is a need for careful planning that is inclusive (See Hornberger, 2003; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). In this way the mixed type of policies (Fishman 1974), described as being bilingual in nature, in that they promote both indigenous as well as external languages can be seen to take into account this concern. Thus the recent perspectives on language planning (Petrovic, 2005; Kamwendo, 2005) reflects the linguistic needs, wants, and desires of a community and seek to establish policies to fulfill them. While the specific goals of language planning may vary, in general, they entail formation and implementation of a policy that prescribes or influences the languages used and the purpose for which they are used. With that background, I consider the findings in this study on LiEP and literacy acquisition and thereafter propose more appropriate LiEP models for the multilingual urban district of Kampala.

Translanguaging Education

Translanguaging is a form of social practice where speakers have the ability to shuttle between languages, treating the diverse languages that form their repertoire as an integrated system (Canagarajah, 2011b, p. 401). Translanguaging involves language mixing and multilingual repertoire used as a resource for learning purposes. Repertoire for both learners and teachers are treated as creative and enabling, but not hindering, communication (Canagarajah, 2011a, p. 9). This model is the one teachers in the schools in the urban district of Kampala are trying to practice. They use mainly use Luganda and English and in some cases Kiswahili (reported to be used in the primary schools in the police barracks). The languages used in addition to English are the commonly used languages in the schools catchment areas. Luganda, for example, is used probably because it is the dominant local language in Kampala. In my literature review, I referred to Obanya (2004) who said that in most large cities of Africa, there is usually a dominant language, the language of the market place, of the roadside workshop, of the playing field and the like. Such a language is usually learnt informally by a majority of citizens and it is usually the best-mastered language of second and older generation immigrants. Learning in, with and from it, is therefore possible. This indicates that translanguaging is a creative improvisation according to the needs of the context and local situation. Teachers in the urban Kampala primary schools are trying to be innovative to allow

classroom interaction. This as indicated by the findings in this study is done through the use of translanguaging strategies like translation, codemeshing and code switching. Teachers use such strategies in face to face interactions with the learners, in explanations, group work and teacher/ learner conversations. Teachers do not allow translanguaging in writing which they consider a more formal activity where learners' performance is assessed. Although translanguaging is not permitted in writing, it is a very helpful strategy to both the teacher and the learner in the teaching of English literacy in the urban district of Kampala primary schools.

Since translanguaging is a naturally occurring phenomenon for multilingual learners, it cannot be completely restrained by monolingual educational policies. It can occur with minimal pedagogical effort from teachers (Canagarajah, 2011a, p. 9). Like other researchers (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Canagarajah, 2011a; 2011b) have mentioned, translanguaging still has to develop teaching strategies. Creese and Blackledge (2010, p. 113) elaborate on the need for further research to explore what 'teachable' pedagogic resources are available in flexible, concurrent approaches to learning and teaching languages bilingually. This does not mean however that, teachers who are already benefiting from translanguaging, cannot proceed. Since the strategies make multilingual communication appear more "diverse, dynamic, and democratic than monolingual competence" (Canagarajah, 2011a, p. 3) and are useful for learning, teachers in the urban district of Kampala and other places in Uganda can use them to ease the teaching/ learning process. In cases where translanguaging bi/multilingual education is proved a challenge, another traditional model of bilingual education can be thought of other than using a monolingual approach. This model is maintenance bilingual education.

Maintenance Bilingual Education

'Maintenance' is another strategy which may be combined with bi/ multilingual programmes: children receive formal instruction in L1 so that it continues to develop even after they are fully immersed in L2 as the medium of instruction. After L2 has been introduced, both languages are the medium of instruction. L1 instruction continues, often as a subject of study to ensure ongoing support for children to become academically proficient in L1. This is also called 'additive bilingual education' because one or more languages are added but do not displace L1. This is the concept that encapsulates the essence of the LiEP which implicitly advocates mother tongue education. It is derived from a psycholinguistic theory that has

been developed mainly by Cummins (in Baker, 1996) and it postulates that a child's, second language competence is partly dependent on the level of competence already achieved in the first language. The more developed the first language, the easier it will be to develop the second language. Cummins distinguishes between basic interpersonal communicative skills (BICS) and cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP).

Furthermore, MacSwan and Rolstadt (2001) present an alternative to Cummins's theory, which they term second language instructional competence (SLIC). SLIC suggests the grade level competence for learners to be able to understand sufficient English (as a second language); to enable them to learn content in a range of learning areas. These authors argue that "bilingual instruction allows them to keep up academically while they take the time needed to master English" (2001). Both Cummins's and MacSwan and Rolstadt's theories provide insights for language planners and language policy-makers about the cardinal importance of developing bilingual education programmes for learners' educational advancement.
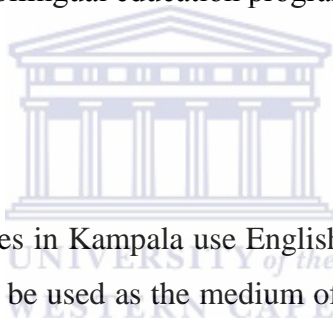
7.5 Conclusion

Despite the fact that very few homes in Kampala use English as their home language, the majority of the parents/guardians prefer English to be used as the medium of instruction from day one of school. It is the strong aspiration and supremacy assumed towards English by the government of Uganda that has influenced peoples' language ideologies. This kind of ideology also reflects the global positioning of English due to its high 'linguistic capital' (Benson, 2004b; Block & Cameron, 2002; Bruthiaux, 2002; Omoniyi, 2003). This negative attitude towards MT/ local languages education creates tension between the LiEP for Kampala and a mass of studies on LiEP for multilingual situations. For example studies like; Stroud (2002) on the principles of multilingual education, UNESCO (2011) multilingual programme models, Stroud and Heugh (2004) linguistic citizenship and Ruiz (1984) three orientations to language planning that are critical for language policy; language-as-problem, language-as-a-right and language-as-resource. The same attitude forms tension with the theoretical framework that literacy is a social practice (Prinsloo, 2005; Street, 1984, 2001, 2003) thus the need for bi/multilingual education. This study challenges the dominant autonomous model in which literacy is viewed as a technology of separable skills related to reading and writing. Instead, proponents of NLS developed a social practices approach (ideological approach) which emphasises that literacy is a social process, in which particular socially

constructed technologies are used in particular institutional frameworks for specific social purposes (Street, 1984, p. 97) In brief, that indicates the urgent need for an attitudinal shift among the stakeholders to cater for language resources like symbolic, material, global and intimate. At the same time it understands multilingualism as right and a resource rather than a problem to be solved.

Although Kampala is considered to be the district with the highest literacy levels in Uganda, quite a number of learners in Primary One have not fully acquired literacy skills. The LiEP for Kampala is mainly responsible for that but there are other factors accountable for the literacy levels. Such factors include: educational level of the parents/ guardians, their occupations and relationship with the child, buying of home reading materials, and language of home reading materials, age and gender of learners, nursery school attendance, school location and school ownership. All those factors combined affect literacy acquisition in the urban district of Kampala.

IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

8.0 Introduction

In the preceding chapters, this study has attempted to present a critical discourse analysis of the LiEP instruments for Uganda. These included; the 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, the 1992 Government White Paper on Education and the Education Sector Strategic Plan 2004-2015. The study, therefore, presented an analysis of the LiEP instruments and the views and perceptions of stakeholders (policy makers, curriculum developers, literacy researchers, parents/guardians, head teachers, primary one literacy teachers, and NGOs with literacy projects) of the LiEP for Kampala. The study has also presented data on multilingual language and literacy resources. Literacy events and practices in both homes and schools are also dealt with. Findings from classroom observations and interviews were presented. This case study was largely informed by research work in CDA, NLS, multilingual education and language planning (Scribner & Cole, 1981; Heath, 1983; Street 1984, 1994; Barton, 1991, 1994; Luke, 1997; Blommaert, 1999; Martin-Jones and Jones, 2000; Stroud, 2002; Norton & Toohey, 2004; Spolsky 2004; Shohamy, 2006;)

As a background to the study, a historical survey was conducted to give an overview of the history of LiEPs and their relative strength and weaknesses in relation to bi/multilingual education. Historically, Uganda can be described as having passed through three different periods of educational language policies; (1) the colonial period 1894-1962 including the post-World War II period 1944-1961, (2) the post-colonial period 1963-1988 and (3) the present policy 1989 - to date.

In an attempt to understand the LiEP in relation to literacy acquisition, a mixed methods (qualitative and quantitative) study of 19 primary schools in the urban district of Kampala was conducted. In chapter seven, principles and relevant LiEP models for the multilingual urban district of Kampala are suggested. In this chapter, I discuss the implications of the study for theory, policy, practice, and research. After the implications, I draw related conclusions and give final reflections.

8.1 Implications of the findings

The findings of this study have implications and contributions for theory, policy, practice, and research. Each of these is addressed in the next four subsections.

8.1.1 Theoretical contributions

CDA focuses on what is wrong with a society and how 'wrongs' might be 'righted' or mitigated, from a particular normative stand point (Fairclough, 2010). That means that critique assesses what exists, what might exist and what should exist on the basis of a coherent set of values. My study forms part of this research by using CDA to critically understand the politics of multilingualism, especially after realizing from this study that LiEPs are not drawn up without putting other factors into consideration. Such issues like employment, poverty eradication, globalisation, and unity, overly considerations in the documents and there is need for further research to determine how far these issues have influenced policy makers. The objects of research constructed in this transdisciplinary way allowed for various 'points of entry' during the analysis of the policy instruments in this study.

In this view, the policy makers needed to understand the environment and the people they make the policy for. Specifically, they needed to know that Kampala is a multilingual district so it needs a bi/multilingual policy in education, not a monoglot one. The multilingual policy means that multilingualism should be understood as a resource but not as a problem. They would also know that MT education is more of a right which needs to be respected, the same as the other human rights. This argument is also in line with the CDA method adopted by Ruiz's (1984) orientations model which Hornberger (1994, p. 83) characterizes as; language as a problem, a right and a resource. Having Ruiz's (1984) and Fairclough's (2010) arguments in mind, the LiEP for Kampala would be revised in such a way as recommended for a multilingual setting.

There are significant implications for NLS resulting from this study. The teachers' understanding of the learners resources by way of social practices can take a big step in improving literacy levels in multilingual contexts. As mentioned earlier, this study was grounded from the view of literacy as a social practice. This framework incorporates social and cultural practices in an understanding of literacy and not just pedagogical and cognitive factors (Street, 2008). There is a small but growing body of research, specifically from Africa, that has significantly contributed to an understanding of literacy as a social practice (Prinsloo and Breier, 1996; Prinsloo, 2005; Kendrick et al., 2006). My study forms part of this body of research, drawing from it and extending its central ideas, particularly those of Stein (1998; 2000; 2004). Stein's (1998; 2000) conception of resources, and her notion of *re-sourcing resources* helps us to

raise important questions in relation to new ways of thinking about our learners' resources within a diverse linguistic environment. The central concern arising from the study is how teachers in multilingual contexts can harness the rich resources of multilingualism in their communities, and validate the multilingual and multimodal resources that can support literacy development among their learners. Stein advances the notion of *re-sourcing resources* as a way of addressing pedagogies that work with students' diverse representational resources, particularly in multilingual contexts.

Stein's notion of *re-sourcing resources* means 'taking the resources we have which are taken for granted and are invisible to a new context of situation to produce new meanings' (Stein, 2000, p. 4). In this view, teachers need to innovatively and creatively reframe the range of resources that both the teachers and students bring into the classroom. Play, movement, song, and artistic activity, the local multimodal 'ways of knowing,' according to Mushengyenzi (2003), are some of the modalities that children use to make sense of the world. While these have been integrated into non-formal learning contexts, they are not widely recognized as alternative modes of representing and communicating knowledge (Stein, 2004). Stein argues that multimodal pedagogies work with multiple entry points for meaning making, and have the potential to hold in tension access to dominant discourses, while incorporating the rich variety of representational resources that each student brings to the classroom. This helps promote multilingual literacies in both the indigenous languages and English.

8.1.2 Implications for policy

This study has implications for the implementation of a LiEP at the macro or micro level, particularly with respect to the three types of planning, named as status, corpus and acquisition planning (Cooper 1989, Hornberger, 1994). The three types of planning correspond to the uses of language, the language itself and the user respectively. First, planning for LiEPs need to take into account MT/local languages. The status of these languages has to be raised so as to be accepted as viable languages fit to be considered as MoI. This means that the functions of local languages need to be expanded to enhance their status. This is important as it impacts the language ideologies of the different stakeholders towards MT/ local languages as media of instruction, as addressed by Stroud and Wee (2007). Second, corpus planning, which pursues status planning, requires the development of orthography as well as the elaboration of vocabulary in order to respond to the expanded functions of the local languages to be able to facilitate bi/multilingual

education. Third, in multilingual contexts, acquisition planning is important as this necessitates promoting the language through its use. To this end, policy makers need to be well informed of current research on literacy acquisition and the promotion of multilingualism. This study underscores the need for policy makers to seriously consider the three types of planning. The same implication would call for curriculum changes to facilitate MT/ local language based teaching, learning and assessment, especially in the multilingual urban district of Kampala. Beyond the curriculum, there is a need for freedom for the teacher to decide and act. At the same time teachers need to be trained to increase their confidence in teaching, using many languages.

Although language policy and planning has been variously defined as a government level activity (Cooper, 1989; Kaplan and Baldauf 1997), the anticipated benefits take a long time to be realized, if at all. While the bottom-up approach may be deemed difficult for government to apply, it ensures ownership of policy by the target community as well as those mandated to implement it. My study found that the needs and investments of the target population are critical, and therefore policy makers need to collaborate actively with diverse stakeholders in policy implementation. Kaplan (1990) insists that consent of parties involved in changes of language policy is needed (see Kamwangamalu, 2002 on South Africa). Therefore, given the linguistic diversity in Uganda and the district of Kampala in particular, the characteristics of the community need to be taken seriously (Omoniyi 2003). As this study discovered, and Bianco (2008) notes, power relations in bilingual education need to be carefully negotiated, particularly with respect to relations between minority and majority languages. Hornberger (1994) reminds us that language planning, especially concerning literacy acquisition and development, does not occur in a vacuum. Learners, in acquiring literacy in one language, might compromise literacy in another. Therefore, the social conditions that advance English, such as its symbolic value, may undermine promotion of the indigenous languages (Rubagumya, 1991). Findings from this study can be used to address this challenge.

8.1.3 Implications for practice

Issues like employment, poverty eradication, globalisation, unity, and the like have influenced policy makers; they have also influenced language uses and language changes. A transformative approach (Cummins, 1996, 2000; Norton & Toohey, 2004) that connects linguistic practice to larger educational and social change should be adapted to the Ugandan context and the district of Kampala in particular. It requires making the classroom a "language-friendly place" (Obondo, 2007, p. 48), which uses the first

language as a useful resource for developing the learners' identity and intellect. The latter is important in developing confidence and self-esteem, which in turn increases motivation, cognitive development and creativity of learners (see Bamgbose, 2005; Bunyi, 2005; Cummins's 2006). In this regard, Cummins (2008) recommends the use of bilingual instructional strategies that strongly promote cross-language transfer. Accordingly, students ought to be encouraged to use a variety of multimodal pedagogies like translanguaging/ interlanguaging, including songs, rhymes, translation, stories, code-switching, and translation as tools for promoting transfer across languages. This also corresponds with the ideological view of literacy, which shifts from a concern with discipline and social order, to a more collaborative conception and language education (Street, 1994; Prinsloo & Breier, 1996).

In linguistically diverse classrooms, teachers should also be encouraged to explore the grouping of their learners in linguistically sensitive ways that encourage co-operative learning via peer interpreting. It is critically important that children who speak their specific local languages should not be stigmatised by being put into the same groups throughout the school day. In addition, teachers in such classrooms should involve parents/guardians and other volunteers from for example, NGOs that focus on literacy development as teaching assistants as well as university students in the Education and Language departments wherever possible, particularly in order to build interactable language-related communication bonds. This requires systematic lesson planning on the teacher's side.

8.1.4 Future research directions

The study contributes to research on language policy in multilingual situations, debates on development, and discourses on globalization, from the particular perspective of a developing country in which an oral culture has been pre-dominant. Research on bilingualism and multilingual education has been until now associated with western, well resourced nations. This study emphasizes the richness of using local modes of communication; songs, rhymes, riddles, code switching, and stories in the promotion of literacy in multilingual developing countries. We now better understand what strategies are most effective in promoting literacy in bi/multilingual situations. At the same time, however, the study provides insight into the challenges of incorporating local languages and practices in urban classrooms.

Although this study was carried out in the district of Kampala, it has brought out central issues that are pertinent to the rest of cities in developing countries, especially in Africa. It has highlighted the role LiEP

can play towards literacy acquisition; however, it becomes imperative that further research is done. The list provided below may not be very inclusive but it captures the areas of urgent concern in relation to this study. So the following areas need further research:

1. Teacher training, particularly at the primary level, needs further investigation. How can teachers be best trained to implement a bi/ multilingual education policy?

2. Materials development with a central focus on the promotion of MT/ local language education. How can large-scale materials like books and other learning support materials in local languages be developed?

3. Languages in the schools and in particular classrooms need to be identified. The MoES and the local governments need to carry out a survey of the languages learners speak.

4. Research that includes learners' views and perceptions as recipients of the bi/multilingual education policy is crucial. Such a study would specifically focus on the learners themselves about their language use and attitudes and what is normal in terms of local literacies.
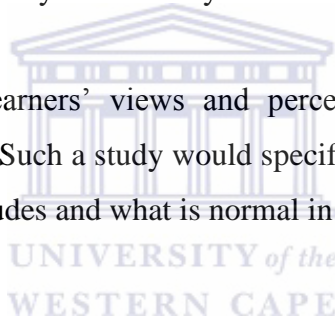
8.2 General conclusion

Academic investigation into language politics in Uganda with a specific focus on LiEP is still a new field of research. Although some related literature has been produced on the national language issue, the Thematic Curriculum and literacy practices for multilingual Uganda (Ladefoged et al., 1972; Mukama, 1991; Parry, 2000; Nsibambi, 2000; Mpuga, 2003; Okech, 2006; Kirunda, 2005 Tembe, 2008), the LiEP for the multilingual urban district of Kampala had not been explored. So the main scope of the studies on which this thesis is based is to partly fill this vacuum, both empirically and theoretically. NLS and CDA are the theories put to use in order to shed light on LiEP and literacy acquisition for the multilingual urban district of Kampala.

A LiEP formulated in terms of a monoglot notion for a multilingual situation has been proved inappropriate by this research. Such a scenario calls for a review of the LiEP for Uganda and the urban

district of Kampala in particular to find a more appropriate model which can foster literacy acquisition and a model relevant to a multilingual situation. It is believed that the findings from this study will form a benchmark for the upcoming review. Possible models and principles which can be followed are suggested in this study. With a multilingual LiEP where all learners from the majority and minority languages groups are catered for, literacy levels shall improve. At the same time teachers shall be free to use as many languages as possible other than today when they bypass the policy and use local languages. If it is a multilingual policy that is to be recommended, Ugandan shall understand that where there is a multiplicity of languages, these languages should not be seen as a problem but rather as a resource, and that English should not be used to hinder development of other languages but should be used with other languages to promote their development. However, even when a multilingual model is recommended, there shall be the need to scrutinize the implementation process for it to be successful.

To conclude, the Language in Education policies in Uganda have developed since 1877 to date when we are faced with the ESSP. That implies that the views and perceptions of stakeholders also keep on changing. It cannot be predicted whether the issues of language in education in Uganda can be finally sorted out because even the current plan is still subjected to reviews and the policies already on paper divert from practice. Most of the findings in this thesis put together support Ruiz's (1984) orientation that issues of language diversity are most of the time seen as a problem to be solved. I concur with Blommaert (1999b) that the terms 'end' or 'closure' are not particularly suitable in the context of ideological debates and language politics because what we might perceive as the stupendous conclusion of a debate may instead prove to be a temporary moment of stasis that preludes future uptakes. In the case of Uganda, none of the texts analysed in this thesis have come to a permanent conclusion on language in education so there is no 'end'. The current study also suggests a review of the LiEP for Uganda and the urban district of Kampala in particular, as soon as possible. Therefore, it is worth mentioning here some of the most recent developments in the LiEP for Uganda as stated in the ESSP 2004-2015: (1) The Ministry's policy and actual practice are to use local languages as the medium of instruction in Primary One to Primary Four, as it is now incontrovertible that learners can master literacy in a second language (English) more readily if they learn first to read and write in their mother tongue; (2) the Ministry will aim to provide sufficient quantities of reading materials in local languages and English, both by procuring and distributing them and by helping teachers develop their own reading materials (Ministry of Education and Sports, 2004, p.

17). In other words, it still remains to be seen what is going to happen by 2015 with regard to these two issues; more discussions might be held, policies reviewed or others suggested.

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APPENDIX A

Interview guide for policy makers and curriculum developers

Language Policy and Literacy Acquisition in Multilingual Uganda. The case of the Urban District of Kampala

1. Is the LEP for Kampala used?
2. Is it fit for a multilingual district like Kampala? Yes/ No. Explain
3. Are there any challenges in implementing the policy?
4. Do you realize any gaps in the policy?
5. How is it helpful for literacy acquisition purposes?
6. Do you think a bilingual education policy with a local language can be a good policy for the urban district of Kampala? Explain/How?
7. What challenges can that policy above have?
8. What benefits does it have?
9. In your view, do you realize any benefits of local language/mother tongue first for literacy acquisition?
10. Do you realize in any way how the state of multilingualism in Kampala can be utilized as a resource for literacy acquisition?
11. Have you come across any NGOs which have literacy acquisition programmes in the district of Kampala? If so, is their work helpful?
12. Can you suggest in any way how this study can acquire more information, like suggesting informed respondents in the area of literacy?

By Prosperous Nankindu

PhD Linguistics Candidate

University of the Western Cape, Bellville, South Africa

Interview guide for head teachers

Language Policy and Literacy Acquisition in Multilingual Uganda. The case of the Urban District of Kampala

1. Let me hope you can remember what the LiEP for Kampala says!
2. Is the LEP for Kampala used?
3. Is it fit for a multilingual district like Kampala? Yes/ No. Explain
4. What challenges do you face in implementing the policy in your school?
5. What advantages are seeing in using English only/ strictly in your school?
6. Do you realize any gaps in the policy?
7. How is it helpful for literacy acquisition purposes?
8. Do you think a bilingual education policy with a local language can be a good policy for the urban district of Kampala? Explain/How?
9. What challenges can that policy above have?
10. Do you realise any benefits of such a policy?
11. In your view, do you realize any benefits of local language/mother tongue first for literacy acquisition?
12. Do you realize in any way how the state of multilingualism in Kampala can be utilized as a resource for literacy acquisition?
13. Have you benefited from any NGOs which have literacy acquisition programmes? If so, is their work helpful?
14. Do you have any other information you may want to share with me about the LiEP for Kampala?

By Prosperous Nankindu

PhD Linguistics Candidate

University of the Western Cape,Bellville, South Africa

Interview guide for P.1 literacy teachers.

Language Policy and Literacy Acquisition in Multilingual Uganda. The case of the Urban District of Kampala

1. Can you remember what the LiEP for the district of Kampala say?
2. Do you use the LiEP for Kampala? Yes/No
3. Do you use English only when teaching literacy in P.1?
4. If yes, do you find any problems while using English only when teaching literacy?
5. If no, why don't you use the policy?
6. Is it a good policy for literacy acquisition among your pupils?
7. Have your learners acquired literacy?
8. What approaches do you use in teaching reading?
9. What methods of teaching do you use, when teaching literacy?
10. By the way, what do you teach in literacy?
11. Does that policy help children to acquire literacy?
12. What kind of literacy acquisition activities do you engage your learners in?
13. What about using English with another local langauge? Is it possible? How? Any benefits?
14. What challenges can you face by using English and another local langauge when teaching Literacy?
15. Can the many languages in your classroom be used as resource for teaching literacy?
16. What challenges can arise from the use of many languages?
17. Have you come across any NGOs which have literacy acquisition programmes in your school?
18. Do you have any materials I can look at/read through to understand more the teaching of literacy in your class?

By Nankindu prosperous

PhD Linguistics Candidate

University of the Western Cape, Bellville, South Africa

Interview guide for NGO officials

Language Policy and Literacy Acquisition in Multilingual Uganda. The case of the Urban District of Kampala

1. Do you think the language policy in education for Kampala is fit for such a multilingual district? Explain

2. Do you realize any gaps in the policy?

3. How is that policy useful for literacy acquisition purposes?

4. What policy do you think would be the best for multilingual Kampala?

5. What literacy related projects do you carry out in Kampala schools?

6. Do you have any achievements so far in relation to literacy acquisition?

7. What lessons can we learn from you since you have been in schools and you know how literacy acquisition is being handled?

8. What is your comment about the way literacy is taught in Kampala?

9. In your view, are there any hindrances in the implementation of the policy?

10. Do realize in any way how the state of multilingualism in Kampala can be utilized as a resource in Education?

11. Do you think a bi/multlingual education policy with a local language can be a good policy for the urban district of Kampala? Explain/How?

12. Do you have any other information you may want to share with me about the LiEP for Kampala?

By Nankindu prosperous

PhD Linguistics Candidate

University of the Western Cape, Bellville, South Africa

Interview guide for literacy researchers

Language Policy and Literacy Acquisition in Multilingual Uganda. The case of the Urban District of Kampala

1. Let me hope you can remember what the LiEP for Kampala says
2. Is the LEP for Kampala used?
3. Is it fit for a multilingual district like Kampala? Yes/ No. Explain
4. Have you come across any challenges the implementers of the policy face?
5. Do you realize any gaps in the policy?
6. How is it helpful for literacy acquisition purposes?
7. Do you think a bilingual education policy with a local language can be a good policy for the urban district of Kampala? Explain/How?
8. What challenges can that policy above have?
9. What benefits does it have?
10. In your view, do you realize any benefits of local language/mother tongue first for literacy acquisition?
11. Do you realize in any way how the state of multilingualism in Kampala can be utilized as a resource for literacy acquisition?
12. Can you suggest in any way how this study can acquire more information, like suggesting informed respondents in the area of literacy?

By Prosperous Nankindu

PhD Linguistics Candidate

University of the Western Cape, Bellville, South Africa

Classroom Observation Check List

Language Policy and Literacy Acquisition in Multilingual Uganda. The case of the Urban District of Kampala

1. Medium of instruction

2. Pupils participation

3. Pupils note books and textbooks

4. Schemes of work and lesson plans

5. Teaching/ Learning materials and Library

6. Materials from External Supporters, like NGOs, if any

7. Tests and exam papers

8. Literacy results for the previous assessment

9. Any other you consider related
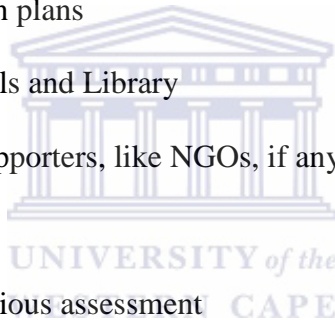
By Nankindu prosperous

PhD Linguistics Candidate

University of the Western Cape

Bellville, South Africa

Questionnaire for parents/ guardians

Dear Parent/ Guardian,

I am a PhD student at the University of Western Cape, South Africa and my research is focusing on Language in Education Policy and Literacy Acquisition in Multilingual Uganda.

The aim of this study is to understand the Language in Education Policy in Uganda. It intends to examine the extent to which the current language in education policy in Uganda provides for literacy acquisition in the multilingual urban district of Kampala. This questionnaire is anonymous and the data collected will only be used for academic research. You are kindly requested to participate in this study by answering the following questions.

The P.1 teacher for your child can help you to write in your responses if necessary.

Thank you very much

Yours truly,

Nankindu prosperous,

PhD Linguistics Candidate

University of the Western Cape,

 Bellville, South Africa

SECTION A: PERSONAL DATA

Use a tick where appropriate

1.   What is the name of your child who took the literacy test?..............................

(Teacher can write the name of the child)

2. Which class is that child? ....
3. What is your relationship with the child?
4. Did your child go to a Nursery school/ Kindergarten? Yes/ No
5. If yes which school?...
6. Do you have older children at home? Yes/ No
7. If yes do they go to school? Yes/No
8. What is your gender? ☐ male Or ▱ female
9. What is your level of education? ....
10. Occupation (or former occupation if retired)? ....
11. About how much do you earn per month? ....

SECTION B: LITERACY ACQUISITON

1. Do you buy books/materials for your child to read? Yes/ No
2. In which language are those books/materials?...
3. Which other reading/writing materials are in your home?.........
    ....
    ....
4. Do you involve your child in any activities at home which help him/her to learn reading/writing? Yes/No
5. If yes which activities?
    ....
    ....
6. What challenges do you face while helping the child under your care learn to read/write?
    ....
    ....

SECTION C: LANGUAGE IN EDUCATION POLICY

1. What language do you use at home?

....

2. What language does the school uses while communicating to your child in Primary one?

....

3. Which of the two if different do you prefer to be used at school? ....Why?...

....

4. Have you ever heard of a policy of teaching in English only from P.1 in the district of Kampala? Yes/No

5. Did your P.1 child come to school while knowing English? Yes/No

6. Do you think the policy of teaching in English only is appropriate? Yes/ No. Why?...

....

7. Do you realise any advantages in the policy? Yes/No

8. If yes, give them..

....

....

9. Are there any disadvantages towards the policy? Yes/No

10. If yes give them...

....

....
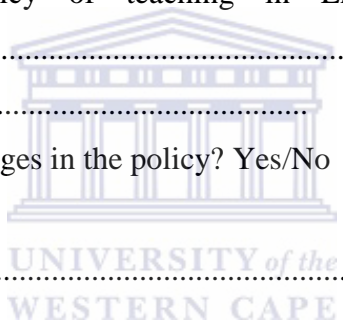
NB. In case of any other comments about the policy, please feel free to share with me.(Optional)...

....

....`

Thank you for the time to complete this survey

APPENDIX H

Primary one test literacy test

PRIMARY ONE TEST FOR RESEARCH ON LANGUAGE POLICY AND LITERACY ACQUISITION KAMPALA DISTRICT
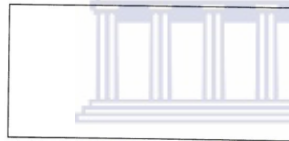### PRIMARY ONE ASSESSMENT FOR LITERACY 1

1. My name is _____

2. My school is _____

3. My teacher's name is _____

4. I am _____ years old.

5. I am a _____ | boy , girl |

6. **Circle the domestic animals**
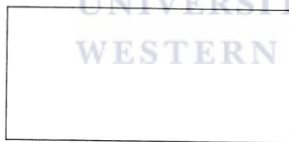
   dog   lion   pig   zebra   (rabbit)
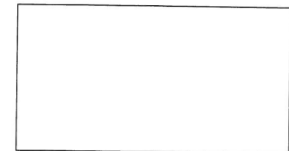
7. Who heads a family? _____

8. **Read and draw**

   This is mother

   Mary is sweeping

   They are dancing

   1

9. Write down any two things we make at school

_____   _____

10. _____is the movement of people and their goods from one place to another. (Town , Transport)

11. **Match the words in A with those in B.**

A	B
Driver	moves on foot
Pilot	drives a car
Cyclist	flies an aeroplane
Pedestrian	rides a bicycle

12. **Name things we find in a classroom.**

2

213
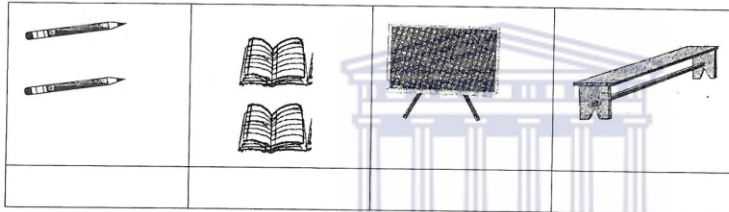
13. **Name these activities**.

Reading.	Digging.	Cooking.	Fetching water
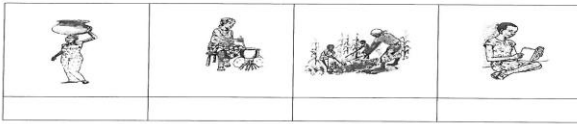
14. **Fill in the missing letters.**

C ___r

tr ___ ___n.

Aer ___plane

b___ ___t.

15. **Complete the sentences.**

My mother can make _____

I can make _____

Boys can make _____

3

16. _____ is the daily condition of a place at a given time.

17. **Write the words correctly.**

ucp _____

int _____

oopsn _____

18. **Read the story.**

David is a boy. He can make a ball and kite. David can kick the ball and fly kite. David likes playing.

Answer the questions.

1   What can he make?

He can make a _____ and _____

2.   What can David fly? _____

END

4

APPENDIX I

Clearances

THE REPUBLIC OF UGANDA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

PARLIAMENT BUILDING P.O.BOX 7168 KAMPALA, TELEPHONES: 254881/6, / 343934, 343926, 343943, 233717, 344026, 230048, FAX: 235459/256143
Email: secretary@op.go.ug, Website: www.officeofthepresident.go.ug

ADM 154/212/01

October 11, 2011

The Resident District Commissioner
Kampala District

This is to introduce to you **Ms. Nankindu Prosperous** a Researcher who will be carrying out a research entitled **"Language policy and literacy acquisition in multilingual Uganda: The case of Kampala District"** for a period of **03 (three) months** in your district.

She has undergone the necessary clearance to carry out the said project.

Please render her the necessary assistance.

By copy of this letter **Ms. Nankindu Prosperous** is requested to report to the Resident District Commissioner of the above district before proceeding with the Research.

Alenga Rose
FOR: SECRETARY, OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Copy to: Ms. Nankindu Prosperous
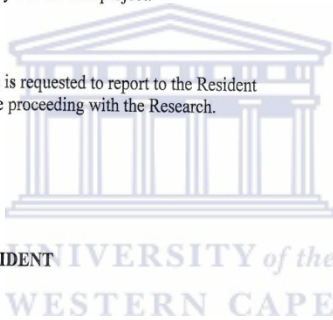
Uganda National Council for Science and Technology
(Established by Act of Parliament of the Republic of Uganda)

Our Ref: SS 2625   **October 14, 2011**

Ms. Prosperous Nankindu
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences
Language and Communications Department
Kyambogo University
P.O Box 1
KYAMBOGO

Dear Ms. Nankindu,

RE: RESEARCH PROJECT, "LANGUAGE POLICY AND LITERACY ACQUISITION IN MULTILINGUAL UGANDA: THE CASE OF KAMPALA DISTRICT"

This is to inform you that the Uganda National Council for Science and Technology (UNCST) approved the above research proposal on **August 25, 2011.** The approval will expire on **March 25, 2012.** If it is necessary to continue with the research beyond the expiry date, a request for continuation should be made in writing to the Executive Secretary, UNCST.

Any problems of a serious nature related to the execution of your research project should be brought to the attention of the UNCST, and any changes to the research protocol should not be implemented without UNCST's approval except when necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to the research participant(s).

This letter also serves as proof of UNCST approval and as a reminder for you to submit to UNCST timely progress reports and a final report on completion of the research project.

Yours sincerely,

Leah Nawegulo
for: Executive Secretary
UGANDA NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

LOCATION/CORRESPONDENCE

Plot 6 Kimera Road, Ntinda
P. O. Box 6884
KAMPALA, UGANDA

COMMUNICATION

TEL: (256) 414 705500
FAX: (256) 414-234579
EMAIL: info@uncst.go.ug
WEBSITE: http://www.uncst.go.ug

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APPENDIX J

Map of Uganda showing Kampala and other 110 districts