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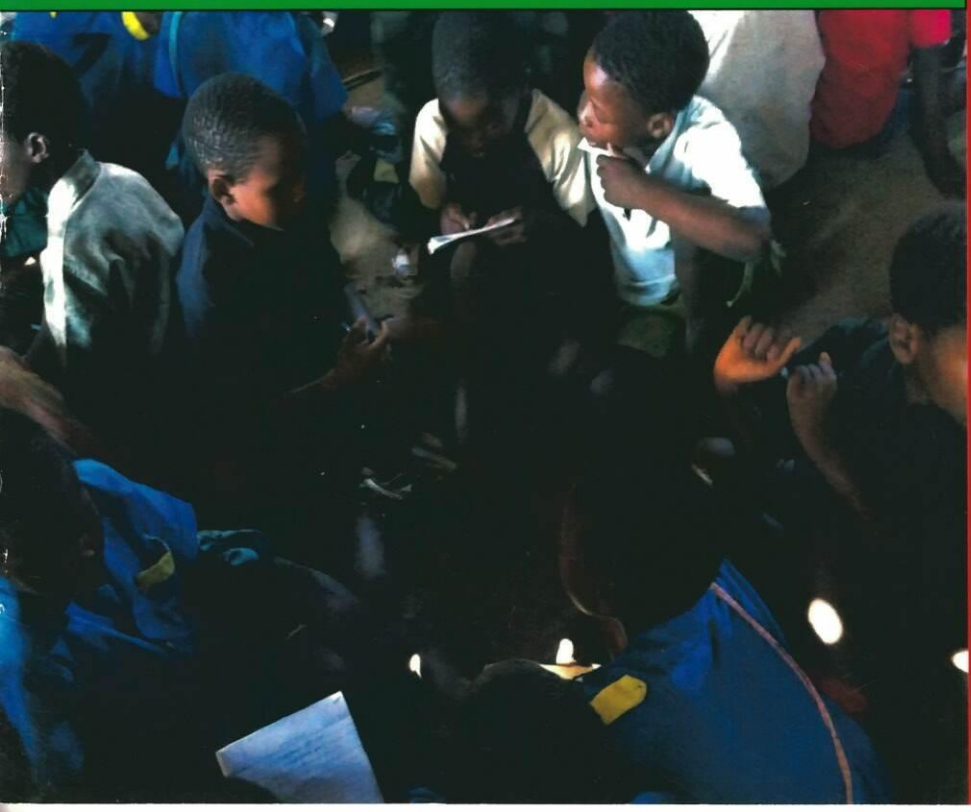
The Impact of Language Policy on Teacher-training Programs:

Cases of Selected Teacher-training Colleges in Zambia and Malawi



Sande NGALANDE
Antonie CHIGEDA

Graduate School of
Asian and African Area Studies
Kyoto University

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Antonie CHIGEDA

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Authors: Sande NGALANDE, Antonie CHIGEDA

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Contact: Fieldwork Internship Support Office
2F Sogo Kenkyu No.2 Bekkan, Kyoto University, Yoshida Honmachi, Sakyo-ku
Kyoto City, 606-8501, JAPAN
Phone: (+81) 75-753-9654, FAX: (+81) 75-753-9655
Email: shien@asafas.kyoto-u.ac.jp

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PREFACE

Standing between the borders that separate Zambia and Malawi, the striking thing one notices are the border barriers that separate the two similar sides. Zambia and Malawi share an extended geographical boundary on the eastern side of Zambia and the western border line of Malawi (see Map 1). Both countries are landlocked and living in similar climatic conditions. The people also eat similar food types and share similar social and cultural backgrounds. A number of ethnic groupings share similar traditional practices and ceremonies. Sometimes, therefore, traditional ceremonies are jointly held by people from the two nation-states.

The Chewa people, whose language is one of the two official languages in Malawi besides English, live across the borders of the two nations and share the same Paramount Chief, Gawa Undi, whose Palace is situated in Zambia's Katete area of Eastern Region. Chewa (Nyanja) is also a Regional Official Language serving as a national language for the eastern part of Zambia. Like in Malawi, it is taught in schools as a subject. As Chewa is the official language in Malawi, it enjoys political and economic resources and it therefore has a lot of literature that Zambia also uses in its schools and public life.

Zambia and Malawi currently belong to similar supra-national political and economic groupings. They are both members of the Commonwealth, the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA). They are also members of the African Union, signing similar international protocols and agreements.

Both countries share a similar political history. They were both colonized by Britain around the same time, and both got independence from Britain in the same year in 1964. As multilingual states, they both were faced with a choice of an official language, especially for use as a medium of instruction in the newly realized formal educational system. It was natural, in the interest of uniting the ethnic groups, for the two nations to settle on English, the former colonial masters' language, as the official language. English had already established itself as the language of government and formal education within the colonial period.

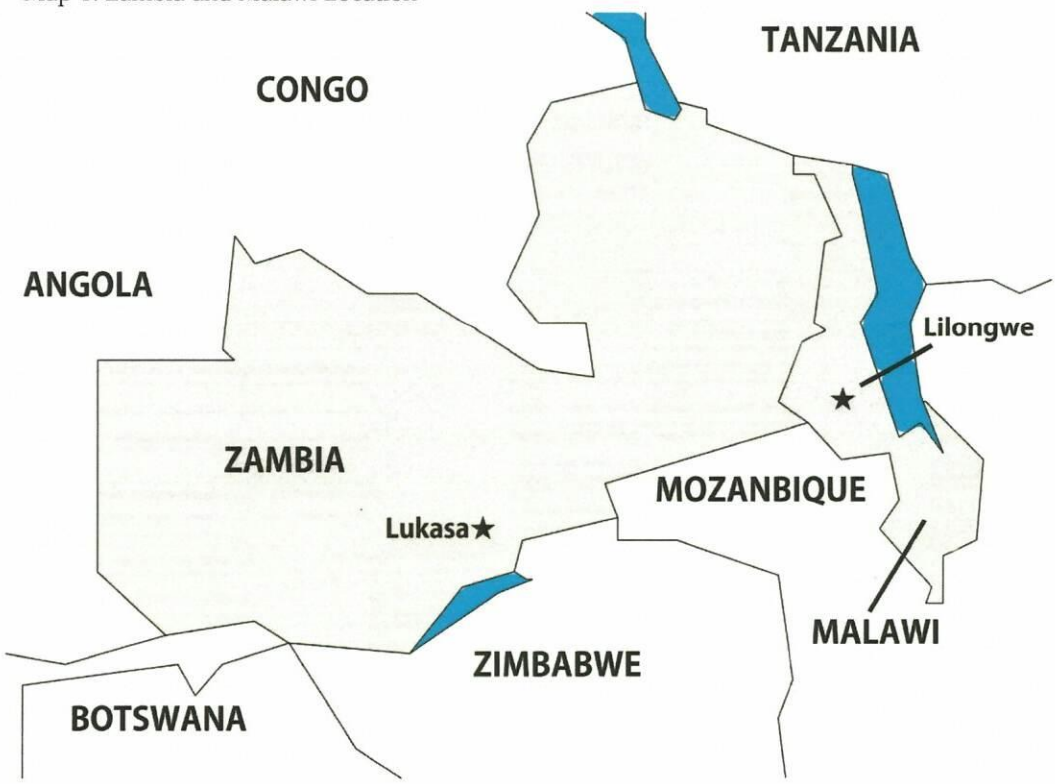
Besides Chewa and English, they also share other autochthonous languages. In the northern part of Malawi and the north-eastern part of Zambia the Tumbuka language in mainly spoken. There are similar language policy concerns in both areas, where Chewa is not mutually intelligible with Tumbuka, and yet Chewa is the official language in both regions. The speakers of Tumbuka also share a cultural background that is significantly different from that of the Chewa people. There have always been outcries from the Tumbuka speakers

in both nations to allow Tumbuka to be used both as a medium of instruction and a school subject in their areas. The scenario is depictive of major language policy and planning issues that the two countries are facing.

This study, therefore, highlights the glaring mismatch between language policy and planning, especially in education, and the actual practices on the ground. It seems the two nations are lost somewhere between policy formulation and implementation. Since the educational sector is usually the major player in language policy and planning implementation, the study was conducted in teacher training colleges in both countries to mainly observe what impact the prevailing language policy and planning issues are having on the two nations. The results are indicative of the struggles of devising and implementing a language-in-education policy that agrees with democratic principles of the two democratic, multiethnic and multilingual states.

Sande NGALANDE

Map 1: Zambia and Malawi Location



LANGUAGE POLICY AND PLANNING IN PERSPECTIVE

Language policy and planning is as old as language usage by human beings. While the average person knows issues of language, the average person does not always understand them. Everybody knows what a language is, but very few can afford a definition of language. Similarly, while many may seem to have expert knowledge on issues of language policy and planning, such knowledge is often marred by ignorance. This seeming generality of issues of language policy and planning not only makes the subject controversial, but also difficult to understand and, consequently, execute.

Changes in language are usually part of people's normal lives that do not usually require strict policies and planning, compared to issues such as those in education and the economic sectors that also require heavy government involvement. Nonetheless, several instances of conscious language policy formulation and planning exist as executed by either communities or governments.

1.1 What is Language Policy?

As the definition of language is difficult, so is defining language policy and planning. These two terms are often used interchangeably, so before we can describe them, understanding how the two terminologies are used in literature is necessary. In a narrow sense, language policy "usually refers to the formulation of laws, regulations and official positions regarding language usage and the allocation of linguistic resources by some government or other political organisation" (Orman, 2008: 30). In a broader sense, language policy is beyond political and government interventions. Thus, Orman clarifies that "for a broader, more nuanced appreciation of the nature of language policy, it is necessary to go beyond reference to just official or governmental positions on language and instead, consider the range of linguistic variables which comprise the language policy (or policies) of a particular social group or speech community"(Orman, 2008: 38-39). Orman's (2008) definition distinguishes between deliberate decisions on language and the linguistic landscape of the affected community by identifying three components. These include the way in which members of a society use the language varieties; the beliefs about language and related ideologies that affect language use; and any decisions or interventions as part of language planning at community level.

Shohamy (2006) defines language policy by looking at its motivation. Shohamy (2006) observes that there is always a group of people that view language as a tool for manipulation and control in order to promote some ideologies. Thus, language policy results in languages for control and manipulation.

> Language policy (LP) is viewed in this book in a broad way, beyond statements about policy but rather through a variety of mechanisms that create de facto language policies and practices. Yet, an expanded view of LP requires also a broader view of language itself, from a closed and finite system to a living organism, which is personal, dynamic, open, energetic and creative, spreading beyond fixed boundaries towards freedom of expression. Language is commonly viewed by policy makers as a closed and finite system, as it is often used as a symbolic tool for the manipulation of political, social, educational and economic agendas, especially in the context of political entities such as the nation-state. It is in these contexts that languages are used for categorizing people, creating group memberships, identities, hierarchies and a variety of other forms of imposition (Shohamy, 2006: 1).

While Shohamy's (2006) definition tries to expose motivations for language policy, it agrees with Orman's (2008) definition that language policy consists in a body of decisions taken at any level. Individuals, organizations, communities, and governments, either consciously or unconsciously, take these decisions. The number of actors determines whether the policy is micro or macro in nature. While macro activities can easily be perceived as those taken at government level, such as choice of official language, micro activities are not always obvious. For instance, in multilingual societies, mixed couples speaking different languages can decide, consciously or unconsciously, what language to use in the home. A school situated in a multilingual environment can decide what language to use, not only for teaching as a subject, but also on the school premises. Churches in multilingual environments also have policies about what languages to use during their services.

1.2 What is Language Planning?

Only a thin line divides language policy and language planning. They are both bodies of decisions. Kaplan and Baldauf observe:

> Language planning is a body of ideas, laws and regulations (language policy), change rules, beliefs, and practices intended to achieve a planned change (or to stop change from happening) in the language use in one or more communities. To put it differently, language planning involves deliberate, although not always overt, future oriented change in systems of language code and/or speaking in a societal context (Rubin & Jernudd, 1971b). The language planning that one hears most about is that undertaken by government and it is intended to solve complex social problems, but there is a great deal of language planning

that occurs in other societal contexts at more modest levels for other purposes (Kaplan & Baldauf,1997:3).

The difficulty in treating language policy and language planning differently is highlighted by Kaplan and Baldauf's (1997) attempt to define 'language planning' by use of the term 'language policy' in the definition. In simpler terms, Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) differentiate between the intent to bring about change, or stop change from happening, and how to accomplish the intention. The former is language policy while the latter is language planning. Typically, politicians formulate policies, while academics and technocrats devise plans to execute the policies.

Amery (2001) exemplifies how language planners have had to implement policy on developing countries through the choice of national and official languages. He observes, however, that those decisions have usually been in favour of large languages and exemplifies how language policy and planning can bring about change, sometimes not desirable:

> Measures taken to bring about the revival of languages have received little attention in the language planning literature. Language planning has, by and large, been the preserve of large languages, or at least working towards the creation of large languages. In fact, language planning measures have often been applied at the expense of smaller languages or even to actively suppress them and reduce linguistic diversity (Tollefson, 1991), though in recent years the discourse in language planning has begun to change with more attention directed towards language rights (see Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000) Language planning as a discipline, grew out of the needs of developing Third World nations who needed to make decisions about the choice of national and official languages in complex multilingual societies with a history of colonization (Amery, 2001: 2).

Particularly in multilingual societies, language diversity is usually seen as a problem, rather than a resource. Architects of language policy and planning, therefore, make decisions that try to solve the problem. In this manner, language policy and planning is viewed as an "organized pursuit of solutions to language problems, typically at national level" (Fishman, 1974: 79).

Language planning can be particularly viewed as an effort to resuscitated languages that are feared dead. This is, however, a good example of a kind of decision that stops something from happening. Finally, language policy and planning is an academic discipline. As academics

are chiefly involved in language planning, they are also architects of how language policy and planning practices translate into theory. Thus, the discipline is well-documented in academic literature and taught in many universities as an academic subject.

1.3 Language Policy and Planning as an Academic Discipline

While language policy and planning activities are as old as human history, the rise of language policy and planning as an academic discipline is recent phenomena. Ferguson's (2006) *Language Planning and Education* provides a good synopsis of the history of language policy and planning. The term is said to have been used first by Haugen (1959, 1966) to describe the development of a new standard language in Norway. Elsewhere, however, the terminology is associated with decolonisation and language problems of newly emergent states. These states in Europe and Africa had to deal with the "tension between nationalization, cultivation of national identity to supersede 'ethnic-cultural particularisms'" (Ferguson, 2006: 1). Ideally, European nationalist solutions required use of one language serving both the function of national language as well as the nation's identity symbol. However, this kind of solution was difficult to implement in Africa, whose states were more linguistically diverse than most European states. Although, a few states, like Tanzania, managed to implement the European model solution. Thus, in Tanzania, Swahili was adopted as the national language. For the states that adopted languages of the former colonial masters, there was hope that the decision would change later. However, it has been extremely difficult to reverse the decision for many states, like Zambia, that solely use English as the official language.

Ferguson's (2006) book also describes the disadvantages and criticism of the European model solutions. In the 1980s and 1990s, the European model solutions to language policy and planning suffered heavy criticism, especially in Africa, where they were viewed as promoting the interests of the elite at the expense of an average person and marginalized languages. While citizens were united around a common language, in the case of Africa, only the few privileged schooled citizens could use, their cultural and ethnic identities were deemed at risk of demise. In this manner, Ferguson (2006) observes that by the end of the 1980s, the discipline had diminished with negative connotations.

Very recently, at the beginning of the 2000s, however, the view that multilingualism has potential for causing disunity and inefficiency has diminished, and has been replaced with the view that multilingualism is valuable resource for humanity. Thus, linguistic diversity and pluralism is being propagated as the way forward. The traditional view of language policy and planning issues, such as official language standardization and nation-building agendas, are no longer central. They are being replaced with a much broader view of language policy and planning that identifies a wider range of stakeholders. The problem is, therefore, no longer

multilingualism, but the means of promoting the same. South Africa, hence, stands out as a good example of a nation that cherishes linguistic diversity by adopting English, Afrikaans and nine autochthonous languages as official languages, allowing the government to spread the national planning resources to several languages.

Ferguson's book, finally, outlines four key developments that have led to the change of the view of language policy and planning. The first development was the collapse of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe (1989-91) and the end of the Cold War, which resulted in the resurgence of ethno-relationships suppressed under Communism, as well as the formation of new states in central Asia, such as Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, and Georgia. The second event was the re-emergency of small states and regional languages within the old established Europe. Thirdly, globalization, which saw intercontinental migrations, such as in the United States, affected the assimilative policies in which all peoples were forced to use the majority dominant language. The assimilative policies have been problematic in ensuring people's identity, thereby raising an outcry for people to use languages of their choice. The assimilative policies were also accused of promoting loss of indigenous languages, especially for immigrants. Ferguson (2006: 7) observes:

> Of concern to many for its [globalisation] adverse impact on global linguistic diversity is the predicted loss of up to 90 per cent of the world's 'small' indigenous languages, most of which are unwritten and spoken by poor marginalised communities (Nettle & Romaine, 2000; Crystal, 2000). Their demise can be linked to globalisation in so far as they have been hitherto sustained by geographical isolation, socio-economic marginalisation and the perceived absence of opportunities for joining the mainstream, all of which traits tend to be undone by the increased interconnectedness, urbanisation and time-space compression associated with globalisation.

Largely, the construction of supernatural political communities, such as the European Union (EU) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC), has led to the adoption of several languages for communication. The European Union has about 20 official languages for conducting its business.

In summary, Ferguson (2006) identifies three key reasons for the change in the discipline of language policy and planning. These include: the accusation of traditional language policy and planning practices of serving the interests of the elites, rather than the marginalised; the spread of English as a global language and the loss, or feared loss, of autochthonous languages; and the interest in the late 20th century in linguistic diversity and pluralism. The

spread of English globally has been received with caution, as it is feared indigenous languages might die because of lack of prominent use in society as well as the inability of English as a foreign language to represent the cultural and ethnic identity needs of local societies.

1.4 Language Planning as a Process

Kaplan and Baldauf's (1997) overview of the language planning process is worth reviewing. Language planning is usually part of other types of planning at national or government levels. In this manner, language planning always competes for resources with other types of planning. Sometimes, this has caused inadequate funding into language planning activities.

Actors in language planning include: (1) governmental agencies involved at top government level; (2) education agencies; (3) quasi-governmental or non-governmental organisations; and (4) other groups or, in some cases, influential individuals. Academics constitute their own special group involved in language planning. The education sector is particularly central as it is usually extensively involved in decisions to do with teacher supply, student type, methodology and technical support. Actors are involved in any of the two main types of language planning, namely, status and corpus language planning.

1.4.1 Status Language Planning

Status planning is a social issue that is external to language. As a result, non-language planning experts, let alone linguistic experts usually make language status decisions. These decisions are usually political with, therefore, limited or no empirical justification. The most political decision is usually language selection, especially as an official or national language. As we have observed, in the case of assimilative policies, people were united towards a common language, sometimes a language of wider communication and, sometimes, simply the language of the powerful elites. On the African continent, many African states were faced with choice of an official or national language. As many of the states were multilingual, the choice of any autochthonous language was treated with utmost caution, as it was feared such a decision would be a recipe for anarchy and disunity. Thus, in many cases, languages of the former colonial master were regarded as neutral and ideal for national unity.

However, as languages of the former colonial masters were not only foreign, but associated with elitism, politicians were under pressure to find languages for regional communication and preservation of African cultures. Thus, once polities were decided, some languages, as in the case of Zambia, were accorded regional status in order to be used as a semi-official languages. Kaplan and Baldauf's (1997: 31) observe:

> The choice of a national language(s) is not as simple as it seems on the surface since such selection normally implies a choice among competing languages. Vernacular languages provide the opportunity to establish a common heritage, a common history, and to facilitate unity; on the other hand, exogenous languages often provide access to the external world. The choice of a language(s) ideally should result in the smallest possible disruption to the social structure, yet at the same time the decision should not isolate the polity from the outside world.

Selection of languages should not be viewed as a settlement for an easier choice, as Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) have observed above, but, sometimes, as a better alternative to various challenges that the African states would have faced had they chosen local languages. For instance, the criteria of choosing a language among multilingual states and the modernization of the local languages to handle language functions, as those of the former colonial masters' languages, was never an easy task. In addition, while we have observed that most of status planning decisions are top level, it is worth mentioning that language status decisions are not necessarily all made by governmental authorities, except when they concern functions at top level government operations (Fishman, 2006; Liddicoat & Baldauf eds., 2008).

Choice of a language is only a solution in part. More problems are to do with choice of an appropriate register and any related norms. Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) emphasize that choice of register is actually problematic, even for well-established languages. They site, as an example, movements in the United States to change the constitution and allow for English to be the only official language. The major problem is, that in the different states of the United States, there are various registers of English that are substantially different in not only pronunciation, but also in lexicon and syntax.

After selection decisions have been made, implementation is key as part of status planning. This too is a decision that is external to language. Kaplan and Baldauf (1997: 36) elaborate that:

> Having taken the decision about what language(s) and what variety(ies) or norms are to be adopted, these policies need to be put in place. The implementation of a language plan focuses on the adoption and spread of the language form that has been selected and codified. This is often done through the educational system and through other laws or regulations which encourage and/or require the use of the standard and perhaps discourage the use of other languages or dialects. While education was the preserve of

> the few, it was relatively easy to spread the standard. For example, 'Oxbridge' English, disseminated through the English 'public school' system became the 'standard' in the nineteenth century (see G.B. Shaw's Pygmalion and the musical version My Fair Lady). However, the coming of mass education has made language implementation a major issue. Very few nation-states are linguistically homogeneous, and the choice of any standard will certainly disadvantage some members of that heterogeneous community.

The statement above highlights the crucial role that education plays in spreading the use of the selected language. As the education system informs children from childhood to adulthood, it is always the best way of indoctrinating citizens with the preferred doctrines of the ruling class or national leaders. Leaders, therefore, to ensure the success of the implementation of favoured policies, ensure that there is a good monitoring and evaluation process. This process, therefore, is also part of the key stages in status language planning.

It is also important to mention that under the shadows of globalization, efforts are being made by governments of the global languages to ensure the spread and maintenance of their languages. Thus, in Africa, the prominent organisations that serve the educational needs of implementing status language planning are the British Council and the American Centers for British and American Englishes respectively. Recently, the Confucius Centre has become an important means through which Chinese language is being introduced on the continent as an important alternative to the powerful English language, in as far as Africa's relations with the East are important.

1.4.2 Corpus Language Planning

Our review of literature on status language planning shows that in terms of execution, sometimes, this kind of planning and corpus planning, which we review in the next section, can take place concurrently. Sometimes, the divide between the two types of planning cannot be as clear as the academic explanations put it. As Kaplan and Baldauf (1997: 38) put it, this kind of planning is internal language as it is linguistic in nature.

> Corpus planning can be defined as those aspects of language planning which are primarily linguistic and hence internal to language. Some of these aspects related to language are: (1) orthographic innovation, including design, harmonisation, change of script and spelling reform; (2) pronunciation; (3) changes in language structure; (4) vocabulary expansion; (5) simplification of registers; (6) style; and (7) the preparation of language material (Bamgbose, 1989). Jernudd (1988) provides a more detailed discussion of these linguistic

aspects of language planning.

The linguistic nature of corpus planning necessitates the activities to be the preserve of academics. Thus, regarding aspect (1), codification of a language requires expert knowledge. In order to reduce a language primarily in spoken form to writing, academics need to understand how the language works and codify the language using close to universally agreed procedures. In other words, codification requires standardization, in order to make the language universally legible. Codification process can be so involving that agencies are needed to do a thorough job.

The process of codification, as an essential step in corpus planning, involves three important steps, namely, graphitisation, grammatication and lexication. Graphisation is the first step in reducing a language to written form. In the case of languages with literature, it involves script reform. In Africa, missionaries are some of the earliest organisations that reduced African languages to writing. As there was no coordination between various missionary groups, similar languages were written differently. Recently, standardization and script reform process are underway to normalize the situation. Grammatication involves the formulation, and reduction into writing, of rules about the structure of language, while lexication involves the development of appropriate vocabulary.

An important step in corpus planning that follows codification is known as elaboration. Similar to lexication, elaboration is an implementation procedure that requires refining the steps already taken at codification, especially vocabulary or terminology formulation and improvement. In order to address various functions, language needs to develop specialized vocabularies. This is a step that has been particularly challenging in using African autochthonous languages as official languages. Special vocabulary is required in specialized fields, such as science and technology. Sometimes, current vocabularies need modernization to cope with changing needs and functions of language. It is usually assumed that to come up with such kind of improved vocabulary systems for any language, huge resources are required. Thus, it is sometimes justified, by this reason alone, to perpetuate the use of former colonial masters' languages in Africa.

In this manner, elaboration is necessary for a smooth function of language. Accordingly, Kaplan and Baldauf (1997: 43) observe that:

> Elaboration of a language focuses on the functional development of that language. That is, once a language has been codified there is a need to continue 'the implementation of the norm to meet the functions of a modern world'

(Haugen, 1983: 373). Such a modernised language must meet the wide range of cultural demands put upon it in terms of both terminology and style, from those set by the technological, intellectual, and humanistic disciplines to those associated with the everyday and popular aspects of a culture (Haugen, 1983). Haugen has defined elaboration in terms of terminological modernisation and stylistic development, but a final and emerging category needs to be added to these established aspects of functional development, that of internationalisation.

Generally, corpus-planning activities are needed to make a language functional according to the burdens placed upon it by status language planning activities. While status planning needs to be politically correct, corpus planning needs to be academically correct in order for a language to be functional.

1.5 The South African Situation as a Case Study

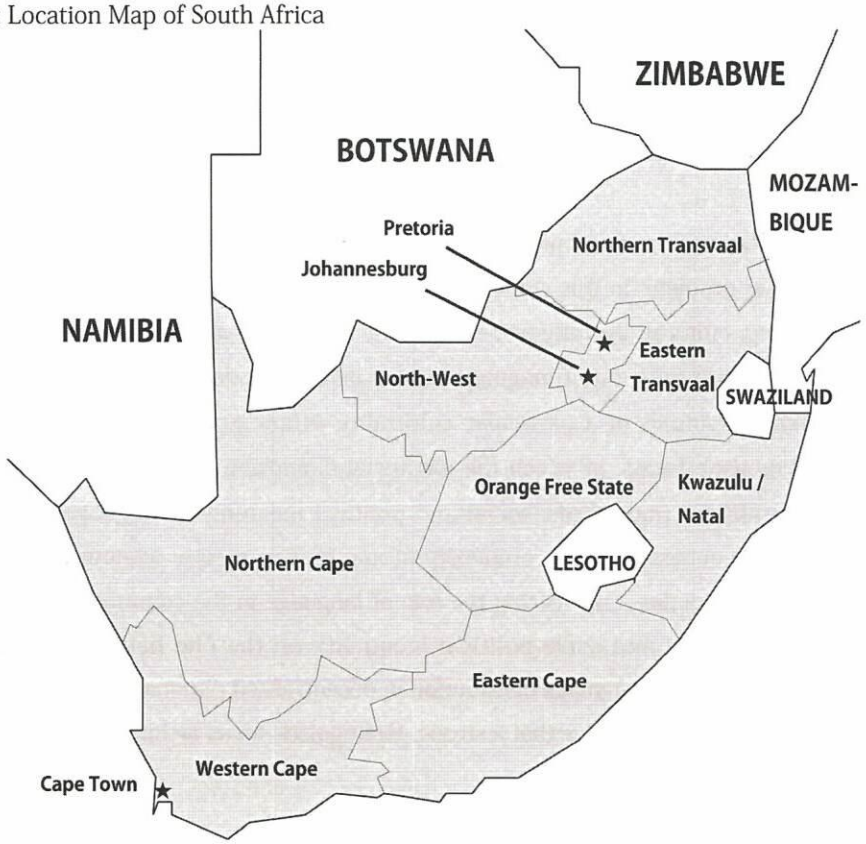
South Africa is a multilingual state located on the southern tip of the African continent with an estimated population of 50,000,000 people (see map 2). South Africa has about 25 languages, with 11 being used as official languages (see Table 1). Kamwangamalu (2004) argues that about 98% of South Africans use African languages, which necessitated the inclusion of several African languages as official languages.

Table 1 The Official Languages of South Africa (Kamwangamalu, 2004: 200)

Language	Number of Speakers	Percentage	Geographical areas of Concentration
Afrikaans	5,811,547	14.3	W. & N. Cape, Gauteng
English	3,457,467	8.5	KZ-Natal, WC, Gauteng
IsiNdebele	586,961	1.4	Gauteng, Mpumalanga
IsiXhosa	7,196,118	17.7	Eastern Cape
IsiZulu	9,200,144	22.7	KwaZulu-Natal, Gauteng
Sepedi	3,695,846	9.2	Gauteng, N. Province
Sesotho	3,104,197	7.7	Free State, Gauteng
Siswati	1,013,193	2.5	Mpumalanga, Gauteng
Setswana	3,301,774	8.1	North West, Gauteng
Tshivenda	876,409	2.2	Northern Province
Xitsonga	1,756,105	4.3	Gauteng, N. Province
Other	583,813	1.4	Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal
Total	40,583,573	100	

Source: The People of South Africa Population Census 1996, 1998: 12-3

Map 2: Location Map of South Africa



Source: Based on Kamwangamalu (2004: 199) The Language Planning Situation in South Africa

Table 1 shows that while English and Afrikaans were previous used as the only two official languages, they are minority languages, as they are spoken by a relatively small population compared to the numbers that speak African languages. English particularly, though a global language, is accused of being detrimental to the development of African languages and African society. Kamwangamalu (2004: 203) reiterates that:

> English has been accused of being a double-edged sword for the following reasons.
>
> 1) Although it provides access to education and job opportunities, it also acts as a barrier to such opportunities for those who do not speak it, or whose English is poor (Branford, 1996: 36).
> 2) It is an important key to knowledge, science and technology, but it is increasingly being seen as the major threat to the maintenance of indigenous languages (Masemola & Khan, 2000: 11), as a remnant of colonialism and a cause of cultural alienation (Schmied, 1991: 121), and as a vehicle of values not always in harmony with local traditions and beliefs. (de Klerk, 1996: 7).

Without going into the details of the development of language policy and planning in South Africa, a glance at the main features of the policy reveals the complicated social, economic, cultural and political landscape of the nation that the policy tries to address. Van der Merve (1995: 513) rightly observes that:

> Accommodating a multiethnic society within the territory of a single state is a universal problem. In this context language is a significant marker of social structuring, cultural diversity and minority grouping. Apart from its symbolic value, the main function of language is to provide a mode of communication between individuals of a particular cultural or ethnic group. Language has many linguistic facets, of which the territorial dimension is crucial if we are to penetrate the real ethnic, social and political meaning of language. One cannot fully understand the complexity of any human society without giving geolinguistics its due. Considering the role of language in the country's history of ethnic conflict and socio-political inequality on the one hand, and the potential function of language distribution in decentralised regional government on the other, it is imperative that a strong geolinguistic focus be built into South Africa's language policy.

The South African language policy, with its numeracy weaknesses, is rather regarded as a positive policy, as it positively deals with not only a complex background, but also a multiethnic and multilingual nation. Thus, it sets a democratically fair ground upon which both languages and their speakers should operate by providing the constitutional provision for equal rights of all the 11 official languages. Besides recognising language as a basic human right, the constitution also addresses the transformation of the historically marginalised languages (Beukes, 2004a). Beukes (2004a: 9) also outlines key issues that inform the language policy process in South Africa realised as part the National Language Policy Framework (NLPF).

> The aim of the NLPF is to –
> - promote the equitable use of the 11 official languages;
> - facilitate equitable access to government services, knowledge and information;
> - ensure redress for the previously marginalised official indigenous languages;
> - initiate and sustain a vibrant discourse on multilingualism with all language communities;
> - encourage the learning of other official indigenous languages to promote national unity, and linguistic and cultural diversity; and
> - promote good language management for efficient public service

administration to meet client expectations and needs" (DAC 2003a:13).

Accordingly, the constitution takes into account the NLPF guidelines by stating that (Kamwangamalu, 2004: 245):

a) to ensure and guarantee the freedom and human dignity of all South Africans under a new dispensation,
b) to recognise the country's linguistic diversity as well as the fact that the majority of South Africans – probably 98 per cent – use one of these languages as their home or first language, and
c) to ensure that the process of democratization is extended to language related issues as well (The Department of Education: South Africa's New Language Policy: The Facts, 1994: 4, 6).

With this background, the constitution, therefore, includes 11 languages as official South African languages. As positive as this may look, it is not without difficulties. Several loopholes are highlighted by various studies. Kamwangamalu (2004: 246) highlights the loophole in the choice of medium of instruction. The constitution states that:

> Matters such as the medium in which a pupil's instruction takes place and the number of languages that are to be compulsory school subjects may not conflict with the language clause in the Constitution [Section 3] nor with section 32, which provides that every person shall be entitled to instruction in the language of his or her choice where this is reasonably practicable [author emphasis].

Kamwangamalu's (2004) concern about the vagueness of the constitution on the matter of medium of instruction is legitimate. The constitution does not specify who decides, and by what criteria, the use of a particular language becomes reasonably practicable. This vagueness can be interpreted as the constitution's unwillingness to commit itself to the ambitious program of protecting and promoting linguistic diversity.

Other concerns are largely due to the difficult in policy implementation. Beukes (2004a: 19) observes "that democratic language policy and planning has not realised its "intended purposes" but has seemingly become trapped in the "gap" or "disjunction" between policy development and lack of policy implementation." Nonetheless, the value in the South African Language Policy is in its ambitious attempt to positively deal with multilingualism in a democratically fair way. It provides a basis for further development of more appropriate policies.

In this chapter, we have reviewed literature related to language policy and planning in general. We have looked at the definition of language policy as the overall set of decisions made to bring about change, or stop change from taking place in language. We have also defined language planning as the set of decisions and activities regarding the implementation of language policy. While language policies are usually top-level activities by politicians, technocrats and academics chiefly do language planning. We have seen how South Africa, as a case study, exemplifies the complexity of dealing with language policy and planning in multilingual societies.

EVOLUTION OF LANGUAGE POLICY AND PLANNING IN ZAMBIA AND MALAWI

As we have already observed, Zambia and Malawi, as states with similar geographical, social, political and economic backgrounds, have followed similar paths in their attempt to devise appropriate language policies. As both were colonised by Britain, they adopted similar language policy borrowed from the European model, where citizens were united towards a common language. Thus, both countries, prior and beyond independence, use English as their official language. As we will observe in literature, both countries found it practicable to unite their citizens with diverse ethnic and linguistic background around English, which was thought to have the magic of uniting the nations as a neutral language, thereby averting the possible, and much feared, ethnic conflicts. It is the desire, on the one hand, to maintain national and cultural identity that makes the two nations struggle with the use of English as an official language; while on the other, attempt to use some autochthonous languages as languages of national and cultural identity. In other words, language policy in both nations has always been related to national identity.

Zambia is a centrally landlocked-country located in the Southern African, or Sub-Saharan, lying between latitudes 8 and 18 degrees (south of the equator), and longitudes 22 and 34 degrees east. Map 3 shows the location of Zambia on the African continent. Zambia has eight neighboring countries: Democratic Republic of the Congo, Tanzania, Malawi, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Namibia, and Angola. It has an estimated population of 13 million people.

The country has been administratively divided into nine provinces for a long time: Central, Copperbelt, Eastern, Luapula, Lusaka, Northern, Northwestern, Southern and Western provinces. However, after the Presidential and Parliamentary Elections of 2012, the new government added Muchinga as the 10th province.

2.1 General Language Policy and Planning in Zambia

Comprehensive literature on language policy and planning in Zambia is scanty. Marten and Kula's (2008: 299) One Zambia, One Nation, Many Languages is one of the few extended treatments of Zambia's language situation. They note in their preamble that questions of identity and language have been significant in Zambian modern history.

> The Language Situation Unfolds: Zambia up to the Eighteenth Century Virtually all languages spoken in Zambia today belong to the Bantu family, except, of course, the more recent European and Indian languages and the small number

> of Khoisan languages. Bantu languages began to spread from the area of the Nigeria–Cameroon borderland in West Africa through more or less small processes of migration, language contact, and language shift southwards and eastwards and eventually became spoken in eastern, central, and southern Africa, in an area from just north of the equator all the way to southern Africa (see e.g. Nurse, 2006).

Zambia's use of English as the official languages began long before it attained independence. Marten and Kula's (2008: 304) describe several important activities that naturally lead to Zambia's choice of English.

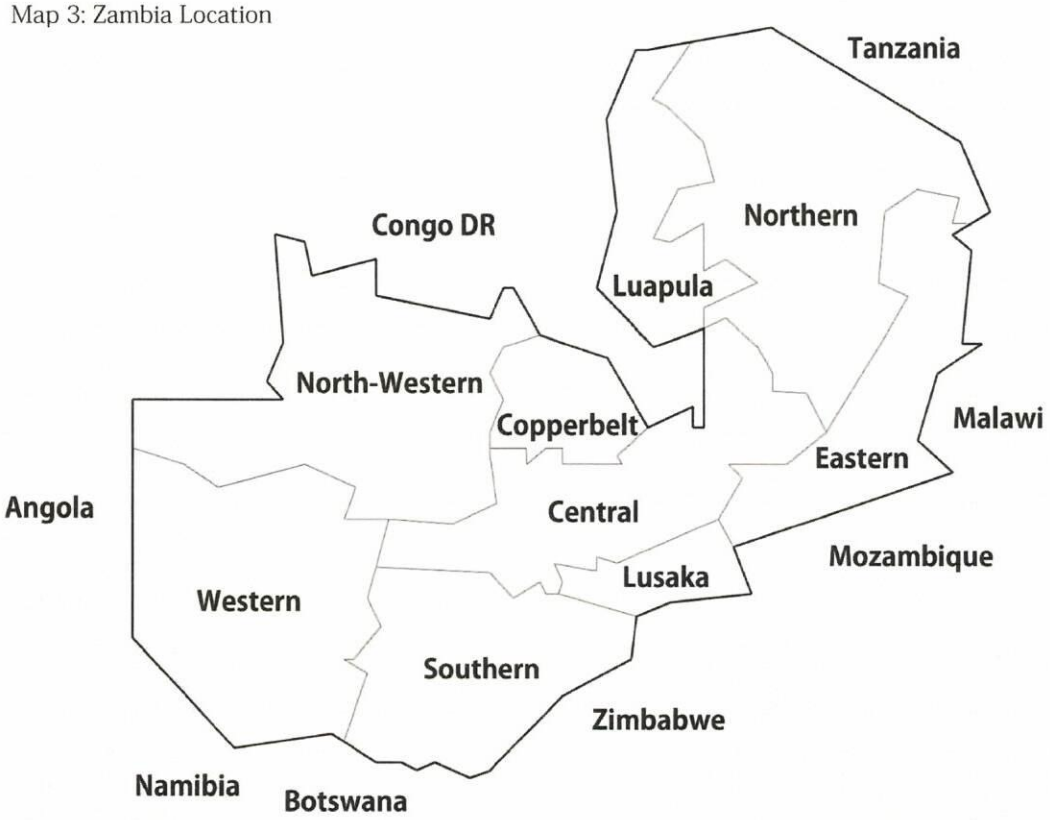
> On the eve of independence, then, Zambia had gone through almost two centuries of tumultuous events and much of the country had changed. Copper mining had been industrialized and had become the main source of income; the 'line-of-rail', connecting Livingstone in the south with Lusaka and the Copperbelt in the north, had become a major socio-geographical feature; and Zambia had become one of the most urbanized countries in the region. Both inward migration from the south and from Europe, and labour migration of Zambians to Southern Rhodesia, South Africa, the DRC, and Tanzania had brought Zambians into contact with new people, new ideas, and new ways of life. Education had changed from informal traditional acculturation and training to formal schooling, Christianity had become a major religion, and English had been established as the main language for commerce, government, and administration.

Zambia currently contains a linguistic repertoire of at least 73 speech varieties, including languages and their dialects. The classification or grouping of Zambian languages is arguable, but as Map 4 shows, at least 15 varieties are both regarded as languages or language groups, and mainly spoken languages. These include: Bemba, Tonga, Kaonde, Luyana, Nkoya-Mbwela, Tumbuka, Lunda, Nyika, Nsenga, Mambwe-Lungu, Nyanja, Luchazi-Mbunda, Luvale, Lozi and Mashi. Miti (2001: 3) also observes however, that, "What has been attempted in Zambia so far is the grouping of various languages and/or dialects according to their lexical and grammatical resemblances. By this method, fourteen language groups have been established."

Marten and Kula (2008: 294) show recent statics in use of languages of some commonly spoken languages in Zambia in Table 2. The Table is evident that although English is the official language, it is a minority language according to usage and number of speakers. This makes it difficult for English to be used as a uniting language or to be seen as a language

of national identity, as it only relates with a minority population. In this regard, from independence onwards, Zambia has chosen to accept its linguistic diversity by identifying regional languages that function more or less like national languages.

Map 3: Zambia Location

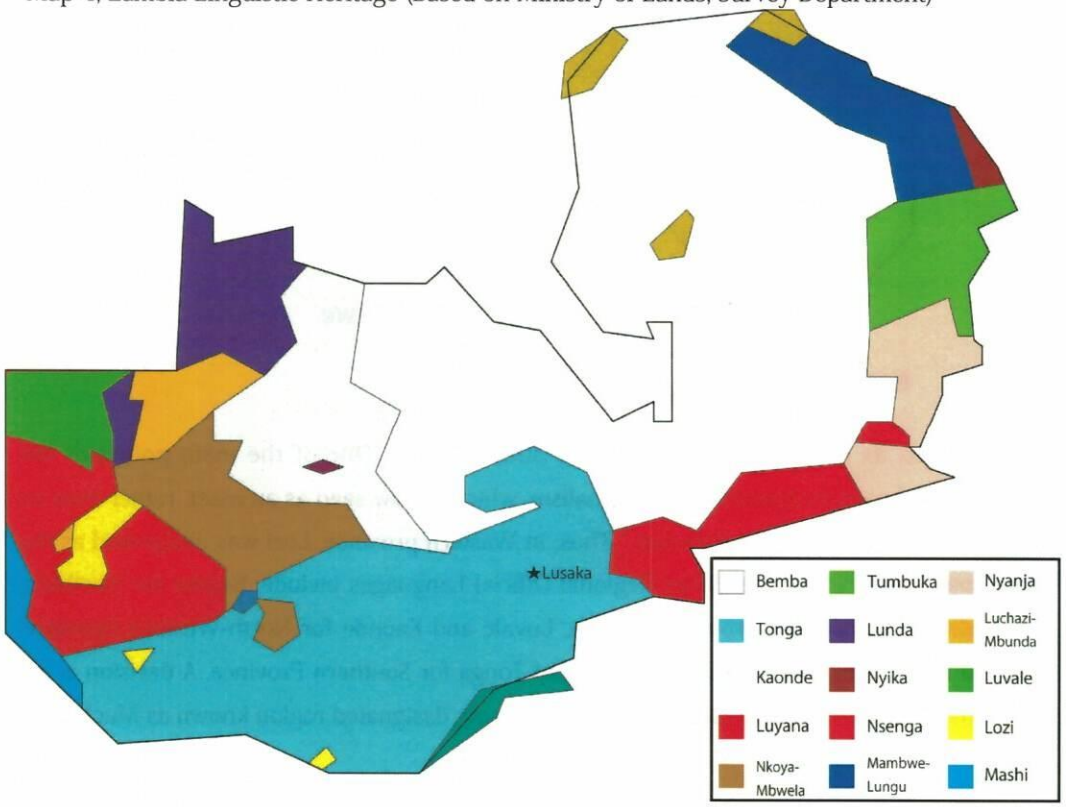


Besides, as Marten and Kula (2008: 309) observe "One of the main points of the current discussion is Zambia's multilingualism, which is now seen as an asset, rather than an impediment to national development." Thus, in Western province, Lozi was designated as the Regional Official Language. Other Regional Official Languages include: Bemba for Northern, Luapula and Copperbelt provinces; Lunda, Luvale and Kaonde for North-Western Province; Nyanja for Eastern and Lusaka Provinces; and Tonga for Southern Province. A decision is yet to be made about the regional language for the newly designated region known as Muchinga.

Table 2: Language by Numbers of Speakers (based on 2000 Census)

Language	Use as Predominant Second Percentage	Use as Second Language Percentage	Language	Use as Predominant Second Percentage	Use as Second Language Percentage
Bemba	30.1	20.2	English	1.7	26.3
Nyanja	10.7	19.5	Luvale	1.7	1.9
Tonga	10.6	4.4	Lenje	1.4	1.5
Lozi	5.7	5.2	Namwanga	1.3	0.8
Chewa	4.7	2.3	Ngoni	1.2	1.2
Nsenga	3.4	1.6	Mambwe	1.2	0.9
Tumbuka	2.5	1.3	Bisa	1	0.4
Lunda	2.2	1.3	Ila	0.8	0.8
Lala	2	1	Lungu	0.6	0.4
Kaonde	2	1.8	Senga	0.6	0.2
Lamba	1.9	1.4			

Map 4; Zambia Linguistic Heritage (Based on Ministry of Lands, Survey Department)



2.2 Language Policy and Planning in Education

Issues of a language policy and planning date back to the pre-colonial period, when missionaries came into the country to introduce literacy for the purposes of enabling new African Christian converts to read biblical literature in their own mother tongues. Muyeba (2009) estimates, therefore, that before 1899, the medium of instruction was the mother tongues. Notable, different missionary groups settled in different parts of the country and introduced different writing systems, as there was no framework of coordination or standardization. Muyebaa (2009: 3-4) also mentions that:

> By 1927, the Advisory Board on Native Education agreed to adopt 4 principal native languages: Sikololo (Silozi) for Barotseland, Chitonga-Chila for North Western Rhodesia. Chibemba for North-Eastern Rhodesia, West of Luangwa River and Chinyanja for North- Eastern Rhodesia, East of the Luangwa River (NRG. p.12 in Ohannessian, 1978).

In this manner, the pre-colonial period saw the introduction of at least four autochthonous languages for use as medium of instruction at the start of formal education.

Shay Linehan (2005) in her article "Language of Instruction and the Quality of Basic Education in Zambia" summarises the evolution of language policy in Zambia from colonial to the present. Linehan (2005: 1) notes:

> The issue of language and education in Zambia was fairly straightforward throughout the colonial and much of the Federal period. From 1927, only three years after the Colonial Office took over the responsibility for what was then Northern Rhodesia up to 1963, just before the break-up of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the policy was consistent: mother tongue was used for the first two years of primary education, followed by a dominant vernacular up to Standard 5, and English thereafter.

Several moves have been made to devise a suitable language policy for Zambia as a multilingual society, taking into account its social, political and economic landscape. Linehan (2005) summery can be best captured as a table (see Table 3).

However, the desire by the founding politicians to unite the country around English, as the language of the former colonial master, cannot be underplayed. Malawi, like other African states, struggles with making language policy and planning decisions that suite a multilingual state.

Table 4: Malawi Home Languages (Kayambazinthu, 2004)

Language	Number of speakers	Projected number of speakers, 1998	%	District where spoken
Chichewa	1,644,916	5,263,731	50.2	Dowa, Dedza, Lilongwe, Ntchitsi, Blantyre, Kasungu south, Chiradzulu, Nkhota-kota, Mchinji, Salima
Lomwe	476,306	1,524,179	14.5	Mulanje, Thyolo, Zomba, Blantyre Machinga, Chiradzulu
Yao	452,305	1,447,376	13.8	Mangochi, Machinga, Zomba, Chiradzulu, Blantyre, Mulanje
Tumbuka	298,881	956,419	9.1	Mzimba, Rumphi, Karonga, Chitipa Nkhata-Bay
Sena	115,055	368,176	3.5	Nsanje, Chikwawa,
Khokhola	74,466	238,291	2.3	Thyolo, Mulanje
Tonga	62,213	199,082	1.9	Nkhata-Bay
Ngoni	37,480	119,936	1.1	Mzimba, Deza, Ntcheu
Nkhonde	31,018	99,258	<1	Karonga
Lambya	18,646	59,667	<1	Chitipa
Sukwa	18,300	58,560	<1	Chitipa
Nyakyusa	3,994	12,781	<1	Karonga
Swahili	2,854	9,133	<1	Karonga
Other				
Mambwe	39,538	126,522		Chitipa
Ndali				Chitipa
Nyiha				Chitipa
English	209			Chitipa

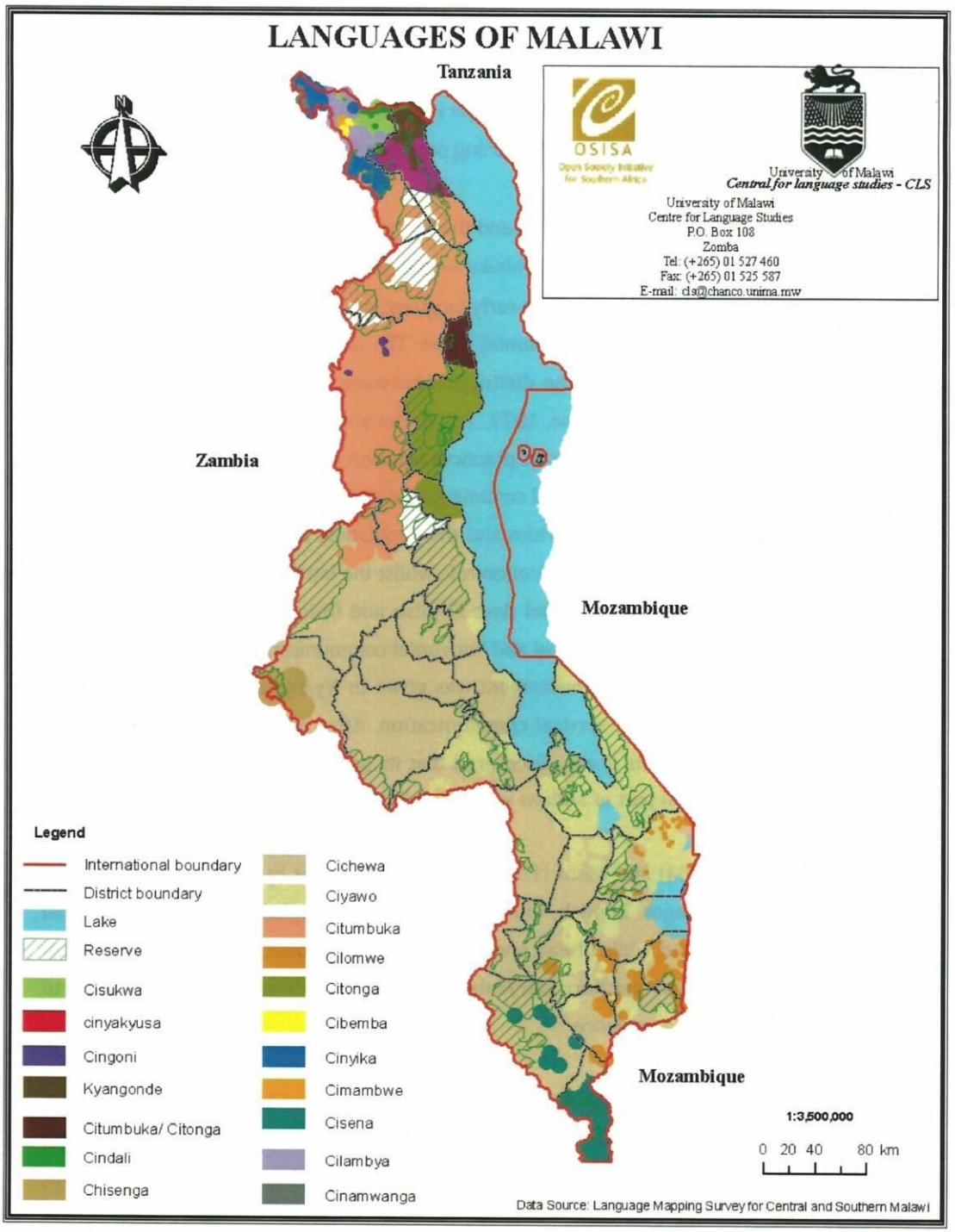
Similar to Zambia's history of language policy and planning, in the pre-colonial period, missionaries played a significant role in making language related decisions. The missionary practices, therefore, set important precedence for both colonial and post-colonial decisions. In Malawi too, local languages were necessary for teaching new African converts to Christianity how to read biblical literature, especially the Bible itself. Kayambazinthu (2004: 102) provides a concise history of language policy and planning practices in Malawi and observes:

> The distinctive geographical spread and the functional prominence of Chichewa and English and to some extent Tumbuka seen in both the education system and the media can be traced back to the early language practices and policies applied in both the colonial and post colonial times. The earliest colonial influential practices were to maintain the distinction between horizontal and vertical modes of communication (Heine, 1977, 1992). Horizontal communication refers to all written and spoken discursive practices between and among the governing structures of a state, while vertical communication is the structure of interaction taking place between the authorities and the population. In those days, English occupied the horizontal communication role whilst the latter form was occupied by Chichewa. During the colonial days English and Chinyanja were the first official languages for both vertical and horizontal communication. ··· Preference for both missionaries and government was given to Nyanja in the south and centre, as a language of vertical communication. After an initial enthusiasm for Nyanja in the south, it was discovered that its geographical spread did not include the northern part of Malawi where Tumbuka was favourably distributed.

Kayambazinthu (2004) and Moto (1999) therefore note that by independence, Malawi had three official languages: English, Chewa and Tumbuka. English served as the official language of the entire state, while Chewa and Tumbuka were national, or official, languages of the south to central Malawi and Northern Malawi respectively. Several attempts are made to change the decision at independence.

Mchazime (n.d.) records dramatic events that followed after independence. The new ruling party, the Malawi Congress Party (MCP), at its convention in 1968 made deliberations on language policy issues. Mchazime (n.d.: 61) describes the outcome as one of the most far reaching recommendations.

Map 6: Malawi Linguistic Landscape



[We] recommend strongly, that in the interest of national unity,

(a) Malawi adopt Chinyanja as a national language;

(b) that the name Chinyanja shall henceforth be known as Chichewa; and that all other languages will continue to be used in everyday private life in their respective areas (Dept. of Information undated).

This decision was adopted by Cabinet, and has remained binding on the Malawian state up to date. Chewa, therefore, is the only national autochthonous language used in Malawi.

2.4 Language Policy and Planning in Education

The 1968 recommendations of the MCP that became law naturally triggered a number of language planning activities in the education sector. Mchazime (n.d.) reports that A Chichewa Board and a Department of Chichewa and Linguistics at the University of Malawi were subsequently formed. The board was particularly mandated to: (a) produce a national Chewa dictionary, (b) devise the Chewa orthography and (c) develop the Chewa language. Various activities in language-in-education policy and planning are captured in Table 5.

Table 5: History of Language Policy and Planning in Education

Period	Activity
Missionary	In elementary schools Nyanja (Chewa) is used as medium of instruction in Central and Southern provinces. In Northern Province Tumbuka is used as the medium of instruction. This is the practice in the first three grades and English is gradually introduced as students progress.
1918	Proposal to make Chewa as an official language are turned down by Sir George Smith for fear of African uprising if the tribes were unified.
1924	The colonial government takes interest in African education and encourages development of local languages.
1968	The MCP recommends Chewa and English as official languages and the Cabinet approves. Chewa becomes medium of instruction grades 1-4, English is taught as a subject at this stage and from grade 5 onwards used as the medium of instruction.
1994	The United Democratic Front makes proposals for recognition of other local languages.
1996	Government issues a circular stating: "With immediate effect, all classes 1,2,3 & 4 in all our schools be taught in their own mother tongue or vernacular language as medium of instruction. English and Chichewa will however continue to offered as examinable subjects in the primary curricula. In the past Chichewa was used as both a medium of instruction and as a subject, making it difficult for beginners to grasp ideas. However English will be used as medium of instruction beginning in standard 5. (Mchazime, n.d.: 64).
1999	The Centre for Language Studies (CLS) formerly (Chichewa Board) organises a National Symposium on Language Policy Formulation and forms a task force to draft a language policy in education.

In Malawi therefore, in the absence of an alternative policy or directives on the contrary, the March 1996 policy remains the guiding language policy in education in Malawi. The Malawi situation is almost the same with the Zambian one, except that while Zambia

introduces English as a medium of instruction from the first grade, Malawi does so in the fifth grade. Malawi has one autochthonous language as a national and official language. Zambia only has English as the official language, with seven autochthonous languages informally chosen as regional official and national languages. The decision in Zambia is informal to the extent that it is not enshrined in the constitution.

It is important to note that in both Zambia and Malawi, in the debates that ensue about the language policy in education, no serious attention is ever paid to how the issue of language policy can affect the training of teachers. Teachers are likely to be pivotal in language-in-education policy implementation. In Zambia, while there is a separation between medium of instruction and language of initial literacy, the situation on the ground is rather untidy as it depends on the teachers' linguistic capabilities in various regions of the country. There is very little evidence that curriculum, at either school or tertiary levels, has significantly changed to address policy directions in either country. In other words, there is a visible mismatch between policy and practice. In Malawi, in particular, schools are still teaching in Chewa in upper grades, clearly against the current policy of using mother tongues in only lower grades.

Teachers play a critical role in the success of any language policy in education. Since teachers require training in their work to deliver effectively, language policies in education have a direct bearing on the processes of teacher training, which should be aligned with the policy for its successful implementation. However, the glaring missing link between the current language policies in education in Zambia and Malawi, and their associated implications on the processes of teacher training, remains a fundamental challenge in understanding the impact of the polices on education, and society in general, in both countries. This situation necessitates inquiry on how the policies are currently reflected in the processes of teacher training. The purpose of the research was to understand how the current language policies in education, in the two countries have affected teacher training programs. Specifically, the study investigated three questions as follows;

i. What are the perceptions of lecturers of the current language policy in education in Malawian and Zambian colleges of education,
ii. How has the language policy in education affected teacher training programs in colleges of education in Zambia and Malawi
iii. What are lecturers' perceptions of the social relevancy of the current language policies on student future opportunities?

RESEARCH METHODS

3.1 Introduction

Good research writing, according to Creswell (2007:15), requires making the assumptions, paradigms and frameworks employed in the research explicit. In this chapter we present the knowledge assumptions, theoretical orientation, research strategy and the methods on which the study was conceptualized.

3.2 Methodology

Pragmatism as a philosophy, and its associated mixed methods methodology, provided a theoretical orientation to this study. According to Biesta and Burbules (2003), Pragmatism arose following criticisms towards analytic philosophy. It sought to present an alternative account of knowledge and understanding of how human beings acquire knowledge. It rejected the separation of mind and matter as separate realities in the process of knowing. Of particular interest are criticisms by Orman Quine and his student Donald Davidson, who provided a critique of empiricism that fueled the growth and acceptance of pragmatism as a philosophy. Quine (1980) cited in Biesta & Burbules (2003) rejected the separation of analytical truths grounded in meanings independent of matters of fact and synthetics truths, that are grounded in fact, and thus rejected the analytic notion that some propositions are true independent of human experience. Quine also rejected the idea of reductionism, a belief that says "individual statements can be linked to individual experiences and that in this way their truth can be proved". On the contrary, he argued that statements hang together in a network of, "a web of beliefs" (Biesta & Burbules, 2003: 9). On this basis, he argued that observation on its own never gives us knowledge, rather observation becomes meaningful through interpretation and through interpretation, a whole body of assumptions and theory comes into play. Donaldson rejected another analytic notion that "it is possible to make a distinction between experience and the conceptual schemes in which we interpret and organize our experiences, and the belief that the acquisition of knowledge is an individual enterprise." He emphasized the inter-subjective nature of meaning, knowledge and thinking (Davidson, 1984, 1980 cited in Biesta & Burbules, 2003: 8). These internal critiques of the analytic traditions, together with external critiques, give status to pragmatism as a philosophy. Thus, pragmatism is a product of different philosophical movements.

According to pragmatism, "the usefulness of a method for a particular study or program of research is not judged by its origin, but whether it will help in solving a particular research problem or answering a particular research question"(Schutz, Chambless & DeCuir, 2004: 270). This position is tenable given that pragmatism is not committed to any system of philosophy or reality. As Creswell (2007:23) points out, pragmatists do not see the world

as an absolute unity, neither do they see the world as composed of a reality independent of the mind or with the mind. That's in pragmatic terms truth is what works at any given time. This allows pragmatism to accept reality as perceived in the mind, as well as the physical reality independent of the mind. It further accepts that research always occurs in the social, historical, political and other contexts. A worldview informed by pragmatism, therefore, allows flexibility in the research process, as researchers are able to focus on the questions and problems that the study seeks to address, rather than focus on the paradigms as an end in themselves. This makes it easy for researchers to freely select methods that offer the best chance to effectively respond to research questions and problems of a given research.

Pragmatism as a philosophy, underpins mixed methods research methodology that was adopted in this study. Mixed methods methodology integrates both qualitative and quantitative research paradigms in a single study, whenever the research questions are of the nature that they cannot be effectively addressed by any single research paradigm (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009; Creswell, 2012). The integration of the various positions is seen as appropriate, given the limitation in any one approach to give us a comprehensive picture of reality. Pragmatism, therefore, makes it possible to mix different research paradigms, which are themselves informed by different philosophies in a single study.

Schultz, Chambless and DeCuir (2004: 273) observed that "knowledge of our worldview will influence our perceptions of the research problems we choose, the methods we use and the interpretations we make." This was equally the case in this study, the choice of a philosophical paradigm, and its associated research methodology, was necessitated by the purpose and, consequently, the questions of the study. The purpose of the study was to explore how teacher training programs were affected, following the new demands on language of instruction in schools imposed by the new language policy in education in Zambia and Malawi. In line with this purpose, the research specifically wanted to establish if any changes were made in teacher training programs in response to the demands of the language policy in education in Zambia and Malawi; the lecturers perceptions of the policy and its successful implementation, given the multiethnic, multilingual environment of the two countries; and finally, how the lecturers perceived the relationship between language of instruction and student future life opportunities. Understanding these questions helped to shed light on the level of support for the policy from one group of key stakeholders in the successful implementation of the policy, and also helped to give key pointers to the reasons for support, or lack of support, for the policy from this group of stakeholders. Exploration of these questions required interviewing lecturers to capture their stories on the policy, as well as assessing attitudes towards the policy, necessitating an integration of both qualitative and quantitative data in the study; hence, the choice of the current theoretical orientation.

3.3 Design

The study followed a parallel mixed methods design, Teddlie & Tashakkori (2009). A parallel mixed methods design employs qualitative and quantitative approaches independently in the same study. The two approaches deal with related aspects of the same overall questions of the study. The inferences drawn from the two aspects of the study are integrated to form meta-inferences at the end of the study. In this study, qualitative and quantitative studies were done together, side by side. Data was collected and independent analysis done before integrating the inferences to respond to overall questions of the study.

3.4 Methods

3.4.1 Sample and Sample Selection

Primary school teacher training in Zambia is provided through established public and private colleges of education, while in Malawi it is provided through established private and public teacher training colleges. The minimum entry qualification into these colleges is a certificate marking completion of secondary education. According to the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (MoEST, 2011). Malawi has a total of 11 teacher training colleges, six of which are public, while the remaining are private institutions. Three public teacher training colleges in Malawi were purposively sampled for participation in the study. A purposive sample was deemed appropriate in Malawi because the public teacher training colleges, being government institutions, are required to follow government policies on education as implementers. Government has a relatively loose control over private institutions in general. It was therefore considered prudent to sample public institutions in Malawi, given that the study was concerned primarily with government policy. In Zambia, a study sample was drawn from three public colleges of education as well for participation in the study.

Two study samples were drawn from the teacher colleges for the quantitative and qualitative parts of the study respectively. The quantitative part drew a random sample of 46 lecturers from Malawi's three teacher training colleges, about 15 per college, and 44 lecturers from Zambia's two teacher training colleges, about 20 lecturers per college, for participation in the study. The qualitative part drew a purposive sample of 15 lecturers, five per college in Malawi and 10 lecturers, 5 per college in Zambia. Members from the language department and heads of department comprised the sample for the qualitative part of the study. A purposive sample is dominantly used in qualitative research, where participants are selected based on specific purposes associated with the questions of the study (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009: 170). In the study, heads of department and language teachers were deemed to possess knowledge and experiences that would make it richer in responding to the objectives of the study.

The qualitative sample was purposively selected from one college in Zambia and one college in Malawi.

3.4.2 Data Collection Procedures

Quantitative: A survey was conducted using a questionnaire designed by the researchers. The questionnaire was administered to the 90 teachers. The questionnaire items included likert type questions measuring attitudes to the policy, teacher knowledge of the policy, and perceptions on successful implementation, given the multilingual nature of the societies. To ensure that findings are reliable, the data collection tools were peer reviewed before data was collected.

Qualitative: Data was collected using focus group interviews, which were conducted at all five research sites. An open-ended semi-structured interview schedule was used to collect data. The interviews focused on understanding experiences, thoughts and reactions towards the policy, and how they perceived the success of the policy in general. To ensure data and findings were credible, the results were presented in a seminar form at two of the sampled colleges with the lecturers, allowing them to provide feedback to the findings of the study.

3.4.3 Data Analysis

Qualitative and quantitative data were analyzed separately and the findings integrated in a meta-analysis consistent with parallel mixed methods design. Recurring themes and issues were identified from the qualitative interviews recordings and field notes. The key issues were, therefore, presented as findings of the qualitative part of the study. Quantitative analysis, utilized descriptive statistics; frequencies, cross tabulations, means and standard deviations to explore the data and respond to the research questions. The results were presented in charts, tables, and graphs.

3.4.4 Ethical Considerations

According to Creswell (2012), research should respect how study participants and research sites are accessed. Before data was collected, the researchers sought permission from the principals of the colleges, who are responsible for the running of their respective colleges, and also act as gate keepers of the institutions. The research and its purpose were explained to them, and permission was requested to collect data from lecturers through questionnaires and interviews. The principals informed their members and allowed the researchers to collect the data. Selected participants were informed about the study and its purposes, and assured of confidentiality of their identities in the preparation of the report. Their informed consent was orally requested to participate in the study. The study further committed to report the findings clearly and honestly in the spirit of academic research without bias.

3.4.5 Scope of the Study

The study was faced with a few challenges. The first was a result of the timing. The data collection coincided with Christmas break in most teacher training colleges. This situation made it difficult to be strict on sampling, particularly for the quantitative part of the study, because a good number of staffs were involved in supervision of open and distance learning students outside the institutions, making it difficult to access them. Consequently, the study, in some cases, had to make do with the available staff on campus, who were handling different cohorts of distance learning students. The challenge is reflected in the composition of the lecturers; as can be noted under sample, a large proportion of the teaching staff in both countries had been lectures for relatively shorter periods. This, naturally, would make it difficult for them to reflect deeply on how programs have evolved over time, or failed to do so, as they had no experience of the situation prior to the current policies. However, it was comforting to have a few who had experienced both the past and the present scenarios.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

The study, investigated the perceptions of lecturers on how language policies in education in Zambia and Malawi have affected teacher education programs in their respective colleges. Three study questions were raised to guide the investigation. This section presents the study' s findings and discussion. It begins with a summary of the sample characteristics, followed by study findings on the three study questions and an integrated analysis of the qualitative and quantitative findings of the study.

4.2 Summary of Sample Statistics

The study interviewed lecturers in six teacher education colleges, three colleges in each of the two countries. The following table summarizes the sample characteristics;

Table 6 Summary of Sample Characteristics

Gender			**Country**		**Total**
			Malawi	**Zambia**	
male	length of service in the profession in years	0-5	20	15	35
		6-10	3	11	14
		11-15	0	1	1
		16-20	2	1	3
		Over 21	2	0	2
	Total		**27**	**28**	**55**
female	length of service in the profession in years	0-5	15	7	22
		6-10	1	1	2
		16-20	1	1	2
		Over 21	2	6	8
	Total		**19**	**15**	**34**

The sample comprised of 58% males in Malawi and 65% males in Zambia. Apparently, the majority of the lecturers in both countries had 0-5 years teaching experience in the colleges, 76% in Malawi and 51% in Zambia. However, 15% of lecturers sampled in Malawi had served for over 16 years, while in Zambia, 18% had served over 16 years. It is important to notice that the current language policies in both countries dates back to almost fifteen years before this study. On this point, the presence of lecturers with over fifteen years' experience in the sample is particularly critical in generating comprehensive views on the how the language policy in education has actually affected the programs of teacher training in the two countries experiences.

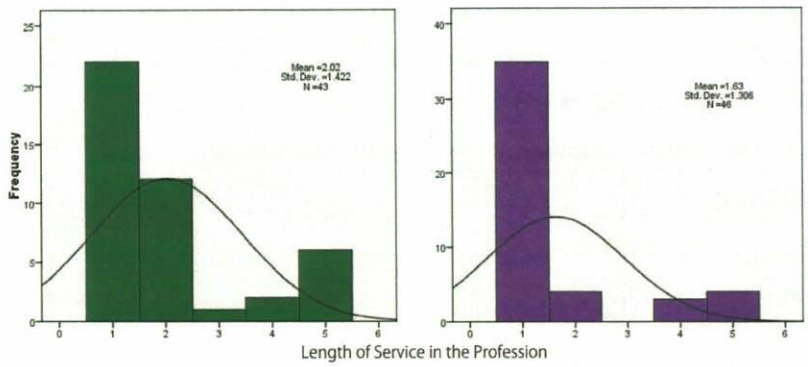


Fig 4.1a Length of Service Zambia **Fig 4.1b Length of Service Malawi**

As noted earlier, the presence of older members of staff was regarded particularly useful in that it would be possible to draw on views on how the situation has evolved, since the policies in question dates back to the 1990's in both countries. The two frequency graphs above presents the distribution of the years of service for the study sample. Zambia had a mean score of 1.63 years sd.1.306 while Malawi had a mean score of 2.02 years with sd. 1.422. In general, the graphs shows that in both countries teacher training is dominantly served by lecturers in the 0-5 years range, with very few lecturers serving beyond 16 years. This would pose a challenge in the interpretations of the study findings, owing to the limited experience of the sample. However, the qualitative data allowed in-depth interviews, where the older members were able to provide comparative information on how the current system would compare to what was going on before the policies. In the next sections, both quantitative and qualitative findings on the research questions are presented and later discussed.

4.3 Study Findings and Discussion

4.3.1 What are the Perceptions of Lecturers of the Current Language Policy in Education in Malawian and Zambian Colleges of Education?

To answer the research question, the study first investigated the lecturers' knowledge and understanding of the policies in question in the two countries, as well as their perceptions and feelings when the policy was announced. It was necessary to establish what lecturers understand about the policy before exploring the other questions of the research. This would create a framework for understanding the impact of the policies on teacher education and, consequently, the perceived impact on students' future opportunities as a result of being exposed to this policy. Quantitative findings will be presented, followed by qualitative findings on the issue. In general, the findings show that there was mixed understandings on what the policy actually says. Commonly, in Malawi, there was confusion on whether or not the policy is about the use of Chewa, which has been the used as the language of instruction from the

colonial times and emphasized in the post-independence period. The lecturers were asked if they knew the policy and then asked to indicate the content of the policy. The graph below shows responses from teacher colleges in Malawi.

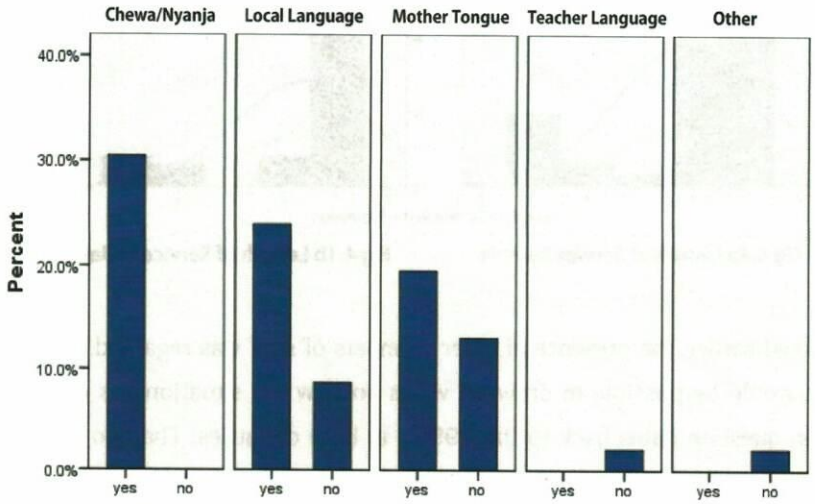


Fig 4.2 Are you aware of the current language policy?

As shown in the graph above, data on knowledge of the policy was cross-tabulated with data on the content of the policy. The results show that lecturers from Malawi dominantly understood the policy to imply the use of Chewa in the classroom, with a good number understanding it as the use of mother tongue. This finding show that there were mixed understandings about the content of the policy among the Malawian sample. One possible explanation would be a poor communication of the policy among the teacher trainers. If the teacher trainers understood the contents of the policy, it would be easier for them to explain the content of the policy, which was not the case. A further explanation could possibly reflect the long history of using Chewa as a language of instruction in the lower classrooms in Malawi. This may explain why some lecturers still felt the policy on local language meant the use of Chewa during classroom instruction.

The next graph, Fig 4.3, present findings from the Zambian sample. Unlike the Malawi scenario, the majority of the Zambians were able to pick the correct understanding of the policy in Zambia; over 60% correctly identified the content of the policy as requiring the use of a local language during classroom instruction in the lower grades of primary school. Generally, the study found that among the Zambian lecturers there was a relatively higher understanding of the existing policy on language of instruction in the country.

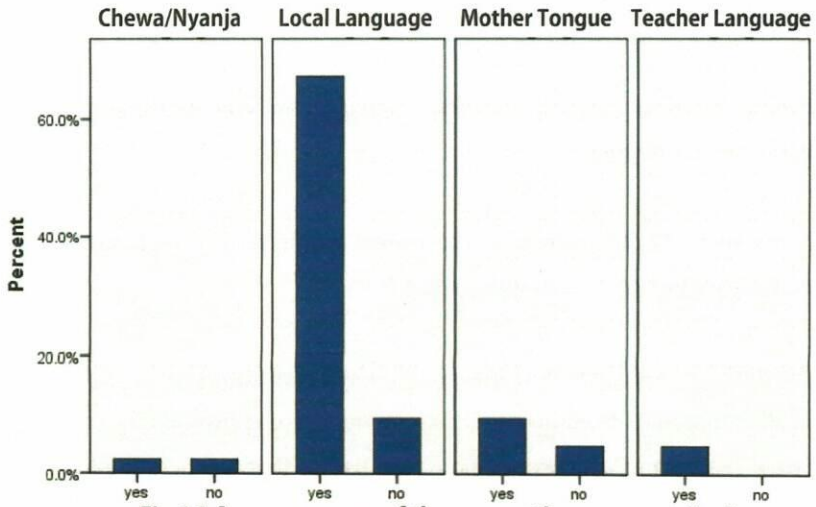


Fig 4.3 Are you aware of the current language policy?

The Zambian scenario may actually be a reflection of the influence of the literacy project NBTL currently being implemented. The project requires use of a local language in teaching literacy in the lower grades of primary school. There is a good possibility that lecturers actually were referring to this project when they talked about the language policy in education. If this be the case, it would equally point to a lack of clarity on actual content of the policy on language in education.

Analysis of the qualitative data was informative in number of ways in highlighting the perceptions lecturers had on the policy. Qualitative analysis highlighted a number of issues regarding the way lecturers perceive the policy. The following issues emerged from the analysis: lack of proper orientation and communication of the policy, perceived problems associated with the policy, and lack of teaching and learning materials to support the policy.

Lectures expressed concerns at government's failure to provide appropriate orientation to the lecturers regarding the new policy, and its associated implication on how teacher training should proceed. The voices of the lecturers in Malawi on the matter are highlighted in the comments quoted below;

> "Authorities seem not to care when changing things, we only heard about the policy through media, there is no document or guidelines explaining how teachers should be trained in line with this policy. We mostly see this when we go to schools. In most cases it is not even a local language rather it's teaching in Chichewa, teachers in schools are not actually following this policy."

> "…we have not been oriented till now on what the policy is about and what is

expected from us as teacher trainers."

"This policy from government, went straight to the schools bypassing those of us in teacher training."

"I was very skeptical on how the policy would work…lecturers were not involved, we just heard about the policy."

"It is difficult to imagine how this policy would work because, as trainers, we do not teach students from one area. Our students come from all over the country …what medium of instruction should we use so that teachers implement what we teach them?"

"As a teacher trainer, I will have problems to go and supervise a student teacher teaching in a language that I do not understand. It will be very difficult for me to assess the student. Moreover, we only use Chichewa and English when training them."

Similar sentiments were expressed by Zambian educators on the language policy in education in Zambia, as noted by some lecturers' comments below;

"It does not make sense why should students start with local language only to abandon it later for English." (This comment was in apparent reference to the literacy project going on where a local language is used as a language of initial literacy while English remain the official language of instruction).

"I have not seen the document."

The comments above suggest that lecturers in both countries were not clear about the policy and how it is expected to work. In the case of Zambia, lecturers were confused between the language policy and a program on basic literacy that was being implemented. Most lecturers talked about the literacy program as the language policy in education. The consequences of having teacher trainers not clear about the current language policy in education is a very serious problem to the successful implementation of the policy. It is difficult to imagine how teacher trainers can effectively train teachers, who would carry out the dictates of the policy in question, when they do not have a clear understanding of the policy itself.

Lectures highlighted the challenge of how the policy is understood. In the case of Malawi, lecturers noted that most teachers interpret the policy on using local languages to mean teaching in Chewa. Lecturers indicated that oftentimes when they supervise students in schools across the country they find students and other teachers actually teaching in Chewa, even in areas where Chewa is not a local language. Observations made by the lecturers are captured in the thought quoted below;

> "Trainees say they are using the mother tongue when they teach using Chichewa. That shows that they misunderstand use of Chichewa and use of a mother tongue."

> "Teaching materials, like guides, are in Chichewa, so students by default take it that it's about using Chichewa, and in the north they sometimes use Tumbuka."

Lecturers felt the policy creates problems in the system, particularly when it comes to implementation, and teacher posting. They noted that the huge language diversity in the countries making it difficult to effectively meet the needs of teaching effectively in all the languages. In Zambia, with seven regional languages, lecturers felt there are still too many languages; and it still poses problems in systems, where posting is open, that one is not trained to teach with a particular region in mind. Naturally, this would mean a teacher should be conversant in all the seven languages when they graduate from college, which is not possible. Below are some comments from lecturers capturing these thoughts?

> "The use of the current policy based on regional languages is difficult because the languages are still too many."

> "…not practical to implement…."

> "Inconsistent policies and too many experimental programs result in confusion."

> "…in case of schools in urban centers where children come from different language backgrounds, which language of instruction will the teacher use as a mother tongue?"

The case was not different from the Malawian sample. Unlike Zambia, where seven regional languages are identified to be used as languages of instruction, Malawi has no limit on the number of languages to be used as languages of instruction in the lower grades. The

Center for Language Studies at the University of Malawi records 18 languages for Malawi. (See: Language Map, at the beginning of the report). As the policy stands, each of these 18 languages is a candidate as a language of instruction in schools in the various places where these languages are spoken. The colleges similarly recruit trainees from across the country without regard to language backgrounds. When the trainees graduate, they are posted to any part of the country, depending on the needs of the education system. The following quotes demonstrate the sentiments on this issue;

> "It will be bad to send people to teach in their home areas because they will be incapacitated should they be posted to teach in places where they are not familiar with the local languages spoken."

> "The policy will encourage tribalism as it may require teachers to be sent to their home areas where they are familiar with the language."

In this situation, a teacher may be posted to teach in an area where the local language is not known to the teacher. This situation would force the schools to allocate such teachers to senior classes, where English is the medium of instruction, leaving the lower classes poorly staffed. This will negatively affect the quality of teaching in the lower classes.

Lecturers also noted that the policy creates problems during transition. Since the use of local language is limited to the lower levels of primary schools, student develop weak competencies in English. The poor competencies in English compromises students' performance as they move to the upper levels of primary school, threatening their future academic achievement. Some of these observations are captured below;

> "The policy is a good idea. Student learn better when they are learning in a language they are familiar with. However, the use of English in the upper levels of primary school represents a problem postponed, as it creates problems for students when they move to full instruction in English."

> "Teacher guides are written in English and Chichewa up to now; how will teachers teach in all languages when they do not have teacher guides?"

The issue of teaching material was another important challenge lecturers observed with the policy. Currently, in Malawi, teacher guides are only available in English and Chewa; there are no teaching and learning materials published in the rest of the languages. Lecturers noted that the training institutions do not have material in those other languages, let alone experts

to train teachers in those languages. This is seen as the single most important challenge to the policy. Despite the challenges noted, it was interesting to note that lecturers share the view that use of local language in the lower classes of primary school was a step in the right direction, and that learner's benefit from a clear understanding of the concepts being taught. However, they equally highlighted the challenges of implementing the policy from their perspective.

4.3.2 How has the Language Policy in Education affected Teacher Training Programs in Colleges of Education in Zambia and Malawi?

The study investigated the perceived changes in teacher training programs, that are deemed to have resulted from the new language policy in education, to establish the impact of the policy on the programs. Data collected through questionnaires assessed lecturers' perceptions on existence of new demands, in terms of training to ensure that teachers are prepared to handle lessons in multiple languages. The study also explored if there has been any change to the curriculum for teacher training, following the new language policy. As a follow up to these questions, the study investigated lecturers' perceptions on how the current training prepares teachers with sufficient skills to handle different languages of instruction that they may encounter in schools where they are posted as required by policy. Below are the findings that came up in the study.

Exploring whether there are new demands on training as a result of the policy, lectures were asked to rate their perceptions on a scale 1-5 where five indicated significant demands are experienced. The graphs below presents the findings on this segregated by the length of service in teacher training. Fig 4.4a presents the Malawi scenario while Fig 4.4b presents the Zambian scenario.

New demands on teacher training programs associated with the current language policy in education

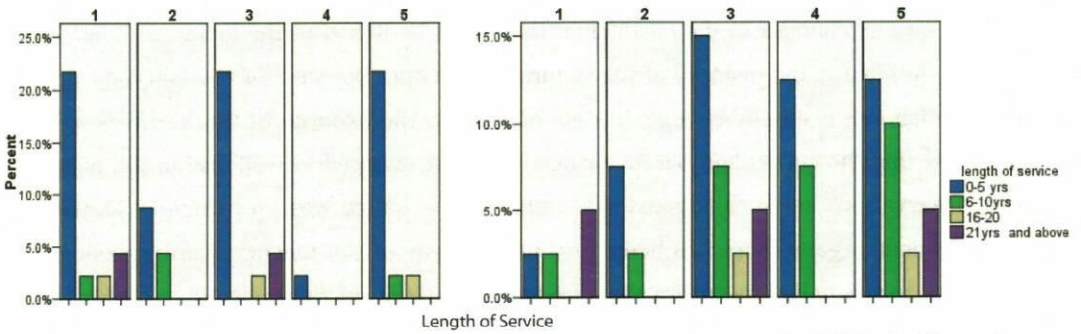


Fig 4.4a New Demadns on Teacher Training Malawi **Fig 4.4b New Demadns on Teacher Training Zambia**

The findings from Malawi indicate the difference between lecturers with few years of teaching and those who have taught longer. The majority of those with 16 years of service and above were of the view that there have not been any new demands on the programs for teacher training that, in their opinion, could be linked to the language policy in education. The views of the most recent lecturers were spread from no changes to significant changes. One possible interpretation would be, due to the limited time they have been with the colleges of education, they are limited on how to compare current training programs and the situation before the policies in question were implemented. This could explain the wide variation in the responses in this group. On the other hand, the opinions of lecturers with longer experience in Zambia spread from moderate to significant changes, in contrast with the perceptions of the lecturers with few teaching years, as shown in the graph above.

As a follow up to the above, the study further explored specifically for changes in the curriculum to accommodate the new policy. This would help to understand what is meant by changes, or lack of changes, in teacher training on account of the policy. Lecturers were asked to indicate if changes were made in the curriculum that could be associated with accommodating the policy. The results are presented below;

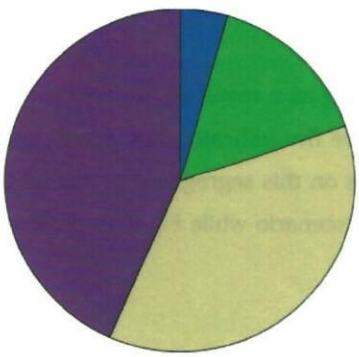


Fig 4.5a: Malawi

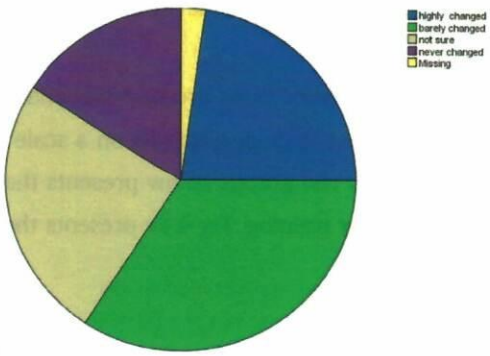


Fig 4.5b: Zambia

As charts above show, in both countries, there is little evidence to suggest that there have been any serious changes to the curriculum that could be linked to the language policy in education. In Malawi, the majority of the lectures were either not sure, or outright indicated, that there has not been any change. In case of Zambia, the majority of the lecturers were of the view that the curriculum barely changed to never changed in response to the policy. These observations seem to suggest that much as the policy was, in principle, enacted by government organs there has been very little in way of the teacher training colleges responding to the policy to ensure that the implementation of the policy is assured. The observations above show that the curriculum remained as it was, and there have not been any significant demands that have been noted in terms of teacher training in either country.

With this view in mind, the study further sought to investigate the extent to which the current training offered to teachers is sufficient, and does equip them with skills and knowledge to provide instruction in the local languages of the schools to which they may find themselves posted across the country.

The graph below presents findings linking lecturers perceptions of the sufficiency of the current training to meet policy requirements, and the relevancy of the skills imparted to new teachers to specifically help them deal with the language issues in classrooms. Fig 4.6a represents Malawi sample and Fig 4.6b represents Zambian sample.

From the graph below, the majority of lecturers in colleges of education in Malawi felt that current training is not sufficient to meet the requirements of the policy; neither are the teachers equipped enough to effectively teach using the different languages of instructions. In other words, the lecturers are of the view that current training is not in tandem with the needs and expectations of the policy. A good proportion was not even sure if the current training would be sufficient to meet the requirements of the policy, let alone equipping teachers with skills requisite to deliver on the requirements of the language policy in education in Malawi.

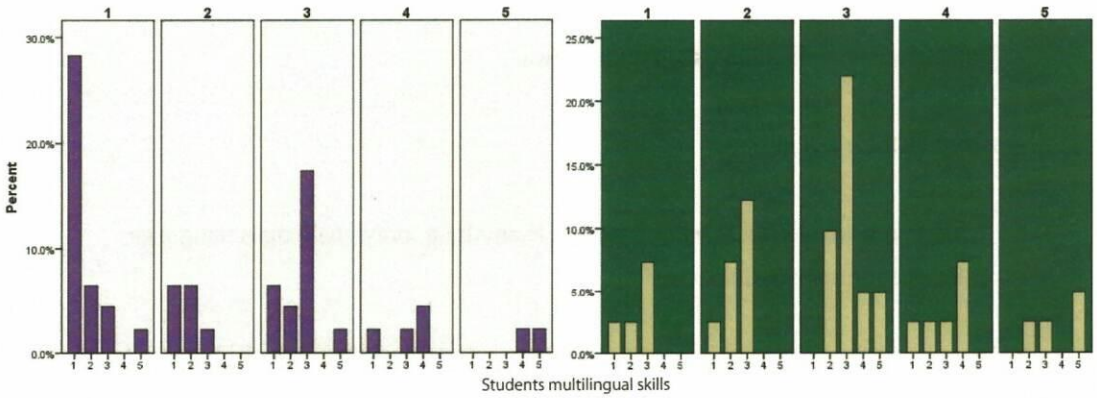


Fig 4.6a Training Sufficiency Malawi **Fig 4.6b Training Sufficiency Zambia**

The situation among lecturers in Zambia was hardly any difference. As can be seen from the graph above, which presents findings on similar questions from the Zambian sample, it can be noted that the majority of lecturers were not sure that the training was either sufficient or equipping teachers with appropriate skills to handle the diverse languages of the country in the places where they may end up teaching. A considerable number were also of the opinion that the training is actually not sufficient and does not equip teachers with the required skills to deliver on the policy. This situation is rather troublesome when one considers the future of the policy. If teacher training is not preparing teachers who could be expected to effectively teach either literacy or otherwise in the basic languages of instruction in the various areas of the country, it raises serious questions on government commitment to seriously deliver on

this policy.

Qualitative analysis on this question reflected the findings of the quantitative analysis above. When lecturers were asked to comment on activities that were taken in response to the policy in teacher training, they noted that actually nothing changed in the way teachers were trained in the past and now. They observed that the fact that teacher training was left out of the policy; there has not been any activities in the colleges that would be associated with new language policy.

> "Nothing really has changed here following this policy."

> "The content (apparent reference to curriculum) has not changed in any way."

> "The policy has not been implemented, hence, no impact of any kind."

> "Current training does not address issues of teaching in multilingual classrooms or local languages. Teacher colleges are guided by existing materials that teachers have to use in teaching and, as of now, we do not have materials in languages other than English and Chichewa."

Another lecturer noted

> "…no major impact on teacher training, if anything, only challenges; language of instruction remain Chichewa."

In general, qualitative findings agree with the quantitative observations that no serious changes are reported in either case by the lecturers regarding the impact of the policy. The findings point out that teacher training programs have not been impacted in any meaningful way as a result of the language policies in either country. They have continued to conduct their affairs as was the case before these policies were enacted. They have continued to prepare teachers with no regard to the multilingual environment in which the teachers are supposed to work. Different problems and challenges have been highlighted on possible causes of this lack of impact on their operations. The last question of the study sought to explore perceptions of the relationship between language of instruction as stipulated by the existing policies and the students' future opportunities.

4.3.3 What are Lecturers' Perceptions of the Social Relevancy of the Current Language Policies on Student Future Opportunities?

The study investigated the perceived social relevance of the current policies, particularly the perceived relationship between the policies and students future opportunities. This was to explore possible challenges and support the policy might have among teacher trainers. Fig 4.7a for Malawi and Fig 4.7b for Zambia, present results on the perceived social relevancy of the current policies in education.

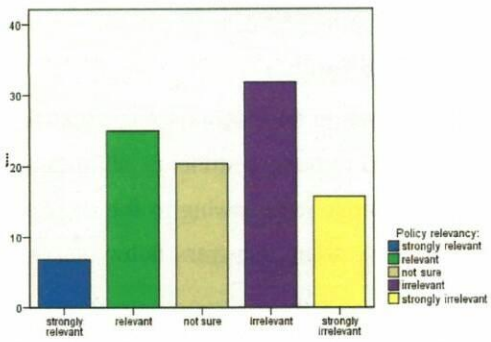


Fig 4.7a Malawi

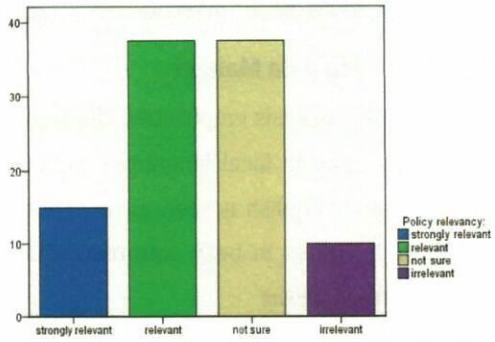


Fig 4.7b Zambia

As the two graphs show, the Malawian participants generally tended to view the policy as not socially relevant for the Malawian society. On the other hand, the Zambian group was divided on the policy; some felt it being relevant, while others felt it was not as relevant to society. One possible explanation for the findings is that, in Malawi, English has a higher status; the education system places a lot of emphasis on English, and ability to speak English, as valuable skills for survival. On the other hand, the Zambian situation may be divided because as much as English remains the official language of instruction, and is appreciated for similar reasons to those of the Malawi sample, the use of local languages is deemed as retrogressive by those who see it as contributing to poor grasp of English language by taking time that should have been spent in cultivating English skills to learn in the local language, whose relevance in the society is almost nonexistent. This thought was further explored by examining how the lecturers perceive the link between the language policy and student future opportunities. The study found that lectures in Malawi felt the policy lowers student future opportunities, while those in Zambia felt that the policy actually increases the student future opportunities. Fig 4.8a for Malawi and 4.8b for Malawi presents a summary of the views.

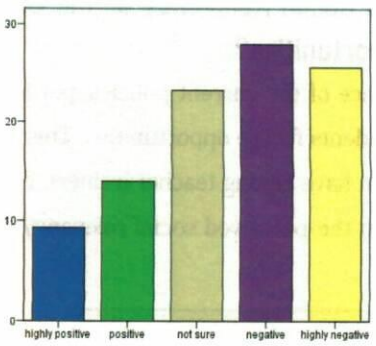


Fig 4.8a Malawi

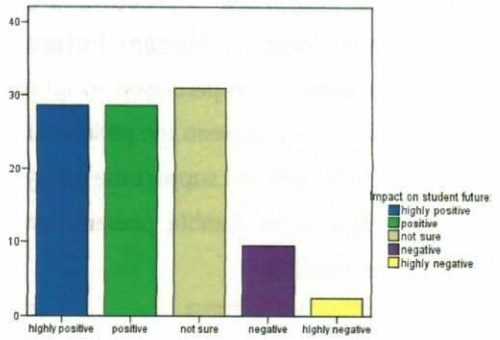


Fig 4.8b Zambia

Qualitative analysis emphasized these findings. Lecturers in both countries felt that time spent on teaching in local languages could better be used to bolster students' abilities and skills in English. English is seen as an economic and academic must, owing to the emphasis and status it enjoys in both countries. The comments by some lecturers below serve to emphasize these views;

> "Local language creates poor background for English later, thus, compromising students abilities in English later."

> "We need to focus on English to avoid being isolated in the global community."

> "The current policy compromises students ability to think critically in English, write good essays, poor reading, as well as understanding concepts later."

It is interesting to note that the challenge of using the local languages is premised on students' later abilities to excel in the use of English. When students fail to demonstrate skills in English, the blame is put to the use of local languages earlier in the system. However, this thinking may have more to do with the thinking that English is very important for the child in the future, and rightly so given the high status accorded to the language. This thinking may suggest that any language used in instruction would be judged on the basis of its support to attaining corresponding competency in English. One would argue that this situation, at best, has to do with the status of local languages in the two countries. The low status accorded to this language, in effect, is the reason why there is apparent resentment in making these languages of instruction.

This section has presented the findings of both qualitative and quantitative data of the study, and their corresponding discussions in the light of the research questions. The next section will present the summary, conclusions and recommendations of the study.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summaries of Research Questions and Findings

The study set out to explore the impact of the language polices on teacher training programs in Zambian and Malawian colleges of education. Three study questions were investigated to respond to the overall purpose of the study. Presented here below is a summary of the key findings of the study;

First, the study investigated lecturers' perceptions of the current language policy in education in Malawian and Zambian colleges of education.

The study found that, despite the acknowledged benefits of learning in one's familiar language, there is no consensus on the practicality of implementing the policy in a multilingual environment of the two countries, due to the problems associated with training teachers for the many languages of the country, and resources required in the schools, which is compounded by deployment procedures that are used. A lot of challenges were identified which included: no clear guidelines exist on how the policies are to be implemented in teacher education, lack of orientation among teacher trainers on the policy, and confusion on how the linguistic diversity of the countries should be addressed in their programs of education. Generally, lecturers feel that there is more that has not been done to ensure that the policy succeeds.

The second question investigated how the language policy in education affected teacher training programs in colleges of education in Zambia and Malawi.

The study found no significant impact on the programs of teacher training in either country. Teacher training programs have remained in the same form as was the case before policies came to life in both countries. This pointed out a mismatch between activities of teacher training and the intentions of the policy. This problem has been compounded by a corresponding lack of an enabling mechanism, evidenced by lack of involvement of teacher training institutions in the policy decisions, nor explanations of new demands on teacher training. This has also been highlighted by nonexistent materials for teacher training and teaching both in the colleges and schools outside the colleges.

Finally, the study investigated lecturers' perceptions of the social relevancy of the current language policies on student future opportunities.

The study found that language of instruction is seen to be related to children's future. A

child gains good grasp of language when young. However, the use of local language delays this grasp of English, which is seen by many as economically and academically useful - given its emphasis and status in the world of work and higher levels of education. To a greater extent, this was a reflection on the use of local languages only in the junior section of the primary school and switching back to English in the senior classes, thereby compromising students' ability in the language that is very central to their future opportunities.

5.2 Recommendations of the Study

In view of the findings above, the study recommends the following:

i. There is need to quickly orient teacher training colleges on the policy and how it ought to be operationalized in their activities. Failure to do this will result in producing teachers with limited skills and abilities to effectively deliver on the policy for the benefit of the students in various schools.

ii. There is need in Malawi to identify key languages that could be used as languages of instruction, as is the case in Zambia.

iii. There is need to put up a mechanism to develop materials in the selected languages to support the training of teachers, as well as to support use of these languages in the schools.

iv. The colleges of education need to build capacity to teach the selected languages and prepare teachers effectively in their use as languages of instruction.

5.3 Conclusion

The success of a language policy in education cannot be guaranteed in the absence of a deliberate involvement of teacher education programs. The success of a language policy in education calls for a corresponding system to train teachers with knowledge and skills to support the policy. The present study identifies a critical gap in the implementation of the current language policies in Zambia and Malawi. The support of teacher training institutions cannot be attained when teacher colleges remain spectators to the process of formulating policies to affecting delivery of teaching services in the institutions. This critical gap may explain the lack of success of such policies.

Much as this study has not considered how the policies are doing in the schools, it would not be surprising to find huge challenges with the policies; if at all evidence could be found of

the policies being implemented. In this vein, there is need for evaluation studies to understand the impact of the policy within the schools in both countries. There is equally need explore the possibility of raising the status of the local languages of instruction, to make them more relevant beyond the junior primary, and possibly considering making their usefulness alongside that of the current English.

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About Authors

Sande NGALANDE (Ph.D.)

He is Lecturer of Linguistics and African Languages at the University of Zambia in the Department of Literature and Languages. He has published on Linguistics in Zambia and Africa.

Antonie CHIGEDA

He is a lecturer in the faculty of education at the University of Malawi, Chancellor College. A PhD candidate at the Graduate school of Asian and African Area Studies (ASAFAS), Kyoto University, Japan. He has published two books: *Education and the fight against corruption* and *Teacher discipline in Malawian secondary schools: Challenges and opportunities*.

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