

**CHOICE AND USE OF MEDIA OF INSTRUCTION IN LOWER PRIMARY CLASSES
IN MULTI-LINGUAL UGANDA**

BY

MUHAMMED NYANZI-KABANDA

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DECLARATION

I, Muhammed Nyanzi-Kabanda, declare that this thesis on the topic: **Choice and Use of Media of Instruction in Lower Primary Schools in Multi-lingual Uganda** is my own original work developed under the supervision and guidance of Prof. Peter Barasa and Prof. Carolyne Omulando as my supervisors.

Signature.....

Date.....

Muhammed Nyanzi-Kabanda.

ED/DPHIL/CM/03/12

Signature.....

Date.....

Prof. Peter Barasa

Department of Curriculum, Instruction and Educational Media

School of Education

Moi University

Signature.....

Date.....

Prof. Carolyne Omulando

Department of Language and Literature Education

School of Education and Social Sciences

Alupe University College

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to all those working towards the elimination of social injustice in Education.

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ABSTRACT

In some multilingual societies, the choice of medium of instruction (MOI) depends on the national Language of Instruction (LOI) policy framework. The languages chosen as MOI in different areas and at different levels become the ones through which classroom instruction and assessment is done. Choice is usually automatic in monolingual communities but tends to be difficult in ethno-linguistically diverse communities and urban areas. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to investigate how choice of medium of instruction according to the policy impacts on the pedagogical practices used in schools in ethno-linguistically diverse communities in Uganda. The objectives were identifying the languages chosen and why, comparing the pedagogical practices used, finding out the fluency of teachers in using the selected MOIs and determining the extent to which the selected MOIs were actually used. The study was guided by Socio-Cultural Theory (SCT) by Lev Semeonovich Vygotsky and Critical Theory by Max Horkheimer. This qualitative interpretive study was informed by Constructivism and it adopted a multiple case study design. The study participants were primary school head teachers, lower primary school teachers, and pupils. The study engaged 8 head teachers and 8 teachers of lower primary classes in rural and urban schools in Lyantonde and Tororo districts in Uganda. The sampling of participating schools was purposively done and schools were selected basing on their rural/urban location within the ethno-linguistically diverse areas and the selection of teachers was determined by the classes they taught and languages used in the selected schools. The data collection instruments were an observation schedule, two interview schedules and a document analysis guide. Data were analysed qualitatively by coding them into categories forming relevant themes based on the study variables and objectives. The findings indicated that schools in urban areas or where multiple major indigenous language were used chose L₂ and those in rural areas with one or similar indigenous languages chose the medium from those languages. The use of the chosen languages during instruction varied with the location of the school, the linguistic composition of the pupils and teachers, and the average social economic status of the community. The findings of this study are deemed to be useful in critiquing language of education policies and practices in ethno-linguistically diverse societies where the choice and use of language as media of instruction is a contentious issue. The findings should also inform language policy review in former colonies with issues concerning whether and where to use one or several local languages instead of, or in addition to, their former colonial masters' languages of wider communication as media of instruction and up to what level. On the basis of the findings, specific recommendations are made in the areas of Language in Education and Language of Education policy formulation and implementation, teacher education and sensitisation of various stake holders in the education industry. One specific recommendation advanced is to sensitise parents and teachers on the benefits of providing education through familiar languages. This may be by publicising highlights of its success in research and practice.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ADEA	Association for the Development of Education in Africa
EPRC	Education Policy Review Commission
DLB	District Language Board
FL	Foreign Language
GWP	Government White Paper
L₁	First Language
L₂	Second Language
LOI	Language of Instruction
MoES	Ministry of Education and Sports
MOI	Medium of Instruction
MT	Mother Tongue
MT-MLE	Mother Tongue-based Multilingual Education
NCDC	National Curriculum Development Centre
PLE	Primary Leaving Examination
SES	Socioeconomic Status
SL	Second Language
SUPER	Support for Uganda Primary Education Reform
UNESCO	United Nations Education and Cultural Commission
UNEB	Uganda National Examinations Board
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

The language factor in instructional communication is so vital that learners who are inadequate in the medium of instruction (MOI) cannot even express their need for repetition or clarification. Even where the required response is behavioural (not verbal) such learners' failure to respond, due to failure to comprehend, may be interpreted as disobedience. In assessment, language ability affects achievement as it is crucial in both interpretation of the task and the instructions and in formulation of answers. This makes language a mediating variable between reception and comprehension of learning input on one hand, and concept formation and expression of response on the other. In Uganda, the language of instruction (LOI) policy requires that in the first four years of primary education the MOI be mother tongue (MT) or the most commonly used or familiar language to the learners. By 1999, the National Curriculum Development Centre (NCDC) had recognised 63 main languages (Ward, Penny, & Read, 2006). These languages are at different levels of development in terms of having established orthographies, availability of course materials and teaching/learning aids written in them, the number of communicative functions they serve, and availability of trained teachers to teach through them. Therefore, the researcher found it necessary to carry out a study on the factors influencing choice and use of MOI in implementing the language of education policy in multi-ethnic Uganda. In this regard, this chapter presents a general background to the history of education in East Africa, highlights the education language policy in Uganda and states the

problem to be studied. The chapter also includes the objectives, purpose, justification, significance, research questions, scope, limitations, theoretical and conceptual framework, and operational definition of the key terms used in the study.

1.2 Background to the Study

In nearly all former colonies in the developing world, the education system and the MOI were usually maintained after independence as higher education was originally obtainable only in, or through financing from, the former colonising country. Where the former colony has a multi-ethnic population with languages of low mutual intelligibility levels, the maintaining of the language of the former colonising country and giving it the status of official or national language also serves purposes of intra-national communication.

Although all British East African countries (Uganda, Kenya, and Tanzania) were under the same colonial power just prior to independence, each had a different school system. In Kenya, different races had separate schools: schools for children of the White settlers, schools for the Asians, and schools for the Africans. In Uganda, schools were established and managed by missionaries. The first schools were founded by the Roman Catholic Church and the Anglican Church with the aid of missionaries; and, much later, Islamic theology foundation non formal schools (madrassa) were established. Later, some of these schools integrated secular studies. Tanzania was originally a German colony and its school system was not equally oriented, particularly in terms of language, to the British education system by the time of independence. But all the three countries maintained the British system of education after independence.

Up to the Advanced ('A') level of education, the curricula of the three countries were pegged to the British system of education and examinations were set by Cambridge University. Later the East African Examinations Council was set up as the authority for examining Ordinary and Advanced level certificate courses in the three countries. This Council remained in place even after the collapse of the East African Community in the mid '70s. Later each country set up a separate examinations body.

In Uganda, the Uganda National Examinations Board (UNEB) was set up in 1980 and is in charge of all national examinations except for universities and their affiliated institutions, and some other specialised vocational courses. Apart from papers in which the subject of examination is a language, all national examinations by UNEB and other specialised examinations bodies are set in English. This makes it strategic and justifiable for all schools to aim at adopting the use of English as MOI from the earliest time possible.

1.2.1 Education Language Policy and Practice in Uganda

Uganda was colonised by Britain, attained Independence in 1962 and has over 60 indigenous languages. The languages are related to different groups of people including the Bantu, the Nilotic, and Nile-Hermites; and some are not intelligible.

The Language of Instruction policy in Uganda follows the Mother Tongue based Bilingual Language Education (MTBLE) policy. Mother Tongue based Bilingual Language Education (MT-BLE) starts with two languages of instruction, of which one must be the first language of the pupils. MT-BLE includes a wide range of models depending on when the second language is first used for instruction and whether the mother tongue is dropped or retained. Subtractive models remove the mother tongue and replace it with L₂ as the only language of instruction.

The subtractive early-exit model, the one adopted by Uganda, provides that all pupils should be taught in their mother tongue or a familiar local language during the first four years of education. English, taught as a subject throughout the primary school course, is the official and sole MOI from primary five and Local Language is supposed to be taught as a subject from P1 up to P6 in addition to being used as MOI during the first three years of primary education in all schools except those in urban areas. Kiswahili should be taught as a subject from P4 up to the end of the primary school course (National Curriculum Development Centre, 2000).

Children of school going age are dependents of the adults responsible for them and share the same home language(s) as used by the adults they depend on. School accessibility is in terms of distance to the school location, eligibility for admission and financial affordability of the fees. All three senses of accessibility vary for each pupil with home background in terms of home location, parent's/guardian's level of education and income. Pupils from homes characterised by rural location, lowly educated parents/guardians, or low-income backgrounds are more likely to have access only to schools where choice of L₂ in the lower primary section is not academically justifiable. Accordingly, after P4, the obligatory use of L₂ as MOI (and its contribution as a subject to overall grading) in schools with teachers and pupils from such backgrounds tends to limit academic achievement, retention in school and competition for eligibility for admission to tertiary institutions. The particular requirement of a grade not lower than a credit in English language as a subject for admission to all certificate and diploma courses eliminates those for whom the language and learning conditions are difficult.

In practice, the policy is not strictly implemented. Many schools do not teach any of the local languages or Kiswahili as subjects. Some rural schools with almost all pupils

sharing a common indigenous language use such languages as the media of instruction beyond the stipulated switch-over class for some subjects. Most boarding primary schools and especially those located in and/or serving ethno-linguistically diverse communities use English as the MOI right from primary one. Such schools usually have a nursery section and require P1 entrants from other schools to have attended nursery school and subject them to entry interviews.

At the end of the primary school course, neither Kiswahili nor any local language (a collective term for all indigenous languages) is examined by UNEB. At the end of the ordinary ('O') level secondary school course, Kiswahili and one indigenous language (Luganda) were the only examinable African languages. It was a few years prior to this study that some other languages like Leb Lango, Leb Acholi, Runyakitara and Ateso also became examinable. All these languages are optional and none of them commands nationwide presence in the school system. This means that with the exception of Luganda, for which there is an autonomous cultural trust as an examination authority, there is no other indigenous language for inter-ethnic intra-national communication examined at primary school level in the education system. Schools in ethno-linguistically diverse areas are faced with choosing MOI between English and one majority language which may be a mother tongue to some but as unfamiliar as English for many of the other learners who may in some cases be the majority. This makes the majority of learners linguistically marginalised in terms of the MOI right from primary one.

In spite of the policy providing for the teaching of Local Language as a subject and the use of specific local languages as MOI, teacher education does not prepare teachers for implementing it. The Grade Three Teachers' Certificate course does not teach any of these languages to the teacher trainees. There is only one paper (108

Local Language Education) that is intended to promote local language awareness. This paper is examined in English and it is the same paper for primary school teacher trainees in all colleges irrespective of the indigenous languages used in the areas where the colleges are located. The content of this paper is basically linguistics but not any specific language ability. Early Childhood Education, as a component of primary teacher education, is taught in English to trainees who are expected to apply it in their respective first or area languages which they are not trained to teach in. Hence, teachers using local languages as MOI do not have specialised training in teaching through those languages

The introduction of nursery education in the country started in urban area private schools before there was any legislation to regulate nursery schools. These schools served urban communities that were linguistically diverse and used English. Later when nursery education spread to non-urban areas, English was the only language used as MOI. To date nursery teacher education courses are exclusively in English.

At home, families may use an indigenous language, Kiswahili, English, or a combination of two or more of these languages depending on the location, socio-economic status and whether the parents and/or domestic servants speak different first languages or not. Because functions vary from community to community (Penalosa, 1981), community level encounters involving individuals from such families require each of them to participate in speech activities for which they do not have shared attitudes or norms (Labov, 1972) and engage in speech acts for which each has different norms. In most communication environments, learners are embedded and learn to become active participants in culturally, politically, and socioeconomically shaped communicative contexts.

Generally, urban L₂-medium schools perform better than rural mother tongue-medium schools. Attributing the difference between urban L₂-medium and rural MT/LL-medium schools in general academic performance to solely choice of MOI and interpreting the relationship between English Language and general academic performance as a direct and causal one, schools and even some homes, try to increase exposure to English by encouraging its use and discouraging the use all other languages. Many families in urban ethno-linguistically diverse communities are characterised by low incomes and residing in slum areas and efforts by such families to use English at home can only achieve exposure to non-standard varieties that instead inhibit learning of the examined standard variety of English by the school-going children.

At school, pupils from homes and communities that use different languages, including English, interact with each other using different approximated mixtures of English and their respective first languages. Intelligibility is usually achieved because of reference often being to the immediate present ('here and now'), use of demonstrative extra-verbal communication, and regular borrowing and code-mixing between English and each speaker's first language. Language is a socio-culturally constructed artefact through which social and mental activities are mediated (Lantolf, 2000). Whether the school is located in and serves an ethno-linguistically diverse community, as in many urban areas, or in an ethno-linguistically homogeneous one, as in most rural areas; pidgin-like social dialects between English and the native languages are developed and it is through such mediums that pre-school social activity is mediated in collaborative interaction. When new young pupils join school, they are exposed to such dialects by the continuing and older majority within the school community of

practice. The latter inevitably inculcate the former in the school language culture, as part of the wider sociolinguistic context.

In Uganda, without a national language to use as MOI but with intra-national migration in quest of improved services, migrants to places beyond the areas of operation of their first languages suffer some kind of isolation in communication. In some cases, the distance between one's home area and the area of migration is in inverse relation to the intelligibility level between the languages used in the two areas. Where the migration of pupils is from a rural to an urban area, the migrants' use of the English language is usually poor compared to their communication needs in the new social environment. The LOI policy provision that learners should be taught in their mother tongue or a familiar language in the first four years of primary education tends to limit access to education by migrant children during this period. Even after the fourth year or grade of primary education, pupils whose mother tongue is different from the majority language find problems in relating with peers in extra-curricular educational activities.

Learning the standard variety of English as taught at school may not be very appealing to the integrative motivation of pupils exposed to socio-cultural use of non-standard varieties. The performance of such learners in standard tests is usually poor despite their own and their teachers' and parents' earnest efforts towards the pupils' passing the subject and attaining good overall grading. National examination statistics indicate that English language is one of the continually poorly performed subjects with candidates from rural and ethno-linguistically diverse communities having the majority of victims. Generally, even when or where tertiary education is entirely free, the low socio-economic stratum is not adequately represented. This is due to the fact

that the present language in education policy and the attendant practices disenfranchise some learners attending school in ethno-linguistically diverse communities. The choice and use of only one language, whether it is English or an indigenous language, as MOI at the lower primary level cannot be effective for learning communication as no single language can be familiar for all the pupils. Even the neutral second language is completely strange to most P1 entrants. Since the policy does not provide for the use of a combination of languages, even teachers who might be in position to use their bilingualism may refrain from doing so, fearing to go against the policy. In an attempt to implement the policy as faithfully as possible and to boost English language and overall academic performance, some urban and peri-urban schools shun or even completely ban the use any language other than English with the approval of the parents.

1.2.2 Examination Grading and Educational Transition

Social and political forces are reflected in the kinds of educational opportunities offered and language use mediates the participation of learners in those opportunities and their potential contribution to society (Hornberger, 1996). In Uganda, the extent to which learners can perform in English language and attain good academic grades to qualify for admission to tertiary level education courses is depends on the language languages chosen as MOI by the schools they attend. The grades attained by learners right from primary school level are influenced by the language of education policy and how it is implemented in the schools the learners attend.

Primary schools aim at producing results that can make their pass outs gain entry to good secondary schools and proceed to tertiary level institutions. In principle, admission to S1 is based on a candidate's grade according to the total of aggregates

scored in the four PLE subjects. But when considering applicants with the same aggregate totals above certain ranges, secondary school administrators considering applicants prefer those whose performance in English Language is better. Many primary schools try to improve pupils' performance by assessing them using tests from renowned better-performing schools. There is also a growing number of privately set examinations by schools that agree to work together within a geographical/administrative area or under a religious arrangement and some by commercial entities. Schools aspiring for excellence may choose their teaching practices with an intention of having their pupils perform well on such external examinations. Such examinations are exclusively set in English, making it imperative for schools that wish to use them to adopt English-medium at an early stage.

In the 'O' level certificate national examinations, overall performance (the division), transition to, and placement in the subsequent levels are all influenced by the language in education policy and pegged to performance in English Language and Mathematics as subjects. Any candidate who fails to appear for examination in either of these compulsory subjects is not gradable and does not get a certificate. Although the grading of the Uganda Certificate of Education (UCE) in divisions otherwise varies according to ranges of aggregate totals in eight subjects, a candidate with an aggregate total within a given division range is relegated to another division if s/he fails to get a credit in English language. A candidate with a total aggregate within the Division 1 range must obtain at least a credit 6 in both Mathematics and English to be graded so. It is mainly pupils in remote schools that are relegated.

English Language as a subject is examined in two compulsory papers at 'O' level. The first of these papers requires the examinee to produce one original imaginative essay on a topic of personal choice or two shorter pieces (one of which is compulsory) of

functional writing involving. Use of appropriate style, format, register and adhering to the instructions contribute to the mark awarded. The second paper has three sections with questions on summary, comprehension and language structure; and the sections carry equal marks. The structure part consists of 10 sentence transformation items and 10 multiple choice items of assorted linguistic content. The first paper carries a total of 40 marks and the second carries 60 marks. The final grade is determined after totalling a candidate's scores from the two papers.

The chances of attaining good grades in English language by learners in schools using different languages as MOI and pedagogical practices are different according to the schools they attend. But learners in all schools are required to be grounded in the examined variety of English and their performance in it determines the overall grading. Admission to good quality 'A' level schools depends on the division of the applicant's certificate but being offered the specific course applied for depends on his/her performance in the 3 or 4 subjects that constitute the course combination applied for. An applicant in second division who qualifies for a specific course combination may not be admitted to any of the schools of his or her choice if those schools admit only first division applicants. Such an applicant may repeat or join an academically less competitive school. Some applicants admitted to certain schools on the basis of their certificate division miss courses of their preference because of their performance in the specific subjects that constitute or are considered desirable for those courses. Such applicants usually have to either change the course and remain in the school or go to a less competitive school where admission to the same course is possible with their performance in the relevant subjects. Although in principle admission to 'A' level courses and registration for examinations does not depend on performance in English language, in practice the course and kind of school that one

joins are indirectly influenced by performance in English language and the overall grade at 'O' level and the foundation is laid at primary school level.

At tertiary institution level, several courses require applicants to have obtained specified minimum credits in English language and/or Mathematics at 'O' level apart from the weighted performance in the course-specific 'A' level subjects. Applicants to upgrading courses are in some cases required to have obtained specified grades in English language and/or Mathematics in addition to the specialised professional or technical training certificate at the relevant entry requirement level. But most of the post 'A'-level bachelors and diploma courses, including professional and international ones (for example ACCA and ICSA), do not require specific grades in English language. Internationally, applicants whose basic education was in a country where English is a second language are not required to take any language aptitude test, irrespective of their grades in English, before joining an English-medium university. But in Uganda the admission policy for applicants who do not use 'A' level direct entry to nondegree-awarding tertiary institutions requires specific English language performance grades.

Apart from the direct language factor, the policy generally tends to favour students from high socio-economic strata at all levels and again it is this same group of people that are able to acquire English before school and easily join and thrive in the English-medium schools. Whereas joining 'A' level and doing a bachelor's degree course is more prestigious and competitive than pursuing vocational studies after 'O' level, the admission requirements to vocational institutions, that would be the consolation for students in the low socio-economic stratum, tend to be regressively competitive and more prohibitive than should be. To sit for UCE, a candidate registers for between a minimum of eight (8) and a maximum of ten (10) subjects, of which English language,

Mathematics, History, Geography, and three science subjects are compulsory. To be eligible for admission to any bachelor's course at university, an applicant must have at least two principle passes at 'A' level; and admission to specific courses depends on only the annually determined weighted cut-off points for the different universities which vary with each year's total number of candidates, the general performance, and the number of applicants for each course. Ordinary level performance only supplements the applicant's total weight and all subjects weigh the same with variation due only to performance or the grade obtained in each subject. Most applicants to Arts-related or Sciences-related courses are not affected by their 'O' level performance in English language or Mathematics respectively or any subject other than those used in the weighting.

Although a candidate who does not scores credits in English and Mathematics may join 'A' level for any Arts or Sciences course and later university or any tertiary level educational institution, such a student is not eligible for admission to any institution for any diploma or certificate course. The level of formal education after which one joins vocational training determines the salary one earns and the lower this level is, the more menial the vocational trade and the lower the pay. The same level of education also determines whether and after how many years of upgrading courses one may attain the equivalent of a first degree. Moreover, pupils from rural and low SES homes join schools that usually offer optional subjects like R.E or Fine Art that are not related to vocational skills easily adaptable, apprenticeship, for production of goods or provision of services demanded by the immediate markets. All these circumstances reduce the likelihood and morale of pupils from ethnolinguistically communities to succeed.

But admission to certificate courses in vocational tertiary institutions requires applicants, including those who have attended 'A' level but could not gain university admission, to have passed both English language and Mathematics at 'O' level. To be admitted to the Grade III Teachers' Certificate Programme, an applicant must have a UCE certificate with a minimum of six passes obtained at the same sitting and the passes must include Mathematics, English language, two science subjects, and two subjects taught at primary school level. These requirements apply to pre-service and in-service programmes (Ministry of Education and Sports, 2012).

Whereas in principle anyone with six credit passes at 'O' level is eligible for admission to the Grade III Teachers Certificate course, in practice those with lower grades are out-competed by applicants with better performance, usually from higher socio-economic strata. A student who is admitted to the Grade III Teachers Certificate course with a pass in English Language cannot upgrade to Grade V. Unlike for the post 'A' level direct entry bachelor courses, none of the optional 'O' level subjects, regardless of the grade, improve the chances of an applicant to the Grade III Teachers' Certificate Programme. Mathematics, English and the science subjects are among the most challenging 'O' level subjects in most schools including urban and boarding ones. The fate of pupils who attend rural schools in ethno-linguistically diverse communities must be worse as any language chosen as MOI in such schools must be unfamiliar; if it is English, it is unfamiliar to all, and if it is an indigenous language, it is unfamiliar to those for whom that indigenous language is not the mother tongue.

Most secondary schools that are financially and spatially accessible to the majority of students countrywide, including those aided by government, are day schools and offer a narrow range of mainly non-practical subjects as the options from which students choose to supplement the seven compulsory ones. Practical subjects which require

more expensive laboratory or workshop equipment and specialised staff are often not part of the curriculum in most rural schools whether private or government aided or founded. But it is such subjects that are required for one to be admitted to vocational certificate-awarding tertiary institutions. This leaves students who do not qualify for 'A' level and, in turn, university admission as typical of those in ethno-linguistically diverse rural communities with their characteristic language limitations, without much hope as their basic education lacks practical subjects and their performance in the compulsory subjects, particularly English language, Mathematics and the sciences, is usually poor. Students from such communities are always underrepresented at all levels of tertiary education. This puts students from schools in rural and ethno-linguistically diverse communities in a situation of frustration in their attempt to improve their social, political and economic positions as they are blocked from tertiary institutions by lack of 'proper' language skills and other entry requirements. Such institutional practices lead to inequitable access to post-secondary education. These practices that impede equitable access to education to a large proportion of society on the basis of language policy begin in the primary school and tend to affect schools in rural and ethno-linguistically diverse communities more than others.

1.2.3 Ethnicity and Language Education Policy

Socioeconomic status is the position of an individual or group on the socioeconomic scale. It is influenced by a combined interaction of social and economic factors such as one's income, amount and type of education, kind of prestige and occupation, place of residence. In some societies even ethnic origin and religious background contribute to socioeconomic status (American Psychological Association, 2007). In some less developed countries with agriculture-based economies, like Uganda, ethnicity is a

paramount factor in determining class status among rural people as they have generally similar levels of education and income from subsistence agricultural (in some cases communal) production dictated by the geographical location and climatic conditions of the areas inhabited by the different ethnic groups. Membership to ethnically (and hence linguistically) homogeneous communities and/or residing in one's heritage habitat directly correlates with classed opportunities for employment, housing, and health care; and 'social classification' is a common concept in discussing such relations. Class is a power relations factor antecedent to and temporally prior to the individuals involuntarily born in the different groups (Searly & Carter, 2004). Even in societies where social class may not be a marked label in social life, the power relations aspect leads to structured life styles with differences in social prestige, wealth, and education for people residing in the same area (Holmes, 1992) and sharing the same language(s) and social services.

Parental income influences a child's cognitive development as it relates to affordability of good schools and adequately nutritious diets (Masikwiti, 2005). In developing countries, many of such socio-economic indicators are related to the factor of ethnicity in terms of the location of different ethnic groups relative to urbanised areas with improved social services and amenities. There is a relationship between rural/urban location and access to paid employment and basic social services like education and health care facilities. Sometimes entire families migrate from rural to urban areas to benefit from the comparatively better services. But in addition to urban-dwelling communities tending to have generally better health care facilities, education services and higher incomes among younger working families, there is also usually a high incidence of ethno-linguistic diversity in the urban areas. Sometimes the proportion of learners who speak different minority languages as their mother tongue

is above what can be considered negligible as the total number of speakers of such minority languages can be bigger than that of the speakers of the so called 'majority' language in the area.

This is quite common in industrial areas and on plantations and it is not feasible for schools in such areas to implement even the early-exit MT-MLE policies. But the option of using the second language as the sole medium of instruction from the very beginning of schooling tends to equally marginalise the majority of learners from low income and migrant homes who use their different heritage languages at home.

Whereas class status is generally construed in terms of education, employment, income and location of heads of households, rural communities are characterised by nearly all homes engaging in a few agriculture-based and sometimes communally done occupations. The majority of Ugandan families live in rural areas and earn their living by practising subsistence cultivation on small pieces of land they do not own. The incomes of such families are low, seasonal and unreliable. The literacy levels are low as schools are sparsely distributed with counties and, in some cases entire districts, not having any 'A' level examination centre and only a small number of 'O' level schools for which there are only a few examination centres. Usually in such areas even primary schools lack qualified teachers of as most 'O' level leavers do not pass English. But, ironically, such 'O' level leavers may teach in English and teach all subjects including English language. Linking education access and transition on any language the exposure of which is exclusive to only the minority is a sectarian tendency. Making grades in such a language a specific requirement for eligibility to courses that are available to the low socio-economic class is an act of victimisation.

In the urban areas, there are two different economic classes living in the same location: The well-off families and those that struggle to survive. The well-off families typically have either or both parents educated and employed in the civil service, private sector, or business. These have higher, steadier, and more regular incomes throughout the year. The children in such homes have better chances of spatially, academically and financially accessing good quality education anywhere including abroad. Many of such children go to quality private schools with commuter facilities or to boarding schools. Exposure to Standard English language use at home and school is greater and better for children in this class than for those in the other class.

Children who start their education in schools in or characteristic of low-income conditions usually find it difficult to cope in working class condition schools in the rare cases that they can access them. A clear example is when civil servants, including teachers, are transferred across economic class condition areas. Children of such civil servants, if the transfer is to a high economic class area, are relegated by one or two classes or given extra-class work to help them catch up. If the transfer is to a low economic class area, some family members, particularly day school-going children, are left in the area of residence during the previous posting. Where the transfer is to a rural area, where instruction in P1 to P3 is in an indigenous language, children in such classes who do not know the language of the area find it difficult to cope.

The other class of families within the urban locations are those without either of the adults in any kind of formal employment and whose subsistence is on low incomes by different family members, including the children. They mainly live in ethnolinguistically diverse communities in suburbs to cities and towns and different family members engage in petty trading, do piece-rate manual labour jobs, or provide various unprofessional services (sometimes not legally) in the neighbouring urban centres.

Children from such families may attend the average quality government-aided or private schools in the neighbourhood and some have to walk long distances to school. School-going children do not have access to Standard English language exposure at home and use pidgin-like inter-language varieties of English in the ethno-linguistically diverse school and the wider community.

There is also the factor of Parents' and Teachers' Associations (PTAs). These are local welfare associations recognised by the government that levy and charge fixed fees from every student in the schools where they are. PTA fees are managed separately from statutory fees and these usually have separate bank accounts. The proceeds are used to finance, among others, infrastructural development and staff welfare usually in the form of salary top ups, and transport and housing allowances. PTA committees tend to accentuate the different economic class contexts of instruction for both students and teachers in schools located in, and mainly admitting students from, extreme economic class conditions. It is usual for private urban day schools to charge higher fees than rural boarding schools. In some government-aided schools, PTA charges are higher than the statutory school fees and sometimes pupils who are academically eligible for admission to a nearby government-aided school end up joining lower standard and distant schools charging lower fees. In an attempt to improve the English language and overall academic performance of their children, some low economic class parents in rural areas send their children to stay with relatives in urban areas and attend day schools or to affordable rural boarding schools.

The implementation of official LOI policy is not strictly monitored during instruction but the language in education (LIE) policy is rigorously observed in the grading of national examinations and in post 'O' level course entry requirements. In an attempt to improve performance in the other subjects, schools in communities where almost all

students and staff share a common familiar language (for example Kiswahili in military barracks and different indigenous languages in rural ethno-linguistically homogeneous communities) tend to use such languages for instruction beyond the stipulated class for switching to L₂-medium. Such languages can enhance classroom interaction, comprehension and memory for application. This kind of non-compliance to the LOI policy leads to ethnicity- and class- related differences in the quality and quantity of exposure to English at school and performance in it and the other subjects examined through it. The compliance in schools that use indigenous languages also leads to differences among pupils in the degree of comprehension of and participation in learning. This provides clear evidence that education programmes tend to follow inequitably structured policies in which 'gender and class of second language learners may serve to marginalise them' (Norton, 2000). Ethnicity in this case is the equivalent of class and the status of the various indigenous languages and relative location and development the home areas of the different ethnic communities constitute the difference. Mean achievement test scores on tests of English language (and other subjects) are particularly low for learners in ethno-linguistically diverse rural communities and language use does not reflect real life socio-cultural contexts.

The policy of pegging tertiary level vocational education admissions on grades in English language (and Mathematics) and its implicit practices have led to low grading of and transition levels for students in rural ethno-linguistically diverse communities and they cannot pursue post-secondary education or enter the labour market on favourable terms (Alexander, Entwisle, & Olson, 2007). The LOI policy tends to ignore the grounding of pupils in the languages used in the immediate environments in favour of English which, ironically, is not well taught in many schools. But performance in English as a subject is a requirement for tertiary level admission to

many institutions and courses which makes many learners in under-privileged homes and communities drop out of school when they are not functionally literate in any language. The high rate of post 'O' level school dropouts in such communities is caused by and leads to further aggravation of (a) failure by the majority of 'O' level candidates to qualify for tertiary education (Bainbridge & Lasley II, 2004), (b) absence of a critical mass of students eligible for admission to tertiary institutions to economically justify the establishment of such institutions in these areas by investors, (c) lack of a trained labour force, and (d) absence of educated role models in these communities. This kind of vicious cycle must be broken and the starting point is to create awareness among educationists and the marginalised group to advocate for change in the LOI and LIE policies to address the inequitable conditions based on the language factor.

Table 1.1 shows a hypothetical 'O' level result slip. Subjects X, Y and Z are optional and the range from which such subjects are chosen differs from one school to another. In rural and/or poor schools, such subjects are predetermined by the school and usually include theoretic ones like Religious Education (RE), Commerce, and an examinable dominant local language. For established schools, the students may make personal choices from a wider range of subjects including practical and vocational ones and international languages. If a candidate who scores these grades can afford joining 'A' level, or does the 'A' level examinations as a private candidate, and he/she applies for direct university admission, his/her eligibility will depend on the weighted points from his/her 'A' level performance in the chosen subject combination in relation to the university courses applied for. But if that same candidate does not join any 'A' level school or take the examination privately, he/she does not qualify for admission to many of the certificate courses in the universities or other certificate awarding

tertiary level institutions basically because of the grade in English language. In addition, such a candidate's choice of the optional subjects (RE, Commerce, or a language) may not help him/her join a vocation institution regardless of the grades attained. Pupils from poor ethno-linguistically diverse communities who do not drop out of school are haunted by the kind of language learning opportunities they had in their early primary school days.

Whereas government has put in place some interventions to redress inequity and promote equal opportunities in education services delivery, they are not effective as long as they do not address the English language factor at 'O' level and the use of grades in it as a specific entry requirement at subsequent levels of education for pupils from communities with schools that use unfamiliar languages as media of instruction in the lower classes or throughout the primary section. Without any intervention to reduce differences in English language achievement or remove it as an entry requirement to tertiary level courses, the present policies and practices will continue to disenfranchise certain groups and particularly those in rural ethno-linguistically diverse communities.

Table 1.1: Hypothetical Result Slip

English language	7
Mathematics	8
Physics	3
Chemistry	3
Biology	3
Geography	2
History	2
X	4
Y	4
Z	5

All the earlier interventions intended to reduce inequity in education access, like affirmative action, the district quota system, disability adjustment and the latest Uganda Students' Higher Education Financing Scheme benefit only those already eligible for admission to tertiary level institutions (mainly universities) which the majority of students from rural and ethno-linguistically diverse communities cannot easily access. Many children from ethno-linguistically diverse communities, including girls and those with disabilities, drop out of school before reaching tertiary level where these interventions apply. Even Universal Primary Education (UPE) and Universal Secondary Education (USE) that would help pre-tertiary level school-going children to access basic education and break through to the tertiary level are countered by transition and admission policies and practices based on Standard English language grades and overall grading that are beyond the attainment of pupils in ethno-linguistically diverse rural communities.

In view of the influence of ethnicity and the language factor on access to education services and academic achievement, it is necessary to explore how the Ugandan LOI and LIE policies are responding to this disparity. Education planning at national level and language policy implementation at school level seem not to be coordinated. Among the basic definitions of planning is that of a projection of what is to be accomplished to reach valid and valued goals (Kaufman, 1972), and that of a course of action involving organised activities that lead decision makers to a limited range of solutions for effecting change in the future (Tanner, 1991). Going by these definitions, language policy planning in Uganda should address the question of how ethno-linguistic diversity and the LOI factor contribute to education access and achievement with a view to effecting adjustments in policy choice, or its implementation, for

positive change in the future. Although the language in education policy provides for a Mother Tongue-based Multi Lingual Education (MT-MLE) nation-wide, with the exception of urban areas, many rural areas use LOI models ranging from L₂ monolingual models to, unofficially, late-exit dual medium models for different subjects. Private schools attracting children of the elite use only English throughout, creating an obstacle to implementing the use of indigenous languages as MOI and eliminating those pupils for whom English is not familiar right from home.

The publication of the Kajubi Report on education policy review in 1989 gave hope of a future where educational access would be more egalitarian. Among the recommendations of the Education Policy Review Commission (ERPC) intended to improve equity in education were the following:

- Establishing a National Advisory Board on Languages to plan language development and advise government on language issues.
- Establishing a National Council for Non-formal and Adult Education.
- Giving special incentives to attract students from disadvantaged groups to school and providing for the teaching of such subjects and courses relevant to their socio-economic activities and local environments.
- Providing distance education programmes and mobile schools for Karamoja and relaxing admission requirements to secondary and tertiary level institutions.
- Using mother tongue as MOI up to primary four and teaching area languages as examinable subjects at PLE level. (Ministry of Education, 1989).

Most of these recommendations have not been implemented and those that can be implemented at school level are implemented only to the extent that the school language policy and resources can allow. In practice, individual schools choose MOI without considering what the policy recommends for school in their kind of situation. Both the Education Policy Review Commission (EPRC) and the Government White Paper (GWP) leave the choice of MOI to District Language Boards (BLDs) and schools. The National Curriculum Development Centre (NCDC) only requires to be informed by the schools of the choices made (Ward, Penny, & Read, 2006). It is not clear if NCDC is really informed of the languages chosen or not or what its response should be in either case.

The ethnic/linguistic composition of the community a school is located in and/or draws its pupils from is among the factors that influence the choice of MOI and its implementation in any school. Variations in language use for instruction due to multi-ethnicity and language diversity lead to variations in performance on tests of Standard English in grammar and vocabulary (Holmes, 1992). In addition to the linguistic diversity, the extent to which an individual interacts with members of other classes (social network) also affects that individual's language use (Rickford, 1996) and, consequently, achievement on tests of English language and general academic performance. This means that students in rural multi-lingual schools and those in urban and /or mono-lingual schools have markedly different social networks for acquisition and use of English language leading to unequal chances of attaining good grades in the language, the other subjects taught through it, and the overall performance. This leads to inequitable transition rates in formal education and access to tertiary education. The school system does not seem to control for this difference during instruction or assessment but instead favours the privileged minority. There is

need for language pedagogic adjustments and interventions in language teaching and assessment, and at lower levels of the education system, as will precede and make some of the interventions at higher levels more effective or even unnecessary. Therefore, it is necessary for a study of this nature, investigating how multi-ethnicity and multilingualism influence the choice and use of MOI in implementing the LOI policies and plans, to be carried out to establish how students in rural and ethno-linguistically diverse communities can be helped to compete favourably in the education system.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Whereas the LOI policy provides for choice of MOI, the pegging of 'O' level academic grading and admission to tertiary level courses on English language by the LIE policy compels schools and parents to choose L₂ to increase chances of success in education. At national level, it is observed that a high and increasing number of parents and teachers generally believe that L₂-medium schools give better chances of academic success to the pupils. In spite of the increase in both primary and tertiary level enrolments, admission to tertiary institutions is still dominated by entrants from schools located in urban areas where the medium of instruction is L₂ right from the lower primary classes. Does the choice of any language as MOI of itself determine its effective use in learning during the lower primary classes?

It is against this background that it was deemed necessary to investigate the factors that influence the choice and effective use of different languages as MOI by schools at the lower primary school level in areas that are ethno-linguistically diverse. Prior to this study, there had not been any study on the factors influencing the choice and use

of MOI at lower primary school level in Ugandan schools serving ethno-linguistically diverse communities and this is the gap in knowledge that this study sought to fill.

1.4 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to investigate the factors that influence the choice and use of MOI by lower primary school teachers in ethno-linguistically diverse communities in Uganda for implementing the LOI policy.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The objectives of this study were to:

- a) identify the MOI languages chosen in the participating lower primary school classes in multilingual communities in Uganda,
- b) examine the reasons for choosing the languages chosen as MOI the participating lower primary school classes in multilingual communities in Uganda,
- c) find out the fluency levels of teachers of lower primary school classes in using the selected MOI languages in multilingual communities in Uganda,
- d) explore the pedagogical practices used with the chosen MOI languages by lower primary school teachers in the participating schools in multilingual communities in Uganda.

1.6 Research Questions

This study advanced and sought to answer the following research questions:

- a) What languages were chosen as MOI in lower primary school classes?

- b) Why were specific languages chosen as MOI in lower primary school classes?
- c) What were the levels of fluency of the teachers of lower primary school classes in using the chosen MOI languages?
- d) How did teachers in the lower primary school classes use the pedagogical practices when teaching using the selected MOI languages?

1.7 Significance of the Study

The findings of this study may provide a background that can help inform language in education policy and practice and serve as a basis for reform in terms of language policy planning, formulation, and implementation. The findings of this study have the potential to influence language policy makers to review the policy in respect to ethnolinguistically diverse communities in relation to language and overall education achievement as requirements in academic access and transition. This may help in guiding the reform of educational expansion and transition to become egalitarian and democratic by reducing dropout rates and making access to tertiary education inclusive by addressing the causes of exclusion right from the primary level. The recommendations of this study should help in forming new and contextualised concepts of language aptitude and inform policy makers of the need for review of the LOI policy to reduce social inequity in education access and promote democratic transition to higher education. The recommendations advanced may be usable, and hopefully useful, in education policy planning, teacher education, and personnel posting to promote equitable access to and retention in education. The findings of this study may further provide guidance to parents and pupils on what choice of a particular school and, by implication, MOI means under the current system.

1.8 Justification of the Study

There is abundant literature on the influence of social and environmental factors on language development (Rescolar & Achenbach, 2002; Farkas & Beron, 2004; Fenald, Marchman, & Weisleder, 2012) and academic achievement (Condron, 2007; Davies & Guppy, 2006; Willms, 2006). But many developing countries, especially in Africa, continue using LOI policies that further counter the efforts of linguistic minority pupils and students in or from ethno-linguistically diverse communities to compete in the education field by using media of instruction and grading criteria that eliminate them from school (Madiba, 2012). The use of second language grades in overall academic grading and as a specific eligibility requirement to various courses for learners across all socio-economic classes and locations limits the access of students from ethno-linguistically diverse and rural communities to tertiary level education (Magnuson & Duncan, 2006). After almost twenty years since the introduction of UPE in Uganda, the increased participation by pupils from the low economic class and ethno-linguistically diverse communities (typical of the majority of pupils who fail to reach tertiary level) at the beginning of the primary school cycle is not reflected at the tertiary level learning institution. With tertiary level intake remaining relatively limited and admission competitive, the question of what factors influence choice and use of MOI by individual schools needed to be investigated to discover the impact of choice and use of different languages as MOI and the attendant pedagogical practices on classroom instruction for education transition and equitable access to tertiary level education under the prevailing LOI policy in Uganda. This was what prompted the study of this topic.

1.9 Scope and Limitation of the Study

This study focused on the how choice and use of MOI and the pedagogical processes employed when teaching using the specific chosen MOI in the participating lower primary schools influenced implementation of the national LOI policy in lower primary school classes in Uganda.

1.9.1 Scope of the Study

The study identified the languages chosen as MOIs, investigated the reasons for choosing the different languages, found out the competences of teachers of lower primary in using the chosen languages, determined the pedagogical practices employed by teachers of lower primary classes when teaching in the selected languages, and the extent to which the selected languages are used by the teachers. It focused only on the lower primary school level (P1-P4) because beyond P4 all institutions are required to use English and there is no room for choice of MOI and was conducted in a period of two months in areas within the districts of Lyantonde and Tororo. The study was conducted in Uganda because the absence of a local lingua franca, like Kiswahili in Kenya and Tanzania, makes the choice media of instruction a crucial issue. The study focussed on the lower primary classes (P1 to P4) because this was the level at which schools could make choice and it is when pupils had not had adequate learning of the second language.

1.9.2 Limitations of the Study

The findings of this study may not be transferrable beyond the participating schools as it uses a small and non-random sample. The claims of this study may not be transferrable to multi-ethnic situations with long histories and high levels of language contact between indigenous languages and the foreign or second language medium

leading to high intelligibility levels as in some English- and French-lexified pidgins. The study was limited by the fact that some languages chosen as MOI in some of the schools were not familiar to the researcher. This was overcome by focusing on learner participation, mutual comprehension between teachers and learners, and how the learners performed on the evaluative activity at the end of the lessons.

1.10 Assumptions of the Study

It was assumed that all the teachers in the participating schools were trained professionals and as such knew the different conventional pedagogical practices. It was also assumed that the head teachers knew the reasons why the schools that they headed had chosen the languages they used.

It was assumed that the head teachers and teachers of all schools participating in the study were aware of the LOI policy and that the choice of MOI was informed by this awareness and a desire to achieve the best for the learners. Another assumption was that the teachers in the participating schools were trained and motivated to do their work and that all pupils, their parents and teachers ideally aimed at having direct progression up to tertiary level of education in the shortest possible time.

1.11 Theoretical Framework

This study was informed by Critical Theory developed by Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno (both members of the Frankfurt School) in 1930 and Socio-cultural Theory (SCT) developed by Lev Semeonovich Vygotsky (1896-1934) between 1932 and 1934. The study utilised these two theories because it involved an educational dimension and a social dimension that required a background based on theories that related learning and society.

The Socio-cultural Theory perspective was adopted to address the cultural aspect of language acquisition and language use by learners for whom the chosen MOI is not familiar. Critical Theory was chosen to expose the iniquitous education policies faced by pupils from low socio-economic status family and rural community background conditions and advocate for change. The exposure was expected to raise awareness and advocate for change.

1.11.1 Socio-cultural Theory

According to socio-cultural theory (SCT), higher forms of consciousness are mediated. This theory recognises the role that social relationships and culturally constructed artefacts play in organising uniquely human forms of thinking. The artefacts for mediating the individual with himself or herself and with others, including language, are created by people within a culture. Each generation inherits, modifies and passes on these artefacts to the next one. Language is the specific culturally constructed artefact for organising and mediating mental and social activity including learning. The unskilled learner learns self-regulation by carrying out activities under guidance (other-regulation) from the more skilled (for example teachers) through language mediation. Newly experienced knowledge is ultimately appropriated by the individual through collaborative talk and involves a shift from collaborative inter-mental activity to autonomous intra-mental activity. Learning occurs in the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) where the learner has not achieved independent functioning yet but it is possible if relevant other-regulation (scaffolding) is given in social context. About Second Language Learning (SLL) and learning in general, SCT posits that new knowledge is jointly constructed through collaborative activity with or without formal instruction and learners are active agents in their own development. Socio-cultural theory is used to underscore the value of

using culturally constructed artefacts for mediating between individual learners' mental operations and social activity during learning.

In general terms, the choice and use of any given language as MOI at lower primary school level determines the kind and level of comprehension and hence success of intra-mental and inter-mental activity required for joint construction of knowledge through use of appropriate pedagogical practices. Each individual learner's ZPD is a function of both that learner's familiarity with the MOI used and the teacher's competence in it.

1.11.2 Critical Theory

Critical theorists of the Frankfurt School believe that social activities simultaneously reflect, create, and recreate historically situated ways of knowing, social relations and material conditions. Language is implicated in how social class, race, sexuality and linguistic identity are constructed and reconstructed and how power and inequality are enacted in the social and institutional arrangements that support them. The school is one of the institutions where such unequal relations and conditions are reproduced. Hence the school, as a site for reproduction and transmission of knowledge and culture, should be used to effect transformation of society through democratic education.

But the education system requires learners from different socio-economic status and target second language exposure backgrounds to learn the second language to certain minimum proficiencies conditions if the learners are to equitably compete for academic opportunities. This tends to make the kind of collaborative activity that learners from different ethno-linguistic backgrounds are exposed to a crucial

determinant in their education careers especially for those from linguistic backgrounds different from the dominant one.

This study used Critical Theory to critique the LIE policy that pegs overall academic performance on English language and the unfair competition it creates. Such competition is among the potential factors in choosing MOI. This study advocates for equity in the implementation of the present LOI policy in promotion of lower primary education service delivery in schools and areas in conditions similar to those of the participating schools.

In ethno-linguistically diverse areas, there are usually some monolingual families within a multilingual community, and to choose strictly either English (a second language) or only one of the local languages implies that there will be some members of the class for whom the language used is unfamiliar irrespective of the choice. The choice of MOI, the reasons for choice, and the teachers' competences in the chosen MOI language all influence the pedagogical practices used and contribute to how many and how individual learners participate during learning.

Socio-cultural Theory gave orientation to this study in terms of making the observation on pedagogical practices focus on learner participation and interaction as a means of scaffolding among learners. Critical Theory was utilised in sampling to include participants from different socio-economic class communities competing for resources in the schools and the community. The two theories were complementary in making the study approach the problem of choice of MOI as an issue involving individuals in a social and competitive world.

1.12 Conceptual Framework

The relationship between the dependent variable (choice of and use of MOI) and the independent variable (linguistic diversity) was conceptualised to be mediated through home- and community-related factors. The factors include whether the school is day or boarding, urban- or rural-located, or public or private. Choice is also mediated through factors like whether the community uses one or many languages. But the choice will be influenced by factors related to the home backgrounds of the pupils, the LIE policy and the PTA activity.

The incidence of the influence of the independent variables (ethnolinguistic diversity) on the dependent variables (the languages chosen as MOI and the pedagogical practices used) is in terms of the availability and quality of instructional inputs and resources including competent personnel in the language chosen as MOI. This incidence is mediated by location and socio-economic home factors based on parental education and income levels.

Schools located in urban areas tend to choose L₂ as a neutral language for pupils who speak different home languages. But children of the urban poor do not speak English at home and many cannot afford such schools. This is what makes choice of MOI mediated by location and home factors. Generally, some parents demand for the use English because it is used in the immediate community and think it increases their children's opportunities in education and life generally. Some ambitious rural located schools, because of competition and pressure from parents, also choose L₂. The kinds of pedagogical practises adopted by teachers and the extent to which they are exploited for effective learning experience depend on meaning-sharing communication among learners and between each of them and the learning materials.

Pupils for whom the selected MOI is unfamiliar will find learning hard, repeat classes, or completely drop out of school.

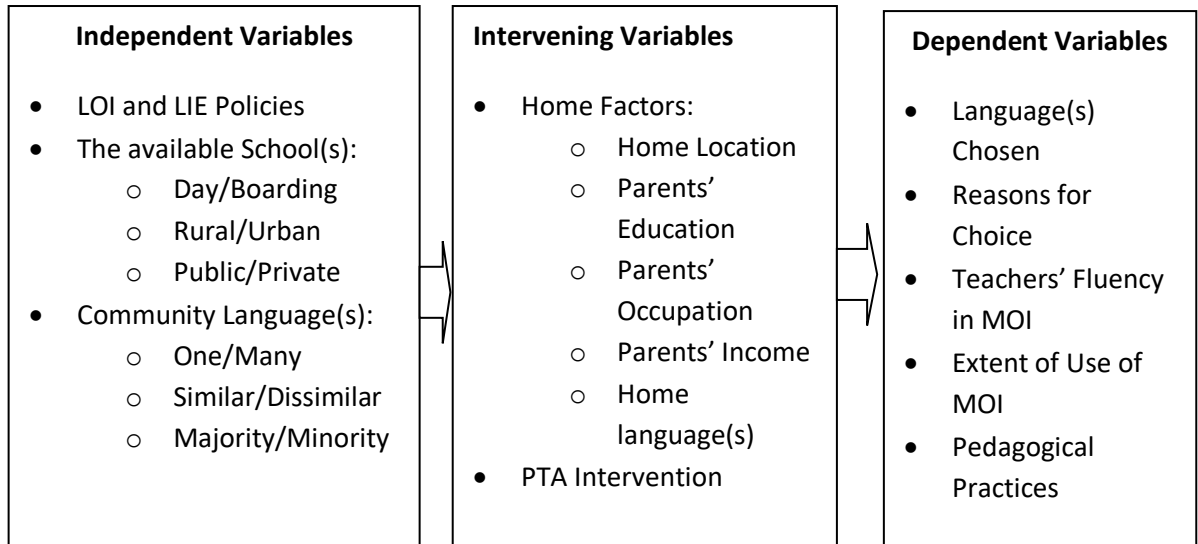


Figure 1.1 Conceptual Frame work

1.13 Operational Definition of Key Terms

Bilingual early-exit model: A model of language of education policy that starts with two languages as mediums of Instruction and remains with one (the second language) after 3-4 years of the primary school course.

Bilingual late-exit model: It is a model of language of education policy that starts with two languages as mediums of instruction, and retains the first language for 6-8 years.

Document: A graphic- or text-based material developed or procured for use a source of learning content or for the enhancement of learning activity.

Heritage: Related to ancestry or being passed on across generations through culture or heredity.

Implementation: The putting into action of something that has to be done or is officially approved or directed.

Influence: A kind of effect caused by one party or person on how another party or person operates or behaves.

Language Education Policy: A statement of what language(s) is (are) used for purposes of instruction at different levels in the education system

Language in Education: Language in education describes the role(s) played by one or more languages in the education system. As a policy, it includes what language(s) to use for instruction at different levels and how language performance in a specified language affects overall grading of academic performance and the effect of such grading on access to and/or placement in higher institutions of learning.

Language of Instruction (LOI): The language chosen for use as the medium of communication for imparting learning content by the teacher and all classroom activities.

Local Language: This refers to any one of the indigenous languages used by an ethnic group in an area. Such language taught as a subject at school. The term is

also used to collectively refer to all indigenous languages as a category in contrast to second language.

Lower Primary: Lower Primary refers to the first four classes, starting from P1 up to P4, in the primary school cycle.

Medium of Instruction (MOI):

This is the language through which educational interaction is transacted.

Multilingual: Of a person, an area or region; having potential to use more than two languages.

Multilingualism: Multilingualism is the practice of using more than two languages by a person, in an area, in a situation, or for a given purpose.

Socio-economic status: The relative ranking of the position of an individual or a family in terms of prestige based on education level, income, and/or occupation.

Socio-economic Stratification: This refers to the division of society into classes according to prestige and entitlement to privilege and respect on the basis of such division.

1.14 Chapter Summary

This chapter has presented a general background to education in Uganda, right from the pre-colonial era, including the education language policy, a statement of the problem, the purpose and objective of the study, the significance of the study, its justification, the scope and limitations of the study, the assumptions, the theoretical and conceptual frameworks and the operational definitions of terms used. In this chapter different ethnicity-related practices in the school system that make access to education inequitable have been discussed. The next chapter presents a review of selected literature sources related to the study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a review of the literature related to the study. The review is organised starting with relations between ethnicity-related factors, language development and academic achievement, followed by the effects of these relations on equitable access to education services and ends with the influence of choice of MOI on the implementation of language of education policy. The literature reviewed here focuses on the role of situated practice and structure and agency in the development of active language skills for life as opposed to learning of passive knowledge of language. In the review of literature, it is argued that choice of medium of instruction depends on both location and ethnicity related factors. It is further argued that the choice and use of a language familiar to the learners (for example mother-tongue or any familiar language) in the primary school cycle leads to better implementation of the LOI policy. Since the choice of MOI by schools varies with the ethnic composition of the community in which the school is located or draws its pupils from, the review recommended a study on how choice of medium of instruction influences the implementation of national LOI policy in ethno-linguistically diverse communities and how choice of MOI influences the pedagogical practices used.

In Uganda the language of education (LOI) policy provides for both an early-exit bilingual transitional model in rural areas and a monolingual L₂-only alternative in urban areas with primary four as the transition class. But the language in education (LIE) policy pegs overall academic performance on grades in English language as a subject. The LOI policy is a broad provision for a range of MOI models from which to

choose but the actual selection of the MOI is a school level decision influenced by factors related to the school location and the range of languages used in a particular area. Although the LOI policy in Uganda provides for a MT-MLE model except for urban schools, the implementation of its provisions for rural schools is not strictly monitored and the provisions are often not complied with. It is against this background that this study sought to explore the factors that influence choice and use of language for learning in implementation of the LOI policy in terms of choice and use of MOI in ethnolinguistically diverse communities.

2.2 Location and Language Use

There is a known relationship between social-economic status (SES), language development and educational achievement (White, 1982; Sirin, 2005), and home location is one of the indicators of SES. This relation is also known to vary with the age or grade of learners (Caro, McDonald, & Willms, 2009), and babies/children born and raised in multi-ethnic families, and located in multilingual communities, tend to have delayed language development. The location of one's home (rural or urban) within such a community is often a factor in determining the quality, quantity and variety of the language(s) one is exposed to before school. The extent to which subsequent language development at school is successful will depend on, among other factors, the degree of opportunity for language development provided by the home and early school experience. Infant mortality risks, pre-school language development, parental interest, guidance, and funding are in turn related to home location-related factors. Children from monolingual homes and whose home language is the one used at school may start school earlier (usually in their mother tongue) and have a wider range of schools to choose from, more time, more conducive learning school

environments, greater access to a wider range of media resources, and are generally destined to succeed (Vellymalay, 2012).

In countries that were colonised, the relationship between location and social privilege started with the first recipients of western education. These were mainly children of chiefs born and residing in areas near administrative centres that the colonists could easily access and where they were not resisted by the traditional leaders (Kibera & Kimokoti, 2007). Whereas language transmission is cultural rather than hereditary, the conditions for its transmission through both acquisition and learning are influenced by location and can reproduce themselves across generations through the home and the school as socialising agents.

Areas that are distant from the major commercial and administrative centres tend to be poorly serviced in terms of transport and communication networks. The inadequacy in social amenities and infrastructural facilities discourages trained personnel from accepting posting to such remote areas. Such remote areas remain monolingual and, even if their populations may be multi-ethnic, the limited scope of communication beyond the ethnic communities reduces chances of using any other language unless it is highly mutually intelligible with the dominant indigenous language. If there is not any local language that is developed enough for use as MOI, schools in such areas may be constrained to considering Kiswahili, a language of wider communication (LWC), or English, which are neutral and developed. This is usually the case with schools located in barracks.

2.3 Multi-ethnicity and Child Language Development

There is a mediated relation between socio-economic status (SES) and second language development in childhood and the mediating factors include race and

parenting style (Pungello, Iruka, Dotterer, & Mills-Koonce, 2009) . Different studies indicate that vocabulary knowledge is fundamental to reading comprehension and subsequent literacy success (Christ & Wang, 2010; Dickson & Neuman.S.B., 2007). By the time children enter kindergarten, those from low SES home backgrounds differ significantly from their advantaged peers in cognitive and verbal skills (Ramey & Ramey, 2004). This means that where entry to the first school is after being subjected to an interview on basically language development, SES becomes a factor in the quality of school one will join in terms of both language eligibility and financial affordability.

In ethno-linguistically diverse communities where it is impossible for a single indigenous language to be the home language for all learners, use of the majority language as MOI disadvantages those learners to whom that language is not familiar. By providing for a single local language as MOI, the LOI policy makes second language the only alternative. But the neutral second language is familiar to only children of the elite. Class relationships reflect the constraints and limitations individuals and groups experience in terms of income level, occupation, place of residence, and other indicators of status and social rank (McLaren, 2008).

According to Socio-cultural Theory, culture is an emergent product of human society (Searly, 2004). But society is composed of communities and individuals of different identities in terms of gender, age, class, income, religion, ethnicity, level of education, et cetera. When any one or more of these categories becomes a basis of social identity, members of different social groupings will be considered, and consider themselves, to have a specific subculture. For every (sub) culture in society there are corresponding cultural artefacts, including a language (variety), and language-mediated social activities are performed differently in each (sub)culture. Where there are more than

one ethnic group, the prevalence of a multilingual society in which one language is considered major or superior in relation to the other(s) leads to a situation where the acknowledged major language will become the official medium of communication in the area. According to the concept of situated practice, language development by children occurs during socially situated participation in language use and children from different ethnic (sub) cultures will acquire different languages or varieties of the same language used within the area.

Where the chosen MOI is a second language, usually some of the indigenous languages in areas where the second language is widely used may have been affected by contact with this second language. When such children are introduced to formal learning of the target second language after being exposed to some of its vocabulary with variations in pronunciation, structure, or even meaning due to contact in non-standard exposure situations, there is need for them to unlearn the non-standard use of items that were borrowed and indigenised into the familiar host language. This kind of informal social classification of the population inevitably impacts on the language development of children raised under the different class categories. Even in monolingual communities, by the time of starting school, children from the different class categories will have different language abilities in spite of speaking the same language.

This kind of exposure may be limited to the pre-school period for children who join good quality boarding schools but usually continues during the school period, especially out of class, for those who join the less competitive schools and those in day schools who go back home daily. In either case, family ethnicity, home location (rural or urban), and socio-economic status are factors in the choice of school and generally the quality of education.

2.4 Ethnicity and Social Equity in Education

In any ethno-linguistically diverse communities, the decision to acknowledge any language as having a preferential status, whether officially or not, may have a variety of implications for those living and/or working in the area affected by the decision. In education, the decision entails creating inequality among learners. Those to whom the preferred language is not familiar are marginalised while those to whom it is familiar are granted privilege. In general communication, the use of specific languages for certain official functions makes it obligatory for those to whom the chosen language is not familiar to pay for translation services. Having an indigenous language as the national or official language in a multilingual country has the effect of granting advantage in terms of ease of access to official documents and services for speakers of that language. The interests of some dominant non-majority group(s) may be promoted at the expense of those of the other group(s) even if in total the former outnumber the latter who have no means of furthering their interests to have a change the status quo (Tollefson J. W., 2013).

Most sub-Saharan African countries are largely multilingual and any ideal LOI policy should reflect the country's linguistic reality if it is to facilitate communication, knowledge, power, and wealth sharing. Sub-Saharan countries are largely multilingual and any ideal LOI policy should reflect the country's linguistic reality if it is to facilitate communication, knowledge, power, and wealth sharing. The longer learning is provided through a familiar medium of instruction the better the performance. Africa education needs cannot be satisfied through the inherited education systems that are culturally and linguistically alien. The challenges faced by most present African education systems include lack of relevant curricula, high school drop-out rates, low throughput rates, low achievement rates, and low adult literacy rates. This leads to

educational inequality in gender, socio-economic status, ethnicity and geographical location. To overcome these challenges, there is need for lifelong learning which requires linkage between school and the learning environment out of school (Glanz, 2013).

The use of any local language as MOI in linguistically diverse communities may lead to conflict in terms of equality versus equity. In Ethiopia, there was a time when urban pupils were required to learn Amharic and learn through it to access basic primary education. Amharic was the sole medium of wider economic and educational opportunities. Later, other local languages officially assumed new societal roles as zonal, regional, and local languages after a state-sponsored language development arrangement. Different languages were to be used in regions demarcated on the basis of linguistic borders. Although the use of familiar languages provided for equality in education, there was doubt as to whether equality in choice of languages was the same as equal opportunity. Inevitably, some languages were more developed in functionality in use, structure and vocabulary and, therefore, more suited for use as MOI. The differences in quality and quantity of available teachers and teaching materials also affected the extent to which equity was possible through using different languages. According to some interpretations, the playing field was not even as pupils taught in less developed languages did not have the same opportunities of success (Cohen, 2006).

Education plays a very central role in every aspect of life and Kellner, (Kellner, n.d.) challenges educators to rethink their basic tenets and to restructure education to correspond to contemporary needs and challenges. Kellner argues that a democratic and multicultural reconstruction of education builds on and synthesises classical philosophies of education and various critical theories of gender, race, class and

society; and criticises obsolete, idealist, elitist and anti-democratic or oppressive aspects of the traditional concepts of education. Kellner proposes a meta-theory for the philosophy of education providing a historical genealogy and grounding of key themes of a democratic reconstruction of education, indicating traditional aspects to be overcome and alternative pedagogies and principals to adopt at the present time. Since classical education had its roots in idealist and elitist philosophies (for example, Greek and Roman) that legitimatised slave societies and promoted empire, the ideals in some classical models of education were produced in and as discourses of power and domination. Pedagogical practices in contemporary critical theory of education should aim to realise the human potential, produce good citizens and a just society, and counter education contrived to fit students into existing social systems to reproduce and maintain the status quo. At a time when demographic and socio-economic changes are taking place with an explosion of new peoples into various locations leading to more ethnically and racially diverse populations, there is a challenge of providing people of diverse identities with tools and competencies for living in a complex and changing world. To achieve this goal, social justice and progressive transformation should inform education pedagogy and practice.

Unlike in the past, when many communities were almost exclusively ethnically homogeneous and monolingual, today many countries, including Uganda, have increasing numbers of ethnically, and hence linguistically diverse communities, and need to rethink their mass communication policies and practices, particularly those related to language of education. In most urban public places in central Uganda, written public notices are in three different languages: English, Luganda and Kiswahili and usually in that order. It very common for a public toilet to have the inscription: *Ladies/Abakyala/Wanawake* on the entrance to the female wing. Apart

from recognising the multilingual reality in the country, such inscriptions discriminate or marginalise against the other members of the public to whom, though literate, none of the three languages is familiar. In documentation, English is regarded as the default language because of its status as the official language in the country. But in practice, the different local languages are much more widely used than English in their respective areas of operation.

According to Hasley, Anthony, & Ridge, cited by Jonsson & Erikson; (2007), social differences in educational choice are a function of the relative merits of the different alternatives available and the individuals' objectives, conditions, and resources. To maximise utility (U) from education, an individual presented with several educational routes will estimate the benefits (B), the associated cost (C), and the probability of success (P) for each alternative. For any alternative, the utility for any individual is a function of the product of the benefit and the probability of success minus the cost ($U=BP-C$). Probability of success estimates an individual's likelihood of completing a course and relates to one's achievement grades and available resources. Cost includes what is forfeited such as income and the amount of time and effort required for success in a chosen alternative. Cost also includes those alternative social and economic benefits foregone by the family to keep children at school and this makes the cost higher for poor families. For those who are likely to fail to complete their courses of study the benefit becomes nearer to zero but the financial cost is constant or even higher due to repeating. After considering the costs, benefits and risk of failure to complete related to each alternative, an individual ranks the utility of all alternatives (including leaving school) and chooses those with maximum utility. An individual's choice is restricted by the range of feasible alternatives and the risks involved. Apart from restriction in terms of accessibility, some choices may have levels of probability

of success or cost at which some individuals rule them out regardless of the risk of failure. For example, someone who cannot avert risks may prefer combining a high probability and low benefit alternative, or a low benefit and low-cost alternative, to a riskier high benefit and high-cost alternative. In practice, the high probability trajectories are financially low cost but very competitive which makes them attainable only by the academically superior applicants. But probability of success, expected benefits, costs, risk aversion, and academic performance all vary with socio-economic status, ethnic origin and home location. In practice, children for whom the MOI is the mother tongue or a familiar language may start schooling earlier and generally perform better in academics than those for whom the language of the school is not the mother tongue or a familiar language. The costs also vary with ethnic origin in relation to location of the home because the cost of raising and saving a given sum of money may be higher for families transferred from their cultural homes, means of production, and social networks. The risk also contributes to the association between ethnic origin, in relation to home location, and income as one's risk depends on, among other factors, stability of one's household income (Jonsson & Erikson, 2007).

But even when the same course is offered at more than one public university with different cut off points, (or fees for self-sponsored students), the chances of access still favour the privileged. Non-government sponsored students and those admitted to evening programme courses need to pay accommodation and commuting fees if their homes are not near the institutions that they are admitted to. Therefore, the same courses have the same potential benefits for all applicants but not the same probability of access.

The present study addressed the factors that influence the choice and use of MOI by primary schools in multi-ethnic and linguistically diverse communities. The use of

different pedagogical practices by schools and how individual learners from different economic backgrounds can respond to them represents different values of probability of success (P) for the different socioeconomic classes of learners in the same schools.

In addition to the ethnolinguistic and location factors, urban areas are characterized by greater disparity in the number of schools and home income variation compared to rural areas: generally urban families have higher monetary earnings compared to the rural families that largely practice peasant subsistence farming. Unlike in the rural areas, the urban based and educated salary-earning parents in the public and private sectors have more stable incomes than rural based peasant farmer parents. They in turn require various goods and services provided by those in petty business leading to a mutual financial co-existence. It is very common to have pupils from different language, income and social class backgrounds in the same school.

The study was informed by two theories: A theory of learning and a theory of society. The theory of learning that informed this study is Socio-cultural Theory. Language is acquired through cultural exposure and not transmitted by ancestral heredity. Language is the socio-cultural symbol through which the individual is mediated with society. Language is socially constructed, acquired through collaborative activity, and mediates comprehension and higher mental functioning.

When learning instruction is through a language medium that is not comprehensible enough to the teacher and/or the learners, the social interaction required for mental activity and the mediation for general learning cannot be realised. The zone of proximal development of individual pupils varies with the level of comprehension and activity,

With effective collaboration, language learning occurs even without formal teaching. Such collaboration is lower for learners who find the MOI unfamiliar as the case is in ethno-linguistically diverse communities where any MOI choice is strange to some. Neither L₂ nor any single MT/LL is sure to be familiar enough to all during the early stages of learning and by the exit class, L₂ is not developed enough except for those that use it as the home language.

This study used Socio-Cultural Theory of learning to focus the investigation on whether MOI choice and use were influenced by interest in individual learners' comprehension and conscious interaction with others for improved learning and achievement. Where the learners' comprehension is high, so will interaction be and the teacher's role will mainly be that of a facilitator.

2.5 Multi-ethnicity and Familial Transmission of Capital

One of the benefits of education is being equipped with capital for living a good life. According to Bourdieu, (2004) capital is a potential capacity to produce profit, that reproduces itself, and persists in its being. Capital manifests itself in three forms: economic (property), cultural (education), and social (connections). The distribution of these different kinds of capital represents the structure of the social world and governs the chances of success and failure.

Cultural capital may be embodied (for example knowledge and skills), objectified (for example material productions), or institutionalised (for example academic qualifications). The unequal distribution of profits from scarce cultural capital in class-divided societies is based on the fact that not all agents have the economic and cultural means of educating their children. The hereditary transmission of cultural capital depends on how the culture is embedded in the family and hence, is longer and

stronger for children whose exposure to that culture, especially second language, starts at home. The cultural capital (language) transmitted within the family depends on the quantity of the capital itself and the parents' usable time available to the family through parents buying the time of others (for example teachers and domestic servants) with their economic capital and delaying the entry of their children into the labour market through prolonged schooling. The direct and visible school-based forms of acquisition are censored and controlled and yet the scholastic yield from education action depends on the cultural and social capital previously invested by the family. Hence, a child born to uneducated low-income parents in a cross-cultural relationship and/or raised in an ethno-linguistically diverse environment stands very low chances of acquiring the language of either the second language or any of the dominant languages unless such a language is used at home. Moreover, if the language used at home is different from or not mutually intelligible with the majority language(s) in the immediate surrounding, then such a child will find any language chosen by the school as MOI strange.

Social capital is the aggregate of actual or potential resources linked to possession of a network of relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively owned capital hence entitling them to credit in various senses of the word. The relationships may be socially instituted and guaranteed by acts designed to form and inform those who undergo them. These relationships are enacted, maintained and reinforced in exchanges. One's possessed volume of social capital depends on the size of the network of connections one can mobilise and on the volume of the capital possessed by each of the individual connections. The social and economic yield of educational qualifications depend on

the social capital which is inheritable and can be used to back it up. Both cultural and social capital can be derived from economic capital.

How each type of capital is convertible to another is the basis of strategies for reproducing capital (and social status) using the least costly terms of conversion. The different types of capital have varying, and sometimes inversely related, rates of loss and degrees of concealment in transmission. Cultural capital has a high degree of concealment on transmission and its institutionalised form (for example academic qualifications and language ability) is neither transmissible nor negotiable. Whatever disguises the economic aspect of any form of capital increases the risk of loss especially across generations (Bourdieu, 2004; Altschul, 2012). Hence, pupils who do not stand a chance of attaining levels of education convertible to economic advantage are easily discouraged from studying.

It is evident that in ethno-linguistically diverse communities some immigrant parents' cultural capital may turn out to be inapplicable in the present setting, their social capital networks are broken and the immovable economic capital assets are left behind on migration or converted on unfair terms. Members of many of the families in this kind of situation need to develop new capitals relevant in the new community and parents may not have much to transmit to the children because they lack both the resources and social network required for the children to acquire the LOI at home and they cannot have the children in quality schools. Similarly, where an applicant's academic merit is not adequate, social network is useful in gaining negotiated access to academic institutions.

The extent to which each of these forms of capital is spread among members in a given community varies with the homogeneity of the community, and ethno-

linguistically diverse communities are socially and even economically less homogeneous than the others. This study was conducted in ethno-linguistically diverse communities, including urban ones, where a significant number of people are immigrants whose cultural capital is not much relevant in the diverse community. The children of such people cannot easily cope in a learning situation where only one 'native', majority, or second language is the sole MOI in the lower primary school. To many, even the 'neutral' second language may be unfamiliar.

2.6 Medium of Instruction and Pedagogical Practices

According to Bernstein (2004), pedagogic practice is both the cultural relay and the content relayed; that is, it is a social form and specific content of instruction. The practice is provided by three sets of rules. The first set is that of hierarchical rules by which the transmitter and the acquirer learn their roles by acquiring the rules of social order, character, and manner. The second set consists of sequencing rules according to which bits of the transmission are sequenced for progression and given the time frame for achieving the hierarchical rules. The third set is that of critical rules that are meant to be taken over and applied by the acquirer in his/her own practices to evaluate communication, social relation and position as legitimate or not. Education is an activity which articulates dominant ideologies of the dominant groups and in any teaching situation the essence is to evaluate the acquirer's competence as to whether he/she has achieved the availed sets of rules.

It follows then that in ethno-linguistically diverse communities, in spite of the language differences, both the acquirers and the transmitters of the education content must have the cultural relay (the dominant language used as MOI) through which they are required to use or share the education content. It is therefore valid to expect teachers to use such pedagogical practices as will either strike some compromise for

all the learners or ignore those who cannot achieve the rules of the dominant group which are evaluated. Where the medium is unfamiliar to some, the transmitters may ignore their achievement of hierarchical rules and focus on relaying content without involving all the acquires in the process of relaying the content.

The impact of using mother tongue-based multilingual education (MT-MLE) programmes on education access is influenced by the extent to which the MOIs in different areas are developed and intelligible to the majority of learners. According to Cumbow (2013), there are five models of MT-MLE and the choice of one model depends on the number of languages involved and the targeted level of mother tongue proficiency, but the performance in MT in the school system in any model is proportional to the length of time the mother tongue is used as the MOI. Moreover, in some situations, none of the indigenous majority languages or area languages may be adequately developed in terms of vocabulary or availability of materials for use as MOI and schools tend to opt for other languages that are less familiar to the learners, but more developed and likely to be familiar to the teachers, as alternatives.

Alidou & Brock-Utne (2011) report that the relation between MOI and performance in Ethiopia basing on statistics by the Ministry of Education of Ethiopia, 2001. Only one of the three regions that used mother tongue as MOI for all the eight years/grades of elementary education had an average score of 34%, below the mean average (39%), and the other two had exactly the average. Out of the seven regions that partly use English in elementary education, one had the same average mark as the mean average (39%), three regions had averages above the mean average (40%, 45%, 46%), and three had average scores below the mean average (34%, 36%, 37%). The region that starts using English earliest (in year/grade 5) had the second lowest average score

(36%), beating only two regions: one using mother tongue throughout and another that switches to English in the seventh year/grade. The three regions using mother tongue throughout also had better achievement in Biology, Chemistry, and Mathematics compared to regions that use English and the region that switched to English earliest came last.

The Language of Instruction in Tanzania and South Africa (LOITASA) project (2002-2007) studied the use of African languages (isiXhosa in South Africa and Kiswahili in Tanzania) as media of instruction and learner participation. In Tanzania, one teacher taught the same topic in Biology to two secondary classes; one in Kiswahili and the other in English. (In Tanzania the seven years of primary education are in Kiswahili MOI and English is used for secondary and tertiary education.) Field notes from the lessons showed that in the English medium class the teacher had to make learners stand up to stop them from sleeping and only those who made some contribution would be allowed to sit. Some learners' pronunciation of some words was so strange that the intended meaning was understood only after learners were asked to spell the words and some responded in Kiswahili. Generally, the students were silent or trying to guess the answers and looked grave and afraid. In the Kiswahili medium class both teacher and students seemed confident and to enjoy themselves. The students worked quickly, came up with good contributions beyond the teacher's expectation and were competing to participate (Brock-Utne & Alidou, 2011).

The implementation of the LOI policy in Kenya highlights the different factors that come in play in the translation of policy into practice. The language policy in Kenya has gone through different stages from the pre-colonial period, through the colonial period up to the post-independence period. At first the policy used English as the

medium of instruction to uplift the performance of African and Asian pupils to that of Europeans. This position later changed to the medium of instruction being the language of the catchment area and Kiswahili was made compulsory but remained un-examinable. Although in teaching teachers would use a mixture of languages even beyond the exit level according to the policy, examinations were exclusively in English. But there were no teachers trained to teach using mother tongue medium nor any consistent supervision of the policy or publicity campaigns. Later, in 2010, multilingualism was constitutionalised to promote the development and use of indigenous languages. But in practice, the use of indigenous languages remained hindered by lack of resources as publishers are more interested in books that promise large sales. Some parents, and even teachers, hold the opinion that it is only through English-medium that education can be successful. There are also politicians that believe that multilingual education is ethnically divisive and unpatriotic (Kioko, 2013).

In Mali there are two types of schools: French-based regular schools and bilingual schools of convergent pedagogies. Traore compared the performance of pupils from the two types of schools at the end of the 7-year formal basic education programme and found out that pupils from the bilingual schools performed better than those from French-based schools (Traore, 2001).

In Uganda the adopted language policy model is meant to be a subtractive bilingual and early-exit one (after primary four). But policy implementation is not strictly observed and in practice different primary schools vary in their use of language for instruction and communication. The variation usually depends on factors like the home income bracket of the majority of learners, the ethnic composition of the

community, and the rural/urban location of the school. Some urban schools are officially monolingual with English as the MOI throughout while many rural schools continue using a mother tongue or a local/indigenous area language beyond the official exit class (primary four). The present study investigated the languages chosen as MOI, the reasons for choice, teachers' affluence in the chosen languages and the pedagogical procedures that are used with the chosen MOIs in implementing the national LOI policy.

2.7 Multi-ethnicity and Educational Planning

Agency is socio-culturally mediated capacity to act but it is constrained by structures. The structures include social groupings and material and symbolic resources, among others. Language is one of the symbolic resources of socio-cultural mediation. When national education language policies require learners from different socio-cultural backgrounds with different language exposure opportunities to study in any language that they are not fluent in as MOI, those living in ethno-linguistically diverse communities find themselves in a situation similar to that of migrants in a foreign language area. The agency efforts by such learners to fit in the existing structures is frustrated by their below average ability in the LOI and, consequently, leads to low academic achievement and access to tertiary level education opportunities.

According to Critical Theory by Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno of the Frankfurt School, (cited in Kibera & Kimokoti, 2007), there is conflict between individuals, groups and social structures as they compete for scarce resources. Social life involves inequality and social division exists as conflicting groups pursue their respective interests, each according to its position. Those with power influence all aspects of social structure and the education system perpetuates the existing order that serves their class interests by reproducing generations of the conflicting groups and

controlling access to privilege. According to this theory, schooling is not just a socialisation process but one related to distribution of resources and opportunities. There should be frequent educational reforms following changes in the economy and socio-political structures.

According to socio-cultural theory, language knowledge is socially constructed through collaborative activity and learners are active agents in their own development. It is through language that mediation of culturally constructed meaning is achieved and language has the power to reconstruct and broaden the system of activity of mental functions. Actual learning takes place in the zone of proximal development (ZPD), which is the difference between an individual learner's actual development level and his/her immediate next potential level for future collaborative problem solving. Intellectual development results from social and interpersonal activity. The development proceeds towards the conversion of social relations into personal mental functions (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006). It follows, therefore, that learners whose ability in the medium of learning instruction is inadequate will have ZPD levels below those of learners with adequate ability in the language of instruction.

Since agency is socio-culturally mediated, the structures within any given culture influence the efforts by all living within that culture's confines according to their status within that culture. Education achievement is a basic factor in development and social transformation. But some of the students for whom the MOI is different from the language of the home, even if in the same school with those for whom the medium is familiar, generally lag behind in terms of ZPD and have difficulty in participating with others in the situated learning activities. Such students may not adequately gain from the teacher-provided scaffolding. With automatic promotion to the next class at the end of the year, many pupils from bilingual homes in ethno-linguistically diverse

communities and environments pass through the school system half baked. At any transition point, such learners drop out of school at much higher rates than the others as they cannot compete in terms of academic achievement.

When learning instruction is through a language medium that is not comprehensible enough to the teacher and/or the learners, the social interaction required for mental activity and the mediation for general learning cannot be realised. The zone of proximal development of individual pupils varies with the level of comprehension and activity during the learning session. With effective collaboration, language learning occurs even without formal teaching. Such collaboration is lower for learners who find the MOI unfamiliar as the case is in ethno-linguistically diverse communities where any MOI choice is strange to some. Neither L₂ nor any single language in the MT/LL category is sure to be familiar enough to all pupils on joining school. During the first three years of learning and even after the fourth year, when the exit is implemented, L₂ is not developed enough by the pupils except may be for those that use it as the home language.

According to the Monitor Model Theory, specifically the Input Hypothesis, language development is as a result of learners receiving comprehensible input. Comprehensible input is defined as learning material at a level of complexity just beyond the learner's attained competence. Another hypothesis of the Monitor Model, the Affective Filter Hypotheses, states that the level to which input is utilised by learners depends on their attitudes and emotions towards the target language (McLaughlin, 1987)

The issue of comprehensibility applies not only in language learning but in all areas of learning and depends on, in part, the individual learners' linguistic ability to interpret the given input and, therefore, varies with familiarity with the MOI. This means

learners will be less motivated as a result of, and in addition to, their difficulty in interpreting the input. Whereas learners for whom the MOI is the mother tongue or intelligible have the advantage of learning in a familiar language at least during the early years of education; those for whom it is not intelligible are disadvantaged right from the beginning.

In an attempt to boost students' achievement and prepare them for examinations leading to the next level, teachers and schools adopt various pedagogical and teaching practices for this purpose. To prepare learners for the post-exit level where the MOI is English, some schools, irrespective of ethno-linguistic composition, may compel learners to always use the language at school and encourage them to use it at home but sometimes the teachers find it necessary to use other languages to achieve comprehension when teaching. The extent to which the school can positively impact on the effective use of the second language as MOI and overall achievement varies with the school's location in terms of rural/urban setup and the ethnic composition of the community it is located in and/or draws the learners from.

A World Bank study, cited in Kasozi estimated that about 55% of Ugandans were poor, the majority of them living in rural areas, with the eastern and northern parts being Uganda's poorest regions (Kasozi, 2007). Schools in areas characterised by poverty and rural settings often have to use unfamiliar languages, especially second languages, as MOI for reasons including those related to ethno-linguistic diversity.

The choice of MOI at any level may be guided by economic, linguistic and the ethno/linguistic structure aspects of the community for which instruction is intended. In economic terms, language policy models should be viewed as investment plans and it makes sense to consider the cost-benefit analysis of each of the models being

considered. The teacher education requirement is one of the recurrent costs of education and a comparison of the basic language policy models shows that the proportion of teachers that need to upgrade their language proficiency in second language (L₂) is highest (100%) for models with foreign language (FL) as the MOI. For bilingual models, this proportion falls as the exit levels rise and is lowest (15%) for models with the first language (L₁) or mother tongue (MT) as the medium instruction. In models with L₂/FL as MOI all teachers require training in both L₂ and L₂ literacy methods across the curriculum. But in bilingual transitional models using L₁/MT and L₂ as MOI the ratio (in percentages) of teachers who require training in L₁ to those who require training in both L₂ as a language and L₂ literacy methodology across the curriculum varies with the level at which transition to L₂ as MOI takes place. This ratio is 25:75 for the early-exit model, 50:50 for the late-exit and additive models, and 85:15 for L₁/MT as MOI throughout with L₂ as a subject. Considering the cost vis-a-vis the value, in terms of expected students' mean achievement, L₂/FL MOI models are the most costly and have the lowest value followed by transitional bilingual models in the order of earliest to latest exit, followed by additive bilingual models, and L₁/MT throughout with L₂ as a subject have the lowest cost and are at par in value with additive bilingual models (Heugh, 2011).

The Education Policy Review Commission (EPRC) recommended the teaching of five main area languages (Luganda, Ateso, Luo, Lugbara/Madi and Runyakitara) as subjects and their examination as part of the Primary Leaving Examinations (PLE). The Government White Paper (GWP) also approved their teaching as subjects but the examination of these languages by Uganda National Examinations Board (UNEB) at PLE level is optional and in practice none of them is examined though some are taught up to different levels in their areas of operation. The Ministry of Education and Sports

(MoES), through the Primary Education Review Programme (PERP) and the USAID funded Support for Uganda Primary Education Reform (SUPER) projects, developed materials for training primary school teachers to teach the main area languages and use them for teaching other subjects. The National Curriculum Development Centre (NCDC) states that mother tongue, or the most commonly used area language, should be used as the LOI up to P.4 except in urban areas and that the LOI will be the language of evaluation. NCDC leaves the identification of local languages as potential languages of instruction to District Language Boards (DLBs) and the selection of specific languages as media of instruction to schools which are required only to inform NCDC of the languages selected (Ward, Penny, & Read, 2006). To the present time, in most of the districts District Language Boards are not in existence or fully functional especially where ethno-linguistic diversity sentiments make their establishment or constitution a contentious issue. In practice not all five languages are taught as subjects beyond the lower primary level and actually none of them is examined at PLE. As early as 2006, 15 more local languages were acceptable to be used as LOIs in addition to the original five main area languages.

When a developing country like Uganda adopts a bilingual early-exit transitional LOI policy, with its low achievement value in all learning areas, and pegs overall education performance on achievement in the second language as a subject, it is likely and justifiable for school administrators to use all possible means to enhance achievement in the second language because it is the medium of instruction and also a grade-determining subject. The range of possible means available to any given school will be largely influenced by factors related to the ethnic composition of the students and the location of the school. The location of the school will also determine the school fees charged and affect the kind of teachers (in terms of qualification and experience)

that school can hire and retain in service, especially if private owned, and the supply of instructional and reference materials. This study has explored how factors related to ethno/linguistic diversity influence the choice of MOI and teaching practices for implementing the LOI policy at school level.

2.8 Related Studies

When neither the teacher nor the learner is comfortable with the language of instruction, rote memorisation becomes a main teaching/learning style (Brock-Utne & Alidou, 2011). Many African countries, especially former colonies, are referred to as Francophone, Anglophone, and Lusophone and they usually base their LOI policies on these languages. There is enough research-based literature on the educational advantages of using mother tongue or indigenous languages familiar to the learners and different independent African countries have changed their LOI policies. But in practice there is no clear trend of the direction of change. In Ghana the LOI policy has changed twice since independence: from an early-exit MT-MLE policy from 1970 to 2001, to an English-only policy in 2002 (Brock-Utne & Alidou, 2006). Zanzibar changed her LOI policy from using Kiswahili as the sole MOI in primary schools to using English for Mathematics and Science from Standard 5 but this decision was later reversed.

In Ghana, the Improving Educational Quality (IEQ) project used participant observation to study the implementation of the language policy in primary schools. The findings indicated that pupils participated more actively when a Ghanaian language was used as LOI (Dzinyela, 2001). A study of two of the bilingual pilot schools using Hausa in the first few years of schooling in Niger showed that all pupils in Hausa medium classes were very eager to participate. Some reached the extent of

standing up or even moving towards the teacher seeking to be called upon to contribute. Generally, teaching in a familiar language increased teacher-pupil participation leading pupils to developing critical thinking skills transferable to all learning experiences when the first language was no longer used as LOI (Chekaraou, 2004).

Following the introduction of the 'English only' policy in Ghana in 2002, a study was conducted among the second graders to determine the effect of the new policy (Wilmont, 2003). Thirty selected children were interviewed and the counting processes and problem-solving behaviour of each child was probed using various tasks in their mother tongue. The analysis found that children classified as low-achieving had been incorrectly assessed because they had the knowledge but had not mastered the language of instruction. This was the case with many urban and private schools which used English as LOI from the first year. Using 2 of the interviewed children (one from a family speaking mainly English and an area language at home and the other from a family not speaking English but a minority language at home) as cases, significant differences between them were found to be based on language ability, and not subject content. The case using English and a language of wider communication at home was more active in class and the other either silent or not actively participating. Qualitative analysis showed that the second case got arithmetic problems correct but could not explain how the answers were obtained. When LOI for the second case was changed to mother-tongue, achievement was at par with the first case (Wilmont, 2003).

Babaci-Wilhite's longitudinal case study (2013) used interview with policy makers, local academics, and teachers; and observation at several schools to investigate the

consequences of linguistics for quality and equitable education. In total 49 teachers, four government officials, four lectures and researchers at the State University of Zanzibar (ZUSA) and four teacher trainers were interviewed. The study concludes that in the Zanzibari situation quality education, also a human right, cannot be achieved through a foreign medium language of instruction and that the change of policy constituted a violation of children's rights in education (Babaci-Wilhite, 2013).

The change of LOI policy in Zanzibar also involved a change of curriculum to include Arabic language as a subject but the proposed study seeks to investigate the influence of choice of different indigenous languages as MOI on the implementation of the national LOI policy without any change in the curriculum. Where policy implementation decision making is at community level, such decision is influenced by the levels of language development and teacher education; and availability and accessibility of teaching/learning materials in each of the languages involved. This in turn determines the pedagogical practices that can be employed using the different languages.

A study on the influence of various education inputs on academic achievement in Uganda correlated the mean test scores of 3916 pupils in English and Mathematics with their home language (Nannyonjo, 2007). Pupils who spoke both English and Vernacular at home (31.9%) had mean scores of 28.34% in English and 30.63 in Mathematics compared to 16.34% in English and 20.71% in Mathematics for those who spoke only English (3.9%). Nannyonjo (2007) also correlated teaching strategies and school administration with academic achievement and found out that pedagogical processes and use of inputs are more significantly related to academic achievement than the availability of the physical inputs on its own. Although teaching the whole class was the most commonly used teaching strategy by teachers, it was also observed

that the majority of pupils worked on their own in pairs or small groups, but less frequently. The same study indicated that for Mathematics and English pupils working in pairs or small groups more often had higher scores than those who did not. But this strategy was used by most pupils only 'some of the time' as contrasted with 'daily' and 'none of the time' and that it was used by more pupils with Mathematics (82.2 %) than with English (79%).

Nannyonjo (2007) studied home language use as one among other pupil background characteristics and specific teaching strategies in relation to learning achievement in a situation where the MOI is English. This study is focused on the choice of language to use at school as MOI in an ethno-linguistically diverse community and the kinds of pedagogical processes the choice leads to. The choice of MOI is expected to influence the accessibility and use of the different available education inputs by both the teachers and pupils and the extent of interaction among the pupils, between them and the teachers, and between each individual pupil and the materials.

Despite the increasing level of global awareness and dissemination of information on the role of MT-MLE in learning by development agencies, for example (UNESCO, 2005) (UNESCO, 2006), higher education institutions, for example the University of Cape Town (Beckett, 2001), and NGOs, for example ADEA and UIL (Alidou & Brock-Utne, 2006); the choice and implementation of appropriate bilingual policy models and instructional strategies at classroom level in developing African countries is not documented enough. Even where a given model is assumed or appears to be right at national level, its implementation at the local levels tends to be influenced by different social and economic factors in the immediate context where teaching and learning take place.

Some of the related studies focus on using practices aimed at learners' comprehension and therefore varied for different learning content. Others focus on prolonging the use of a familiar language until learners develop sufficient competence in the second language before exiting from the familiar language. In both cases, the language of instruction and the pedagogical practices used are institutionalised and implemented in several schools. In the Ugandan setting, it is only choice of language that is provided for and the pedagogical practices each school or teacher uses with what class and content is left open. This study aimed at investigating the languages chosen and the kind of pedagogical practices that teachers adopted for teaching through them. The study also sought to relate the teachers' fluency in the chosen languages and their application in teaching different content.

2.9 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, various sources of literature related to the proposed study were reviewed. The sources reviewed traced relationships between ethnicity-related socio-economic status background and child language development on one hand; and access to education, education achievement, familial language transmission, agency in language development, and MOI Choice and use for LOI policy Implementation on the other. The literature revealed that whereas language transmission is cultural rather than hereditary, the conditions for L₂ transmission through both learning and acquisition are dependent on ethnicity-related factors (Sirin, 2005); (Kibera & Kimokoti, 2007). Pre-school language development varies with home location, ethnic composition, socio-economic status of the immediate language community the child lives in and is also known to influence cognitive and verbal skills (Christ & Wang, 2010; Ramey & Ramey, 2004) which in turn influences academic achievement and capital transmission. The possibility of family level capital transmission tends to

influence academic aspiration as learners aim at achievable goals or those needed for maintaining or improving their social status across generations (Jonsson & Erikson, 2007). Language pedagogies and language education policies often articulate ideologies that promote interests of the dominant elite groups (Bernstein, 2004), but these are usually the minority. Research shows that education systems with LOI policies that use MT or a familiar language as MOI longer in the primary school cycle record better achievement (Alidou & Brock-Utne, 2006; Brock-Utne & Alidou, 2011; Dzinyela, 2001; Chekaraou, 2004). The next chapter deals with the methodology that was used in carrying out this study.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the philosophical paradigm, the research design, and the research methodology of the study. It further presents information about the study area, the population, the sample, the sampling techniques, the research instruments, the procedures of data collection and data analysis, and the ethical considerations used in conducting this study.

3.2 Philosophical Paradigm of the Study

This study was informed by a qualitative paradigm and used an Interpretivist approach to gain an in-depth understanding of the contextualised meanings as constructed by the participants through 'capturing' parallel snapshots of multiple cases (Thomas, 2011). The choice of a qualitative approach was based on the idealist ontological stand that reality is constructed by individual observers and, therefore, a summation of multiple subjective realities. The qualitative paradigm is related to the Interpretivist view of knowledge of reality being subjective as the observer and the object of observation are interdependent and influence each other during the process of observation. Valid knowledge is dependent on time and context and can be gained only if the observer takes a position as a participant in the activity under observation (Coll & Chapman, 2000; Cousins, 2002). The researcher did not take a participant position but was a complete observer within the study sites

The study used collaborative data generation methods involving interaction between the researcher and the participants. The data generation instruments involved strategies that put specific participants in situations that produced data relevant to contexts of practical application in choice and use of media of instruction. The study used realist axiology that recognises the values of human systems and of researchers and their influence on the derivation of knowledge that, though real, is fallible (Krauss, 2005). Therefore, the study adopted and developed the research design, methodology, and instruments according to this view of what reality is and how it is constructed.

3.3 Research Design

Multiple case study research design was adopted to provide a logical structure for conducting the inquiry and to ensure that the evidence collected is what is required to answer the research questions and make inferences that are valid. Multiple case study involves using a number of manageable cases that are severally studied in detail and the observations compared across the cases. Each case is an in-depth study of a selected topic in real-life context but all cases are related to a common topic of interest.

The design was used for providing a kind of relevant template for framing the research questions and ensuring that the data generated could be used to answer them unambiguously and convincingly (Yin R. K., 2013). This design informed the sampling procedures, the methods of data collection and analysis, and reporting the findings.

This descriptive study adopted a multiple case study design because it sought to investigate and interpret the factors that influence the choice of MOI and use of

particular pedagogical practices in lower primary schools when implementing the national LOI policy in Uganda. Case study design was chosen because of its holistic view of reality and eclectic approach to investigation for contextualised analytic observation (Thomas, 2011). The required evidence was participants' MOI choices, the reasons for choosing the languages, and the particular pedagogical processes utilised in implementation of the national LOI policy using the languages chosen as MOI. This explanatory research used description to create an understanding of the participants' experiences and the meanings they make of those experiences. Multiple case study design is recommended by several authorities as applicable when studying a number of cases an understanding of which leads to understanding of a larger collection of cases (Jwan & Ong'ondo, 2011).

3.4 Research Methodology

The study was oriented by a qualitative paradigm and included research methods relevant to this world view and others capable of generating contextualised data from the identified cases. Hence the study, following multiple case study design, used qualitative research methods to investigate the influence of ethnicity-related factors on choice of MOI and use of particular pedagogical practices in implementing the national LOI policy in ethno-linguistically diverse communities and consider the participants' justifications for their choices. Multiple case study was considered appropriate because the study sought to establish the languages used, and why they were chosen. Another reason for using case study was that the study did not aim at manipulating the phenomena under study but rather at observing it in its natural setting to gain a deep understanding of it. The analysis of data and presentation of the findings were by induction.

3.5 Study Area

The study was conducted in rural and urban areas in two districts, Tororo and Lyantonde, representing two regions (Eastern and Central) out of the four in the country. In these two districts, there are four widely used indigenous languages. Two of these languages, Luganda and Runyankore, are used as majority languages in Lyantonde and the other two, Ateso and Adhola, are used in Tororo. Two of these four indigenous languages were among the six area languages that are used as languages of wider communication. Urban locations generally give opportunity to children from different ethnic background communities and homes to access school using a neutral language as MOI. The neutral language is usually a second or foreign language and facilitates use of similar teaching practices and exposure to uniform materials in the different schools. But the quality of educational infrastructure, scholastic materials and academic staffing vary according to the socio-economic standing of the different schools. Remote rural locations typically have one school in a relatively larger area and the schools draw learners from homes with almost uniform parental education level, socio-economic background and income. Unlike in ethnically and/or linguistically diverse rural areas where the education levels, occupations and incomes of the majority of heads of family rule out the possibility to quality L₂ exposure at pre-primary school level, similar urban areas may have schools using English and others using mother tongue as MOI in the lower primary section.

Lyantonde district is located in the Kingdom of Buganda in central region and shares a boarder with Kiruhura district in the Kingdom of Ankore in the western region. Its headquarters is located along the Kampala-Mbarara highway. The population of Lyantonde is a mixture of Luganda- and Runyankore-speaking communities originating from the two kingdoms.

Tororo district is located in eastern region and is predominantly inhabited by the Jopadhola and Iteso ethnic groups and shares borders with the districts of Busia, Bugiri Butaleja, Mbale, and Manafwa in Uganda; and the Republic of Kenya. The Jopadhola are Luo and the Iteso are Nile Hermites but all the neighbouring districts to Tororo have Bantu as the native inhabitants. A total of six languages, Adhola, Ateso, Samia, Lusoga, Lunyole and Lumasaba are used as home languages in the district. Tororo district is traversed by the Kampala-Malaba highway and has a migration post at the border town of Malaba. Being a neighbour to several districts, a transit point between Kampala and Mbale, and near to the border town of Malaba make Tororo host speakers of Luganda and Kiswahili (languages of business) in addition to the local languages.

These two districts' geographical location, transit and administrative activity, size, and neighbourhood to areas with more than one ethnolinguistic community made them ideal as areas for carrying out this kind of study in. The populations of these districts are ethnically and linguistically diverse and, hence, certain to require use of different languages as MOI in the lower primary sections in the schools. Such a study area made it possible and easy for schools using different languages as MOI to be identified within the same areas and studied using the same instruments.

3.6 Study Population

The study used primary school head teachers and teachers of lower primary school classes in rural and urban schools located in and drawing their pupils from ethnolinguistically diverse communities. Primary school head teachers, teachers of lower primary classes (P1-P4) and the pupils in these same classes in the participating schools formed the populations of the study. The head teachers were selected for their access to information on the reasons for the choices of MOI made by the schools. The

teachers were selected to be observed when using the selected languages and the pupils in the classes taught by the teachers were selected to be observed participating in lessons where the selected MOI languages and pedagogical practices were used.

3.7 Study Sample and Sampling Techniques

The study used purposive sampling (following Silverman, 2005) to select participating schools from urban and rural locations in different ethno-linguistically diverse communities in the districts of Lyantonde and Tororo. The participating teachers were selected from schools within these two districts depending on the MOI the classes used as chosen by the schools. These districts represent four languages including three of the six main area languages currently recognised as possible MOIs and for which materials were developed by the Ministry of Education and Sports (MoES). Two urban and two rural schools were selected from each of the two districts. This gave a total of four schools per district and eight schools overall. This number of schools, though numerically small, was the population from which cases were identified and it is from these cases that participants were selected.

The head teacher, teachers of lower primary classes and the classes they taught (P2-P3) were identified to form the sample of participating teachers and classes. P1 was considered to be more of a socialising level and by P4 MT/LL-medium schools are in transition to using L₂. The study targeted mainly subjects examinable at PLE level as teachers are known to be more committed when teaching such subjects. These subjects are Mathematics, Science, Religious Education, and Social Studies. English was left out because it is always taught through English only.

Teachers were selected partly on the basis of their fluency in the languages they taught their classes in. All trained teachers were assumed to be adequately fluent in L₂

(English) as there is a minimum attainment level in English language required for admission to teacher training institutions. Teachers using languages from the MT/LL category, where there is no documented proof of fluency, were selected for observation only if the language used was acquired during the teacher's childhood. This was considered a satisfactory background for having native-like fluency even for those who did not acknowledge the language used being their mother tongue/first language.

In schools that used L₂ as MOI, the teachers observed were purposively selected according to when their classes (P2 or P3) were having one of the targeted subjects. For schools that used MT/LL, selection was according to when a teacher of a targeted class (P2 or P3) whose fluency in the chosen MOI was ascertained was teaching a targeted subject. All rural schools had single stream classes. In total, eight head teachers and 8 teachers, in a lower primary class in each school, were interviewed and a total of 8 lessons were observed in the participating schools as shown in Table 3.1 below.

Table 3.1: Study Sample

Location Area	Urban	Rural	Total
Tororo	2	2	4
Lyantonde	2	2	4
Total	4	4	8

3.8 Research Instruments

A total of four different data collection instruments. Two interview guides, an observation guide and a document analysis guide were administered to the relevant participants. The two interview guides (Appendixes A and B) were used to interview the head teachers and teachers in the participating primary schools to determine the MOI employed by different schools to implement the national LOI policy. An observation schedule (Appendix C) was used to observe teachers in the participating schools teaching to discover how ethnicity-related factors influence the selection and use of MOI and pedagogical practices in lower primary school classes. The document analysis guide (Appendix D) was used to investigate the impact of the choice of MOI on the selection and use of language-based materials in delivering lessons.

The use of multiple instruments was intended to generate convergent data from different sources using different methods as a means of enhancing trustworthiness. When data from different sources are compared it is possible to find out if any key findings are supported by more than one source of data. Data generated using different methods are more credible and the findings based on such data are highly confirmable.

3.8.1 Interview Guides

Two interview guides (see Appendixes A and B) were used to generate information on why different schools adopt different languages as MOI. The instruments in appendixes A and B were semi-structured to generate participants' knowledge, thought, attitudes and beliefs (Jwan & Ong'ondo, 2011) on the topic of study. These were administered to the head teachers and teachers in the purposively selected participating primary schools. These instruments were used to collect and record information on the languages chosen as MOI, the reasons for the choice in each case, and the fluency of participating teachers in the languages chosen as MOI in each school.

3.8.2 Observation Guide for Pedagogical Practices

A lesson observation guide (Appendix C) was used to observe the pedagogical practices used by teachers of P2 and P3 in the selected schools when using the MOI chosen by the school for each class level. Observation was used for its potential to provide opportunity for capturing visual data through watching live situations (Creswell, 1994; Jwan & Ong'ondo, 2011). The observation guide was used as a prompt and checklist of all anticipated activities and as a record sheet for the activities exhibited by the teachers and learners during lessons taught in P2 and P3 classes. The anticipated activities included the use of the chosen MOI, use of materials as planned, teacher's competence in the MOI, and teacher-pupil and inter-pupil interaction for learning communication using the chosen MOI.

3.8.3 Documentary Analysis Guide

A documentary analysis guide (Appendix D) was used to appraise the documents produced and/or used by the participating teachers in the delivery of lessons using the chosen MOI. Special attention was focused on the choice and use of relevant MOI-based reference documentary materials as teaching-learning aids in lessons. The analysis was extended to include documents developed and/or used, for example language-based charts in the chosen MOI displayed in the learning area, as are relevant to the delivery of learning content using language.

3.9 Credibility of Research Instruments

The credibility of an instrument is a measure of its correctness and accuracy in measuring the phenomenon it is intended to measure. It is also a measure of how much a study reports what it claims or set out to. In other words, it is a measure of the extent to which study procedures are credible and the findings obtained using them dependable as to be transferable to cases beyond those observed (Yin, 2013; Jwan & Ong'ondo, 2011).

To establish the trustworthiness of the instruments, all instruments were administered to smaller samples using procedures and study sites similar to those of the actual study and observations made were subjected to method triangulation to corroborate the similarity of responses from each instrument administered by different people as recommended by Walliman & Buckler (2008).

3.10 Dependability of Research Instruments

The dependability of an instrument is a measure of the extent to which it is consistent in yielding similar data when used again if the study was replicated (Mason, 2002). The consistence and dependability of the information collected using each instrument was checked using participant triangulation by corroborating views of different peers as recommended by Walliman & Buckler, (2008).

3.11 Pilot Study

All the instruments of data collection were piloted with samples selected from a population from an area other than that of the actual study but using procedures and study sites similar to those that were used for the actual study and administered according to the procedures of the actual study. The pilot study was conducted in the district of Kampala. Kampala is a small district surrounded by Wakiso district. Kampala is a central district within which the capital city is located and its position gives it urban conditions in the city and rural conditions in some of the suburbs along the borders with Wakiso district. Kampala district is inhabited by people from different areas leading to multi-lingual homes and communities in addition to the indigenous monolingual Luganda-speaking majority homes. There are several barracks: one for the police force in Naguru, two for the army in Mbuya and Kireka, and the prison headquarters in Luzira. There is also a number of small industrial area complexes located in Kampala including Ntinda-Kyambogo-Nakawa, Kawempe, Luzira and Kololo-Kibuli-Namuwongo-Bugoloobi. Two public universities and several other tertiary institutions are based in Kampala and some institutions based outside Kampala have satellite campuses in the city. The opportunities for employment in the metropolitan civil service, industries, the barracks, and in trade

attract labour from different areas all over the country leading to ethnically and linguistically diverse communities, cross cultural marriages, and bilingual families. Such families, from different income brackets, language backgrounds and home locations send their children to basically the same range of schools where the choice of MOI is a compromise. Hence, some schools in Kampala are surrounded by and/or draw their pupils from bilingual homes located in ethno-linguistically diverse communities and others from generally monolingual homes and communities. Kampala district has schools with all the conditions in the area of study and this made it ideal for carrying out the pilot study in. The information obtained from the pilot was used to make adjustments to the instruments to include items relevant for peri-urban communities.

The pilot revealed that schools in the rural and peri-urban locations had comparatively less adequate print scholastic materials. This necessitated adjustment in the observation guide on the pedagogical practices used to include an item on the provision written activity based on material developed on the blackboard. Another observation from piloting the instruments was that the dominant indigenous language (Luganda) in the area where the pilot was done was not the mother tongue to a some of the teachers using it for instruction. Some teachers who were non-first language speakers of Luganda, but whose first languages had similarity or mutual intelligibility with it, for example speakers of other Bantu languages, were able to teach through it. Basing on this pilot study finding, the interview instrument for lower primary class teachers was improved to include items related to similarity between LL MOI and the mother tongue of teacher using it for instruction.

3.12 Data Collection Procedures

The researcher identified two districts with multi-ethnic/lingual populations and more than one potential MOI and purposively selected four schools from each of the two districts. Then the researcher reported to the selected schools representing both location and ethnic diversity. After obtaining permission to access the research sites, the researcher started establishing rapport by spending some time explaining the purpose of the study and how the information sought would be used and its usefulness, and reassuring the participants of anonymity of identity and confidentiality of all given information. The participants' voluntary and informed consent was solicited for and obtained. For teachers, consent was solicited directly from them and for pupils it was solicited from their parents through oral messages sent by the schools. In the course of this process, the researcher became fairly familiar with the people and routines at/around the research sites. In due course the instruments were administered to/used with the participants. Each participating school and individual participant were assigned an identification number for purposes of follow up and analysis of observation throughout the study.

The first instrument to be administered was the interview guide for the head teachers and this guided the study to identifying the MOIs used by the participating schools. Next to be administered was the interview guide for teachers followed by the observation guide for the pedagogical practices used by the teachers. The last instrument to be administered was the document analysis schedule for the documents used by the teachers. Information from the interview with head teachers guided the investigation in identifying the official MOI languages supposed to be used in lower primary school classes in the participating schools. The data generated through

administering the instruments were transcribed, coded and thematically analysed following Richards, (2003).

3.13 Data Analysis Procedures

The data collected from administration of the instruments were transcribed in a word-processing file and subjected to content analysis before being coded into thematic categories and explained using reflective notes/memos that were guided by the variables in the study objectives. The themes were generated from the data using the constant comparative method (Thomas, 2011) and comparing each with all the others for emerging themes. The analysis involved iteratively matching questions in the case study protocol to pieces of evidence that addressed each research question and identifying patterns. The general strategy for data analysis was based on the theoretical assumption that choice of MOI is influenced by the location of the school, the proportions of the different ethno-language groups in the community the learners come from and the level of development of the different languages from among which choice is to be made. Alongside this strategy, the techniques of pattern-matching and explanation building (Yin R. K., 2013) were used for all the cases. For each case all the explanations from the analysis were examined against the different rival explanations to check the strengths of inferences. The specific dialogues and scenes constituting the data were described, explained and interpreted before being compiled into a narrative report.

The analysis of data began with the transcription of the interview data followed by that of observation data and finally the document analysis data. The transcripts were produced into files and read through several times by the researcher to get more familiar with the data. The data were edited and cleaned to remove some unloaded

chunks of print like fillers. In the process the researcher gained some general insights about the emerging patterns.

Each file was studied and specific extracts were highlighted and labelled in order to be easily retrieved and grouped under relevant codes, categories and themes. The transcripts were read through again with the purpose of assigning codes considered relevant to the research questions and as generated during the conceptualisation phase. The codes were used to create links between the raw data and the research questions as conceptualised by the researcher. Other codes were adopted as they emerged from critical reading of the transcripts. The highlighted chunks of text were cut out of the transcript and pasted in groups under relevant categories to create new texts comprising headings with lists of words and phrases relevant to specific details of interest to the study objectives.

Each transcript was coded three times, with each successive coding using a smaller number of broader categories under which all cut out phrases were pasted. In subsequent re-coding turns, similar codes were put together; some were upgraded and other downgraded and arranged into a hierarchy of categories, and themes.

3.14 Ethical Considerations

It was anticipated that some participants might not wish to identify themselves or be identified as members of certain ethnic groups. The purpose of the study was explained to all participants and it was explained that the study was about language as a means of communication and not identity in terms understandable to them to avert any possible feeling of alienation or marginalisation. The researcher sought every participant's voluntary and informed consent and assured them of confidential and anonymous treatment. The researcher at all times used generic, inclusive and bias-free

language. Any statement, action, or emotional reaction deemed capable of leading to embarrassment or lowering of any participant's self-esteem was avoided. Participants were not required to reveal their identity at any one time but every instrument had a different identification mark and pseudo names were used to refer to participants in the report where necessary.

When talking to participants about their languages, special care was taken not to make them feel any kind of disgrace or humiliation about their language or its status. The research findings were reported without any compromise.

3.15 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, the philosophical paradigm, the research design and methodology of the study, sampling procedures, instruments, and the procedures of data collection and analysis have been presented. The chapter also indicates the area of study and ethical considerations. The next chapter covers the presentation, analysis, interpretation and discussion of the observation from administration of the research instruments to the participants.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS, INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter the data collected through implementing the methods and data collection procedures outlined in the previous chapter are presented, analysed, interpreted and discussed. The format and order of presentation follows the instruments used in collecting the data and the order of administration. Data from each instrument are presented, analysed, interpreted, and discussed in a continuous and coherent narrative form to produce a holistic account. On the other hand, the discussion of the findings is presented under thematic areas guided by the objectives of the study and the instruments.

The purpose of the study was to investigate the factors that influence choice and use of MOI in lower primary school classes in ethno-linguistically diverse communities in Uganda when implementing the national LOI policy. This was accomplished through investigation on four objectives which were to:

- a) identify the MOI language choices in lower primary classes in the participating schools,
- b) examine the reasons for choice and extent of use of the languages chosen as MOI in lower primary school classes,
- c) find out the fluency levels of teachers of lower primary school classes in using the languages chosen as MOI,

- d) explore the pedagogical practices used with the languages chosen as MOI by lower primary school teachers in the participating schools.

In order to achieve these objectives, interviews were held with head teachers and selected lower primary school teachers, lesson observation of selected class learning sessions was done, and analysis of documents used to support teaching and learning was carried out. Participants included eight head teachers, eight lower primary school teachers, and eight lower primary classes (P2 and P3) in different subjects taught by the participating teachers. For schools using MT/LL as MOI, choice of the teachers who were observed teaching was based on the teachers' professed levels of proficiency in the language chosen as MOI by the school. Then the choice of specific lessons to be observed was based on the time when each of these teachers was timetabled to teach any subject other than English and Local Language.

The data generation methods included interview, observation, and document analysis. Interview was used to generate information from the head teachers and teachers of selected lower primary school classes on the choice of MOI and the reasons why their schools chose the languages they used as MOI. Observation was used to find out the pedagogical practices that were used with different language categories chosen as MOI and the extent to which the teachers were fluent in using the languages used for classroom instruction during the lessons observed. During observation, attention was focused on the activities of the teaching-learning process, learner participation, and the overall classroom environment and learning atmosphere. The observer role adopted was that of complete observer and the observer did not have any direct or indirect influence, not even by nonverbal reaction, on the activities that were being observed. The close observation and photocopying/scanning of the materials used was done after the lessons observed had ended to avoid distracting pupils and making the teachers

anxious. Document analysis was used to establish if the materials were in the language chosen as MOI, the level of clarity of language used, and how suitable they were for interactive learning by pupils at that class level and to the lesson content.

From the process of gaining access up to administering the instruments to generate the data, care was taken to adjust the personality and general presentation of the researcher to make it easy for the participants and other persons at the study sites to develop a feeling of 'sameness' instead of 'otherness' between the researcher and themselves. In all cases the researcher's manner of language presentation, including vocabulary and pace of speaking, were regulated to achieve ease of audibility for comprehension and to avoid creating any impression about the researcher of being an expert from 'another world'. The researcher's dressing was also made as typical of the average teacher in the locality as possible. Exceptional care was taken to ensure that the data recording equipment used was not unnecessarily sophisticated as to be obtrusive but just adequate for doing the job. The researcher used formal language and refrained from saying anything or otherwise expressing any kind of emotion about any extreme or unexpected responses or behaviour by participants.

The analysis of the data was based on the Socio-cultural Theory principle that learning is culturally mediated through language and the Critical Theory argument that there is need for intervention where resources and opportunities are inequitably distributed among groups and individuals. Since language is both part of culture and the medium of communication within any given culture, the choice of language of instruction plays a vital role in determining the degree to which the learning process, through language mediation, is successful among learners whose knowledge of the medium is not uniform. The data analysis process was based on an analytic strategy coupled with two analytic techniques. The analytic techniques used were pattern matching and

explanation building (Yin, R.K. 2009). The theoretical proposition developed as the analytic strategy was that in multilingual communities, rural schools would choose and use only one dominant language from the LL/MT category and urban schools would choose L₂. The theoretical proposition was chosen bearing in mind that even the national language policy provides for a similar pattern of choice countrywide. The proposition was based on the general observation that rural areas are linguistically less diverse than urban ones and that urban communities are demographically, economically and socially better positioned to acquire, learn and use second language through informal language exposure. The analytical techniques chosen, pattern matching and explanation building, were considered relevant in comparing the observed and theoretic proposed patterns and explaining how and why the observed patterns happened in each case. The observed patterns were matched against those predicted in the theoretical proposition for analysis of conformity. Then explanations were built about every case to justify the apparent casual links between the observed patterns and the language use characteristics of each case.

4.2 Data Presentation, Analysis and Interpretation

The data on each observed phenomena are presented under the different instruments used to generate them and according to the order of their administration to the study participants. The data are presented case after case and in each case analysis and interpretation follow immediately.

4.2.1 Interview for Head Teachers

The first instrument to be administered was the head teachers' interview which was used to generate data from the head teachers of the participating schools. This instrument sought to establish the views of head teachers in the participating schools

on information relating to the choice of MOI, the reasons for the choice, and its use in implementation of the national LOI policy in their schools. The summaries of reports resulting from the analysis are presented case by case. The cases located in Lyantonde are presented first.

The first case was a rural school (School A) with 180 pupils in six classes; that is, from P1 to P6, and there was no nursery section. This school was located in a rural area some 30 kilometres off the Kampala-Mbarara highway. The main economic activity practiced in this area is pastoral farming.

The school had 8 teachers of whom 5 were paid by the government and the rest were paid from funds raised locally from the fees paid by parents. This was a Catholic denomination church-founded and government-aided school. The language chosen as MOI was Luganda and that language was taught as a subject up to P3. This was partly because Luganda is not examinable at PLE level and the school did not find it worth the effort to continue with it. Previously, the medium of instruction had been English but, according to the head teacher, it was changed to Luganda after the introduction of the LARA programme. Kiswahili was not taught at all and the reason given by the head teacher was that there were no teachers for the language. Assemblies at this school were conducted in English and Luganda but prayers were in only Luganda. For school meetings involving parents, the head teacher said that all proceedings were in Luganda but the minutes had to be recorded in English for purposes of official record keeping and retrieval for reference by various users including Ministry of Education and Sports official.

This extract from an interview with the head teacher of this school gives the reasons for choice of medium of instruction in the school:

Previously we used English and indeed some teachers were reluctant to use Luganda when it was first introduced. Some parents would complain against using Luganda, wondering whether it was because the teachers were not competent enough to teach in English. But now, after the introduction of the LARA programme, both parents and teachers have accepted it. The choice of Luganda was influenced by the population, which consists of native speakers of basically Luganda and Runyankore. We considered the biggest number among the pupils and chose Luganda since even pupils who are not native speakers of Luganda understand it and they are many in the school.

In this case, it was noted that the decision to change the language choice from English to a local language was after using the second language for some time. From the above evidence, it was established that the reasons why the indigenous language was not used as MOI at first included absence of materials in it. The change in medium of instruction in this school followed provision of materials in the language adopted later and training of teachers on their use. Even the parents who at first discouraged the use of local language ended up appreciating it. Although the area is linguistically diverse, the original use of the second language in this school was not primarily based on its neutrality or the linguistic diversity of the area as there was not any need of compromise on the local language to use. Instead, it is more likely to have been based on factors related to availability of materials, staffing, prestige, and the desire to have the pupils grounded in the second language in preparation for its use as the sole medium of instruction after P3.

The later change in the availability of materials in this case allowed for the medium of instruction to be selected from the LL/MT category of languages and the choice was based on consideration of the numerical strengths of the speakers of each of the languages involved in this area. H/t A said:

We considered the biggest number among the pupils and chose Luganda.

But this choice might have been unjust or even difficult to implement as some of the learners for whom this language is not the mother tongue who might have found it difficult or completely incomprehensible to learn through. In respect to this, H/t A said about the selected language:

“... even non-native speakers of Luganda understand it”.

This case was a rural-based school and the ethno-linguistic mix involved only two major languages each of which had a reasonable number of speakers among the pupils and even the staff. The language chosen is highly mutually intelligible with the other majority language in the area.

The choice of MOI in this case matched with the pattern proposed in the analytical strategy: The school was rural-based and chose the medium of instruction from the MT/LL language category. The explanation for the choice of a language from the LL/MT category in this case was that the language chosen as medium was both an indigenous and majority language and was highly mutually intelligible with the other majority language (Runyankore). The chosen language, Luganda, was adequately developed for literary use and capable of having scholastic materials produced in it. The language was also widely used in trade, administration and mass communication within the area and beyond. The subsequent availability of instruction materials in this language only served to make the language more developed for use in education and just gave it additional functionality and competitiveness as a medium of instruction.

The second case, School B, was a rural school with an enrolment of 230 pupils and a teaching staff of 11 teachers, of whom seven were paid by the government through the

District Service Commission. This school was located only about three kilometres from the first case school. The language chosen as medium of instruction in this school was Runyankore. The language chosen as the medium of instruction was not taught as a subject at all, and the same applied to Kiswahili. School assembly was always conducted in English and Runyankore and, for some particular messages intended to be delivered to homes, responsibility was taken to have them translated into as many of the other languages as possible. Prayers were always in Runyankore. Meetings involving parents were conducted in Runyankore but some of the parents usually contributed in other languages, for example Luganda and Kinyarwanda.

The head teacher of this school, during interview, said:

We used to get thematic curriculum materials in Luganda but the majority of pupils and teachers speak Runyankore. The materials, including pupils' books, are sent from the Ministry [of Education] by the central government and because this district is part of Buganda, the thematic curriculum materials were at first only in Luganda. There are areas in the district where speakers of Runyankore as a first language out-number those of Luganda and vice-versa. For example, there are more speakers of Luganda in X (a neighbouring location with a primary school that also participated in this study and informally referred to by the name of the place) than here, and we have only one teacher who is a Muganda. As the policy says that where there is more than one language the majority language should be the medium of instruction, here Runyankore is the majority language. As a participating school in the LARA programme, we get materials in Runyankore.

The data generated in this case showed that there was a time when a language used by the smaller number in the school community was used as the medium of instruction because materials were available in that language and it is the language used by the greater majority in the wider community. The fact that materials in another language were received by this school suggests that they could be used by the teachers and the pupils as both were bilingual in the two majority languages and which are highly mutually intelligible, both being Bantu languages. In this case, the availability of

materials alone was not enough for changing to the language in which materials were available as in the first case. The choice of medium of instruction in this case was mainly on the basis of the language chosen being the majority one in the immediate neighbourhood as H/t B said:

We used to get thematic curriculum materials in Luganda but the majority of pupils and teachers speak Runyankore.

The head teacher was referring to materials for the new curriculum in which content is organised under themes in which content of the different subjects or learning areas form strands. Since none of the local languages is taught as a subject, pupils usually develop literacy in some of them, especially the indigenous majority ones, just through exposure to the written materials used in other learning areas and the level of literacy functionality each language commands outside the school in the ethno-linguistically diverse community.

In this particular case, it is apparent that apart from the communicative value of the medium of instruction adopted later there was an identity statement being made. If the materials in the previously used language were usable, then it was not entirely for communication that the change was welcome. This case was located a short distance from case A and the two schools serve a common geographical area. A casual look at the names on class and staff lists revealed that pupils and even some teachers preferred schools where the language of instruction was very familiar or the home language.

This can partly explain why schools drawing their enrolment from different communities located within one area with the same ethno-linguistic composition and relatively short distances between them choose different languages. The concentration of speakers of a given language at a particular place or forum makes that language the

majority language although it may generally be a minority or even a non-dominant one.

The third case (School C) was an urban private day and boarding primary school located within a town council. It was a full primary school and it had a nursery section. The school had an enrolment of 800 pupils and an academic staff of 33 teachers. The language chosen as medium of instruction was English. The school did not teach Kiswahili or any of the indigenous language as a subject. All school programmes and activities, including prayers and assembly, were conducted in English. Runyankore is the only other language, in addition to English, that was used during meetings involving parents and it was introduced only later on request by some parents.

During the interview, the head teacher of this school explained why the school had chosen English as the medium of instruction:

We use English because the school is located in an urban area which is also multi-ethnic and has different languages. There are several languages including Luganda, Runyankore, Rukiga, Kinyarwanda, and there are even some pupils from Tororo who do not know any one of the major languages in the area. Although some of the indigenous local languages are familiar to many of the pupils, we chose English, because it is the only neutral language, to avoid cultural assimilation of speakers of other languages. The use of local language can work maybe in kindergarten when the pupils are in the formative stage of language development but not beyond mid-P1. English should be used even in rural schools. If examinations are done in English, the use of any other language for instruction does not have any justification. We start from nursery section with English as the medium, so our pupils have no problem with it. The only difficulty is in finding teachers who can stick to English without mixing it with their languages.

The choice of English as the medium of instruction in this school was based on the argument that the use of any language from the MT/LL category would have an effect of assimilating those learners for whom the chosen medium would be different from their heritage language. Hence, the choice of English was based on it being culturally

neutral to all learners. Another point to justify the choice of English was the school being located in an urban area where the range of ethnicities and languages is wide as, according to the head teacher H/t C:

“There are several languages including Luganda, Runyankore, Rukiga, Kinyarwanda, and there are even some pupils from Tororo.... It is hardly possible to find any single language, other than English, to cater for such a variety of speakers of different first languages”.

In this particular case, choice was also influenced by an ambitious aspiration by the school to prepare pupils who can favourably compete in the national examinations and in accessing secondary schools. The head teacher believed that choosing any other language as medium was not defensible by saying:

“If examinations are in English, the use of any other language for instruction does not have any justification.”

This is a point on which some parents also base the choice of schools for their children as promotional and transitional national examinations are set to be done in English. Admission to all subsequent levels of education in all public educational institutions is on academic merit and highly competitive as the places are limited. Many parents with high academic aspirations for their children choose L₂-medium schools as it is generally believed that such schools enhance academic success.

The head teacher of this same school further said:

“The failure of using mother tongue is manifested in the poor performance of those schools that use it”.

For teachers and parents who subscribe to this opinion, even schools in predominantly mono-ethnic and hence monolingual rural areas should use English as the medium right from P1 and some parents transfer their children from MT/LL-medium schools to L₂-medium schools in search of such ‘better’ performance schools. This kind of action by parents can pressurise some schools to abandon using MT/LL as MOI and

adopt L₂ just to keep the pupils in their schools. Indeed, schools that use L₂-medium have more potential to attract children from high socio-economic background homes and charge higher school fees.

In this case the justification for the choice of English as MOI is based on the urban location of the school, the ethno-linguistically diverse community it serves and the desire to use the language of examination for better academic competition.

The fourth case school (School D) was a Roman Catholic based private school located within the town council and within a distance of one kilometre from the third case school. It had classes up to P7. The school had an enrolment of 750 pupils and a teaching staff of 15 teachers. The chosen medium of instruction in the lower primary section was Luganda. The chosen medium was taught as a subject but only in the lower primary section. Some of the prayers at school were conducted in the local language chosen as MOI and others were in English. School meetings involving parents were conducted in Luganda (the chosen medium) but the minutes were recorded in English.

An interview with the head teacher, H/t D, revealed information some of which is presented verbatim in the following extract:

This area has speakers of Luganda, Runyankore, Rukiga, and Kinyarwanda. In this school we chose Luganda as the medium of instruction. This choice was based on the numbers of people who use each of these languages in the area the school serves. Choosing Luganda complies with the language policy of using mother tongue or a language familiar to the majority of pupils in the early years of primary education. Within Lyantonde district there are areas like Kyemamba and Kasagama where Runyankore is the majority language and dominant because of the number of people

who speak it. In this school the choice of medium of instruction was influenced by the family backgrounds of the learners: some pupils come from around the school and others come from villages about five kilometres away. Staff for teaching in the lower primary section is not a challenge here because all the major languages are Bantu languages and most pupils and even teachers who originally did not speak Luganda can easily follow when it is used and usually easily learn to speak it.

The choice of Luganda as the medium in this school was explained by the head teacher to be based on it being the dominant language, mother tongue to the majority of pupils in the school and easily learned and used by many of the speakers of other languages in the area. The head teacher said:

“Choosing Luganda complies with the language policy of using mother tongue or a familiar language to the majority of pupils in the early years of primary education.”

According to the head teacher, there were also some parents who chose to take their children to the nearby English-medium school. Such children, according to H/t D, include:

“...children of parents working in the Police Force and other departments at the district headquarters”.

However, the fact that staff at the district administration headquarters are among the parents who take their children to the English-medium schools can be associated with economic factors as well. The only English-only medium school charges higher school fees. The head teacher of this said, when interviewed on the size of enrolment in the school relative to some neighbouring schools, that the reason why other schools had more pupils was that they were cheap:

Interviewer: But 800 pupils is not very big compared to other schools that use Local

Language but have about the same number and some even more.

Head Teacher: Yes, and that is because some parents cannot afford the fees here.

This means that although the choice of medium by some schools was mainly based on reasons related to demographic, linguistic, and educational factors, the decision by parents to have their children in a given school was partly influenced by economic factors.

The economic factor in this case is highlighted by the location of the school in an urban area that is also near a residential area inhabited by some of the salary-earning district administration staff. It therefore follows that if a school has or wants to have majority of its pupils to come from economically well to do families, it will choose L₂ as the medium to accommodate the linguistic diversity and at the same time charge high fees to meet the wishes and demands of that socio-economic class of parents. It is also a common practice for some schools to be established purposely targeting such a class within an area with other schools that may be cheaper and perhaps using local language medium.

The fact that the difference in enrolment between cases C and D is only 50 pupils, but the academic staff in the first case school is over double that in the second highlights the influence that socio-economic factors can have on the realisation of school programmes. Apart from the numbers, such a school can afford high quality resources including academic staff.

The fifth case was a Muslim-founded urban school (School E) located within Tororo municipality. The school had a total of 800 pupils and 11 teachers. The official medium of instruction was English. The pupils come from homes located within and beyond the municipality and spoke languages including Ateso, Adhola, Samia,

Lunyole Lumasaba and Luganda. There was not any local language taught as a subject and Kiswahili was not taught either. Prayers at the school were in English and Adhola while assembly was conducted in English, Adhola and some other local languages. School meetings attended by parents were always conducted in languages including Kiswahili, Adhola, Ateso, Luganda and English.

A summary of the data generated during an interview with the head teacher of this school is presented in the following extract:

If only one language is to be chosen, the policy is easily implemented in rural areas with one language and may be in big urban schools. Single local languages can be used as media of instruction only in rural areas like West Budama County where Adhola is the only main indigenous language and the only alternative to L₂ for choice as medium of instruction. The other area that can use a single indigenous language is Tororo County where Ateso is the only viable substitute to L₂. Here in urban area, there are many people who speak different languages. The languages used here include Ateso, Adhola, Lunyole, Lumasaba, Luganda, and Kiswahili as home languages. It is true that we officially chose English but in schools that are at the border of the urban area, like this one, children of the urban poor cannot comprehend if English is used as the only language of instruction. It is only in the centre of the municipality, where schools enrol children from homes that speak English, that it can be used alone. Here teachers need to be familiar with the main local languages. Personally, I do not speak Ateso or Adhola and I cannot effectively teach in a lower primary class even though the official medium is English. During meetings with parents, I use English and translate to Luganda and my deputy translates to Kiswahili. The Chairman PTA (Parents and Teachers Association) uses English and someone translates to Kiswahili.

The choice of English as MOI in this school was influenced by the urban location of the school and the ethno-linguistic diversity of the community the school serves. The two indigenous majority languages are not mutually intelligible enough and this makes English the unchallenged alternative. Another point in favour of English is that it is the only language that is ethnically neutral and has adequate instructional materials and trained teachers. According to H/t E:

“The community is multilingual with speakers of Ateso, Adhola, Lunyole, Lumasaba, Luganda and Kiswahili”.

Adhola is one of the languages of the Luo and Ateso is among the languages of the Nile Hermite group of people. These are the two major indigenous languages and neither is related to Luganda, Lunyole or Kiswahili; which are all languages of the Bantu. These three groups of languages are so unrelated that a child from a pre-school home background that uses a language from any one group cannot communicate with another whose home language is from another group. The use of Kiswahili, a cross-border language, in meetings with parents serves to create communication with an old generation of the urban population that is from different ethnicities of different national ancestry and not equally familiar with English.

In response to how the use of the two majority indigenous languages is distributed in the area, H/t F said:

It varies ... in counties where the Iteso are the majority it is Ateso; and where the Jop- Adholas are the majority it is Adhola.

The choice between Ateso and Adhola was also influenced by the fact that Adhola, unlike Ateso, is not among the six area languages for which instructional materials were produced under the National Primary Teacher Education Series by the USAID funded SUPER (Support for Uganda Education Reform) project. This means that even in schools and areas where Adhola was dominant, it being taught as a subject (and its use for instruction) was limited by lack of materials and teachers trained in its use. Secondly, although Adhola may be considered as a dialect of Luo, its mutual intelligibility with the other more developed Luo dialects (Leb Lango and Leb Acholi) is not high. But the variety of Ateso used in Tororo has high mutual intelligibility with that used in Teso. This would give Ateso an advantage in terms of availability of

materials and staff. But the two languages are not highly mutually intelligible even for the teachers and in the whole area (in both the district and the municipality) the Jop' Adholas outnumber the Iteso.

There is also the issue of rivalry between the Adhola and the Iteso as ethnic groups on who the bona fide inhabitants of Tororo are as the head teacher observed:

There are wars on who owns Tororo and what language to be taught or used for teaching.

This means that the choice and use of English served, at least in principle, not only to achieve communication but also to avoid ethnic identity differences that the choice of any of these two local languages as the medium of instruction would involve. But in this very case the choice of English for its neutrality had a shortcoming of making comprehension of instruction difficult for some of the learners as the H/t E observed:

Children of the urban poor cannot comprehend if it [English] is used as the only language of instruction especially in the lower primary classes.

In this school, like other peri-urban schools, the poor outnumbered the rich and this meant that the language considered to be neutral was actually unfamiliar for the majority. The success of efforts to make learning linguistically accessible by all must inevitably depend on the teachers being multilingual in L₂ and at least two of the relevant indigenous languages. But the two majority indigenous languages were not mutually intelligible enough for speakers of one to easily acquire the other and the official national examinations policy did not provide for a candidate being examined in more than one indigenous language at any level even if someone wished to study them. Hence, it was almost impossible even for someone bilingual in these languages to have any certified evidence of bi-literacy in them.

Data from this case complied with the expectation of choosing L₂. But, according to the observation of the head teacher, the poor in ethno-linguistically diverse urban communities where the majority languages that were not highly mutually intelligible would be better off in rural areas where languages they were familiar with were used as MOI.

The sixth case (School F) was a rural Anglican Church founded school and it was located in a rural community several kilometres off the main road. This school chose Adhola as the official medium of instruction in lower primary. Adhola was taught as a subject but not up to P7 and it was not examinable at PLE. Kiswahili was not taught at all and the reason was that there were no teachers to teach it. Prayers at school were conducted in English and Adhola. Assembly was conducted in both English and Adhola. School meetings attended by parents were conducted in English and Adhola with translations to some other languages but the minutes were always recorded in English.

The choice of a language in the MT/LL category in this case was in line with what was expected of rural schools in ethno-linguistically homogeneous areas. The rural location of this was responsible for the school community being ethnically less diverse and generally monolingual. The speakers of other languages, mainly Adhola, were so few that it was not realistic to consider using their languages in classroom communication even if it were possible.

The seventh case (School G) was a day school in a peri-urban area some distance off the highway and near a national border with another country. The school had a total enrolment of 1128 pupils and a teaching staff of 14. This school chose English as the official medium of instruction but two of the indigenous languages and Kiswahili

were also acceptable for use alongside English during instruction. There was no single indigenous language taught as a subject and Kiswahili was not taught either. School assembly was conducted in English with translation into Ateso for pupils in the lower primary classes. Prayers at the school were conducted in English only but meetings in which parents participated were held in English with translation to other languages, mainly Kiswahili.

The head teacher, during the interview, explained how the LOI policy was implemented in this school and gave reasons why the school did things the way it did:

The policy allows urban schools to use English right from P1. This school is in a peri-urban area and near a commercial centre but we do not use English or any single local language alone. This is because there are several local languages including Ateso, Adhola, Lumasaba, and Lunyole. So, in this school we use both English and Ateso. The two languages may be used in turns or even mixed in one statement depending on the teacher using them. Ateso is the dominant local language in this area and it is what most of the pupils speak. But knowledge of Ateso is not a requirement for the teachers, and those who do not know it can use Kiswahili or get a resource person. The only schools that can use only one local language as medium of instruction in the lower primary section are those in areas with one tribe. For example, it is possible only in Kwapa where they use Ateso and in West Budama where they use Adhola. The use of local language as media of instruction should not go beyond P2. This is needed if pupils will be prepared for using English in the written examinations that replace oral continuous assessment after P3.

Although the official chosen medium in this school is English, the head teacher was very quick to clarify that it was not the only language used:

We use English right from P1 but, as I said, it is not the only language used.

The main reason given for choosing English was that the school was located in a peri-urban area where the use of English was acceptable according to the policy. The choice of other languages used in addition to English was influenced by the number of speakers of the other languages as the head teacher said:

We have speakers of Ateso, Adhola, Lumasaba and Lunyole but we considered the major languages in the area and these are Ateso and Adhola.

The use of more than one language as media of instruction in the lower primary section also indicated that the major indigenous languages that pupils used at home were not mutually intelligible enough for speakers of one to language to understand the other within the first years at school or even as adults. Hence, whereas the choice of English was based on the peri-urban location of the school and the area being ethno-linguistically diverse, the use of more than two other languages in addition to English was because the two majority indigenous languages were not mutually intelligible enough and there was a number of pupils who did not speak English or any of these two major languages as their home language.

The language chosen as MOI in this case was as expected according to the location and ethno-linguistic factors. The unexpected bit was the head teacher's confession of using two languages, because this was not provided for by the policy. The use of multiple languages for instruction implied that the school recognised the need for promoting learner comprehension and participation during learning.

The eighth case (School H) was an urban school located in the centre of the municipality and a short distance from the municipal council offices. The school had a

total enrolment of 1921 pupils and was a day school. The school did not teach any indigenous local language but Kiswahili was taught by a Kenyan teacher.

The head teacher, during interview, said:

Here we use English right from nursery. The school is located in the centre of the town and as such the policy provides for the use of English. But in addition to that, this area has several languages that are used by its residents. The languages used here are Adhola, Ateso, Kiswahili, Luganda, Lumasaba, Lusamia, and Lunyole. There is no problem with using the language selected as medium of instruction here. Most of the pupils are from homes where English is spoken and all P1 applicants have gone through nursery school. Challenges in using the selected language are mainly in schools that choose local language as the medium of instruction. In this very area there is no single language agreed on as the native language because of the population being made up different tribes. It is not possible to prepare schemes of work and lesson plans in the local languages and most teachers are not fluent in any local languages. There is also the factor of negative attitude towards using local language by some teachers and the community. Where schools choose a local language as the medium of instruction, it is on the basis of the language's popularity and it varies with the area the school is located in.

The choice of L₂ as medium of instruction by this school did not involve negotiation as the chosen language was neutral and the only one that all the pupils in the school could understand. Secondly, the use of English in urban schools was provided for as the ideal language of instruction in urban areas. This school was generally attended by children from relatively higher socio-economic status background homes where English was likely to be used.

The choice of English in this particular case conformed to what was expected of cases located in urban and ethno-linguistically diverse areas. The high socio-economic status of the pupils' background and existence two majority indigenous languages that were not mutually intelligible made English the only feasible choice of medium of instruction. The first study objective was to identify the languages chosen as MOI by

the participating schools and a summary of results on this objective is presented below.

Table 4.1: Choice of MOI by Area

Language	Area	Tororo	Lyantonde	Total
LL/MT		1	3	4
L₂		3	1	4
Total		4	4	8

According to geographical location, of the eight cases, four chose L₂ (English) and the other four chose one of the indigenous languages in the area as the MOI. Of the schools located in Tororo, three chose L₂ and one school chose a language from the MT/LL category. In Lyantonde area, three of the schools located chose languages from the MT/LL category and only one school chose English.

Table 4.2: Choice of MOI by Location

Language	Location	Urban	Rural	Total
LL/MT		1	3	4
L₂		3	1	4
Total		4	4	8

According to rural/urban location, of the eight cases, four chose L₂ (English) and the other four chose indigenous languages as MOI. Of the schools located in urban areas, three chose L₂ and one school chose a language from the MT/LL category. Three of the schools located in rural areas chose languages from the MT/LL category and only one school chose English.

Overall, a total of four languages were chosen in the eight case schools that participated in the study. The languages chosen were English, Luganda, Runyankore, and Adhola. English was chosen by four schools, Luganda by two schools, and Adhola and Runyankore by one school each. However, in most of the schools the choice one language as the official MOI did not mean it was the only language used.

The second objective was to investigate the reasons for the choice of different languages as MOI. The reasons given by the head teachers for their schools MOI choices were summarised into two categories: those related to the teachers' ease of doing their work and those related to the geo-political location and demographic constitution of inhabitants the of an area and who outnumber the other(s) or are whose ancestors were the original inhabitants. The reasons repeatedly given included the chosen language being 'neutral', 'majority', or 'native' and availability of materials in the languages chosen.

According to information from the interview, the reasons given by head teachers in all the cases as to why their schools chose the languages they use as MOI fall in three broad categories: those related to the status of the languages involved and the ethnolinguistic makeup of the community, those related to the rural/urban location of the school and the socio-economic status of the community where the pupils come from, and those related to achieving learners' comprehension. In most of the cases, choice was viewed as being basically between LL/MT as a group of languages on one hand and second language (L₂) as a single language on the other hand. But there were also situations where choice during the first three years was only among languages within the LL/MT group. This was mainly in rural schools in linguistically diverse communities. In either situation, the actual choice largely depended on the status and functions of the different languages to choose from. Generally, the indigenous

languages chosen as MOI were dominant either in terms of being understood and used by a large proportion of the people or considered as the best choice for education achievement and transition. A participant from one case that chose MOI from the LL/MT category said that the choice was based on the language being ‘used by many’ and ‘easily acquired through exposure’.

4.2.2 Interview for Teachers

The second instrument to be administered was the teachers’ interview. All lower primary school teachers in the participating schools were interviewed. Responses generated by this interview served to cross reference the data on the languages chosen as MOI given by the head teachers. This same instrument was used to purposively select teachers who taught in other languages where English was not the chosen MOI. Teachers in schools where the language chosen as MOI was from the MT/LL category were interviewed on their fluency in the chosen language. Teachers for whom the language chosen was the mother tongue were given first priority to be selected for observation when teaching in the targeted classes. Where there were no teachers for whom the chosen MT/LL was the mother tongue, second consideration was of those who had acquired the chosen language in their early childhood and those whose mother tongue was highly mutually intelligible with the indigenous language chosen as MOI.

The teachers interviewed confirmed the information given by their head teachers on the languages chosen as MOI. They also indicated their level of fluency in the languages used as MOI in the case of schools that chose languages from the MT/LL category.

In response to whether the language chosen by the school was his mother tongue, one teacher said:

“No, but it is similar to my language. I don't any problem because I explain and use visual teaching aids as the same time.”

All the participating teachers were trained and had the minimum L₂ fluency considered sufficient for training and teaching through it. All the teachers selected to be observed teaching using languages from the MT/LL category were fluent enough in the languages chosen as MOI in their respective schools and some were multilingual in languages including other indigenous majority languages. The fluency levels of teachers using languages other than English during instruction were rated functionally in terms of how the pupils interacted with the learning materials and amongst themselves and the degree of concentration and participation during the process of learning.

4.2.3 Lesson Observation on the Pedagogical Practices Used by the Teachers

The third instrument to be administered was the lesson observation. A total of eight teachers in the eight participating schools were observed teaching in the lower primary school classes using the schools' respective chosen MOI languages. Details of the observation are presented school by school and in the same order used for presenting the observation from interview. A general description of the school structures, classroom facilities, and the pupils' dressing and personal scholastic materials is given to indicate the socio-economic status background of each school and the community it is located within and draws the pupils from. The socio-economic status of schools and homes is a factor in exposure to L₂. Generally, schools located in rural areas were not as well staffed or equipped as those located in urban ones and the pupils that they

enrolled were typically from low socio-economic status background communities and vice versa.

In the first school, School A, the buildings were old and included one mud and wattle structure in a very poor state. One of the buildings housed the head teacher's office which also served as a store. The class that was observed was under a tree. The pupils' benches were under the tree and a small portable blackboard was placed leaning against the tree. The school set up showed that the school and the community of the area it was located in were of low socio-economic status.

On 'entering' the class, the observer was greeted in English by all the pupils who had stood up on seeing the visitor coming towards their class. The greeting was in a sluggish and chorus chant: 'Good morning our visitor, you are welcome to P3' followed by a pause in which the greeting was responded to. The researcher's response was followed by an un-solicited continuation of: 'we are very well, thank you.' It appeared as if the greeting was rehearsed, crammed and always used for visitors.

The pupils were dressed in shirts and dresses of different colours and it was not easy to tell what the official colour of the school uniform was. The shirts and dresses of some of the pupils were torn and not mended. Some of the pupils wore shoes including those made of canvas, leather, and plastic materials and others, the majority, were barefooted. Many of the pupils had ordinary disposable polythene shopping bags or those for branded goods as their school bags. Others did not have anything to carry their books in. Generally, the pupils did not have personal textbooks and even the exercise books were small and thin in size and few in number for individual pupils. The general appearance of the pupils and their scholastic testified that they were from

low-income background homes and could not afford any of the nearby schools with better facilities.

The class timetable was accessed by the researcher from the teacher's preparation book as there was no provision for displaying it in the learning place. Local Language (in this case Luganda) was timetabled and allocated two periods per week. Kiswahili was not timetabled at all.

The observed lesson in School A was in science and the teacher used flowers to teach fertilisation in plants. The pupils sat squeezed up on the few benches they shared. The learning atmosphere was relaxed with pupils using the limited materials in a spirit of sharing and working in groups. The teacher taught the lesson in LL/MT (Luganda) and the majority of pupils showed active participation in the phase before writing in the books. The teacher's main pedagogical practice was based on the Question and Answer (Q&A) method. The teacher asked the class to talk about the different insects that visit flowers, the colours and smell of the flowers, the parts of the flower, et cetera. The pupils exhibited competition and eagerness in the discussion and answering the teacher's questions. Both the teacher and many of the pupils freely used single words and slightly longer expressions from English in addition to their use of the selected MT/LL as medium. Some English words and expressions were used without any complaint from the class and these mainly referred to the learning content and included words like 'pollen', 'stigma', 'ovary', 'pistil', and 'stamen'. All the technical terms were written on the blackboard and explained by the teacher as and when each was introduced. Expression of the instructions and directions by the teacher in explaining the activities and operations for the pupils to implement were in the LL/MT medium. The pupils expressed themselves freely and confidently as they used a familiar indigenous language mixed with technical terms as in L₂ to talk about the

lesson content including technical terms. The colours of the flowers and the names of insects were stated in the indigenous language and later translated to English with guidance from the teacher. The technical terms like ‘fertilisation’ and ‘pollination’ and words for parts of the flower like ‘filament’ and ‘petals’ that did not need to be translated used in the class discussion.

Later, a written activity phase followed and it was in the English language. It involved the pupils copying a diagram of a cross section of the flower with the parts useful in fertilisation labelled. The pupils made notes by filling in blank spaces in a simple passage by choosing words from the drawing.

From this lesson alone, the use of a familiar language by the teacher when giving instructions led to improved learner comprehension and participation at first amongst themselves at desk level and later from chosen individuals responding to the teacher’s questions at whole class level. The teaching/learning practices in the lesson tended to evolve from the discourse and content of the lesson. The pupils, following the teacher’s guiding instructions, worked with the instructional materials sharing not only the materials but also their individual experiences. There was not any use of textbooks or any printed materials but from the interaction between the teacher and the learners in using the specimen materials it was evident that use of a familiar language can make up for lack of printed materials.

In School B, a rural-located school in a linguistically diverse community, the two major local languages were highly mutually intelligible. The site of the school is near a road junction with several shops on the opposite side of the road. The school has three main blocks: an old administration block and two new classroom blocks.

The lesson observed in this school was one of Agriculture in a P2 class and presented in MT/LL as the MOI. The topic of the lesson was 'useful parts of crops' under the theme 'Growing Crops'. The objectives of the lesson were for learners to 'draw and name the parts of a plant' and to 'discover the usefulness of different crops and identify the useful parts of the plants. The teacher displayed a drawing of a plant showing the following parts: roots, stem, leaves, flowers, fruits and seeds. The drawing was copied by the pupils in their note books and the teacher guided them in naming and labelling the parts in MT/LL. Later the teacher displayed a range of earlier collected parts of plants used as food by humans and asked the pupils to name them and state their uses to mankind. The collected items were foods and included potatoes, sugarcane, bananas, green vegetables and beans. The class talked about different crops and the parts that are most useful in each. At the end of the lesson the readily edible items were eaten by the pupils and the others were kept on the nature table.

The pupils expressed themselves very freely and defended their contributions when challenged or required to do so. During a discussion of what parts of various plants grown as food crops were used as food by people, one pupil mentioned the leaves of pumpkins. This was unbelievable to most of the learners. But the pupil who raised the point defended by explaining how pumpkin leaves prepared and served as green vegetables. Another pupil remembered having seen them on sale in a market in some distant place. The level of interactive participation exhibited by the pupils in this lesson is not possible in classes where the medium of instruction is unfamiliar to either the teacher or the learners. The teacher's preparedness and preparation for the lesson also contributed to the pupils' participation. What remains uncertain is whether the pupils are capable of translating the acquired knowledge into English for purposes of examination and further learning after the switch to English as MOI.

In School C, the buildings were permanent and well maintained. The walls were plastered, painted, and some had educational pictures like maps and diagrams related to learning content in the different learning areas. The classrooms had metallic doors and windows with glass panned shutters and there was a raised and cemented veranda around all the buildings.

Inside the classroom, there were charts on the walls all around the classroom and smaller different types of printed learning materials in L₂ were dangling from lengths of string stretched across the classroom. The pupils had a chair and a lockable table each and most of them had personal text books. The total number of pupils in the class was 46. All the pupils were dressed in the official school uniform, wore shoes and had sweaters as part of the uniform. Nearly all the pupils had back sacks as their school bags and there was not any single pupil without a school bag. By the appearance of the school premises, the classroom set up, and the dressing of the pupils, the school itself and the families it drew the pupils from were of high socio-economic status.

The classroom interaction was in English and both the teacher and pupils used only one language. Contribution during the lesson was from many pupils but there were some who did not put up their hands at all. The class as a whole was not quite enthusiastic and interaction was mainly between the teacher and individual pupils and some of the pupils remained quiet throughout the lesson.

The class observed in School C was a P3 class and the learning area in the lesson was Christian Religious Education and there were two teachers in the class. The specific lesson was on 'Messengers of God' and the objectives of the lesson were for learners to discover and list different messengers of God and the messages delivered by them. In the course of the lesson, a number of photocopied excerpts of verses were read

from the Bible in English and different pupils participated in the reading out to the class. The photocopied reading materials served as a source of input to supplement the teacher's oral delivery of the lesson content. Among the prophets mentioned in the lesson were Isaiah, Elijah, Moses, and John the Baptist. The researcher heard some of the pupils on the back benches asking their friends what the names of these messengers were in their language version of the Bible. The answers were whispered because they were considered to be 'vernacular' which was prohibited and the names were: 'Yisaaya' for Isaiah, 'Eriya' for Elijah, 'Musa' for Moses and 'Yowana' or 'Yokaana' for John. The spellings of these names are rendered by the researcher from the Luganda translation of the Bible.

As the form of learning content of the lesson was basically information to be listened to and become known, the teaching methods mainly required the pupils to listen to and observe the teacher, or whoever it was, speaking or reading. The teacher used storytelling and dramatization to communicate the content of the lesson. But apart from that, even when the teacher or the situation required some kind of learner involvement only a small number of the pupils participated in the lesson. At one point the teacher asked the class to mention how, in their life as Christians, they are supposed to respond to God's message as revealed to Moses. Response was from very few of the learners and even some of those who responded gave answers that were neither valid to the lesson nor related to contemporary Christian life. Although effort was made by the teacher to make the relevant reading materials available, the extent to which individual learners used them, both singly and collectively, to respond to the teacher's contribution was limited by their respective ability in the language of instruction.

School D was a Catholic church-founded government-aided school located in an urban area. There were adequate school buildings and the head teacher and the deputy head teacher had separate offices. The buildings were old but in good maintenance with the walls painted and there was a barbed wire fence around the school. The doors and windows were wooden.

In this school observation was done in a P3 class. Inside, the classroom was tidy with desks arranged facing sideways and those in neighbouring columns were facing each other and arranged without any space between them. The pupils were in school uniform. There was one teacher in this class of 56 pupils. There were charts and posters displayed on the walls. Some of the displayed materials were in English and others in Luganda. This was later explained in terms of P3 being the transition class to L₂-medium and at a level where pupils had developed literacy in local language.

The learning area was under Social Studies and the learning content of the lesson was national public holidays. The teacher used sheets from a calendar showing all the months of the year with public holidays and led the pupils in identifying all the national holidays printed in red colour. The documentary material was jointly used by the teacher and the learners to identify the dates in red by name note the month in which is observed and its use was a take off point for learner involvement. The name of each holiday was mentioned and the reason why it is observed explained by the teacher. The holidays identified were: January 1; New Year's Day, January 26; Liberation Day, March 8; International Women's Day, in April; Good Friday, Easter Sunday and Easter Monday; without specific permanent dates, May 1; International Labour Day, In May; Eid el Fitir without a specific permanent date, June 1; Martyrs' Day, June 9; Heroes' Day, in August; Eid el Adhuha without a specific permanent date, October 9; Independence Day, December 25, Christmas Day, and December 26,

Boxing Day. A total of 14 holidays were identified and their names and the dates on which they are observed, where applicable, written on the blackboard. The pupils were required to repeat the name of each holiday several times after the teacher. The teacher also explained that when any one of these holidays was on working days schools and all government offices remained closed.

In this class the chosen MOI was MT/LL (Luganda) which was very familiar to the majority of the pupils and understood by nearly all. The teacher presented each item of content using expository practices and required the pupils to repeat the names of the holidays. In the course of the lesson, the practices became participatory and interactive as different pupils were eager to share their experiences of the activities they knew to be associated with the different holidays. By the nature of the practices used, communication between individual learners and the teacher and amongst the learners themselves was meaningful, interactive and focused on the lesson content. The pupils were very excited when talking about what happens at their homes on religious holidays especially Christmas.

During the writing activity phase of the lesson, pupils copied material (written in English) from the blackboard to their exercise books. The material copied were two lists of items: the list of the dates in the order they occur in the year and another jumbled one of the names of the holidays and the reasons for observing each holiday. The practical activity to be accomplished was matching the items in the two columns by drawing arrows across the page to link the matched items. The pupils attempted the activity and many of them appeared to be doing it very well as noticed from the very short time it was accomplished within and the correctness of the matches made. The fact that most of the learners were fairly familiar with what usually takes place on

some of these holidays, their discussion of the lesson content continued after the note making.

The pedagogical practices used at the beginning of most lessons were mainly teacher centred as the teachers were introducing the learning content. For classes where the languages used as MOI were familiar, the practices became more interactive with increased learner participation as the lessons developed. The use of pedagogical practices in this class showed that in addition to the choice of a familiar language as the medium of instruction, the extent to which the content was relevant to the learners' lives made learner participation natural and it emerged with minimal or even without the teacher's explicit facilitation. The ease with which the writing part of the lesson was done indicated that learners comprehended the content. The fact that the writing exercise was in English and evaluative of comprehension (through matching) is evidence that choice of a familiar medium combined with use of participatory teaching/learning practices improves comprehension even when evaluation is in a different language. This shows that learning in a familiar language enhances assimilation of the learning content which is a prerequisite for translation and important for retention and application.

One of the schools (School E) was located in a peri-urban and linguistically diverse community within a municipality. The school was on a small piece of land with roads on two of its boundaries and neighbouring pieces of land on the other two sides had commercial developments. The school structures were in a good state with doors and windows that could be securely closed.

The class observed in this school was P3 in a room that was rather small for a class of 52 pupils. On the classroom walls were hung overcrowded teacher-made educational

charts in English. The lesson observed was in social studies and the lesson content was on the sources of natural materials and the products from natural materials. The official MOI for the lesson was English and the objectives were for learners to identify natural materials and match them to their sources and the products made out of them. The teacher defined what a natural material is and presented samples of natural materials including clay, wood, and papyrus. The teacher directed a discussion on where each of the natural material was got from and the products made out of it. The pupils contributed by naming the sources of the different natural materials identified and the products made from them. They identified products like furniture for wood, mats and crafts for papyrus, and pottery for clay. As a note making exercise, the pupils later copied and filled in a table drawn on the blackboard by the teacher. The note making exercise was the only document related activity and it was the learners in charge of the organisation of its content as a form of evaluation.

The pupils actively participated in the lesson although some of them had incorrect language constructions and use of vocabulary. This is evidence that use English as MOI right from P1 did not improve knowledge of the language as a subject for those who did not have exposure to it beyond the classroom.

The next school (School F) was a public school located in a peri-urban area near trading centre off the highway and near a national border. The catchment area served by this school is ethno-linguistically diverse and commercially busy with activities including cross-border trade. The school buildings are spread over a large expanse of land with a playground at the extreme end. Some of the buildings were old and in a poor state of repair.

Inside the class observed, the walls were hung with charts showing drawings of learning content in the different subjects. In one corner was a short cupboard on top of which stood a paper box. In the box was an assortment of objects including bundles of sticks used as counters and empty plastic bottles. Pictures and writings on small cards were dangling from pieces of string stretched across the classroom.

Some of the pupils were not in school uniform and an even bigger number did not have shoes. The pupils did not have text books and their exercise books were generally thin and some were torn. The pupils did not have school bags and many used pencils that had been cut into short pieces.

The observed class was P2 during a Mathematics lesson and the official selected MOI was English. But the teacher used English, Luganda, Kiswahili, Ateso and Adhola when teaching subtraction using counters. The teacher, in different examples, counted the required number of counters in one language (with the pupils who knew the language counting along) and wrote the number on the blackboard, said the word meaning 'subtract' in that language and wrote the symbol for subtraction (-) next to the number. The teacher repeated the counting procedure for the number to be subtracted from the first one (while taking away one counter for every counting number) and wrote it next to the subtraction symbol followed by the 'equals' symbol (=), and again did the counting procedure for the remaining counters and wrote the figure next to the 'equals' sign. In this class, the document used consisted of mathematical expressions and it was produced as a result of interaction between the teacher and the learners about the learning content.

This teacher used a different language for another example until all the languages mentioned had been used. For each of the languages used the volume of the chorus

counting along with the teacher indicated that the number of pupils counting exceeded that of the pupils for whom the language was the mother tongue or home language, indicating that some pupils were learning counting in languages other than their home ones. Kiswahili was the language with the loudest counting chorus of '*Moja, Mbili, Tatu, Nne, Tano*' and so on.

The use of several examples with the illustrative use of counters for the same operation (subtraction) helped even the slow learners to understand the concept and apply it. In the written exercise that followed most of the pupils were observed working out the answers to the subtraction items individually using counters. In the process of using multiple languages as MOI nearly every pupil had a turn to learn in a familiar language and gained meaningful exposure to languages they did not use at home, leading to acquiring some of their vocabulary.

This teacher's multilingual ability was individual and this is exceptional. It was not as a result of learning the languages in a classroom situation and therefore unexpected of other teachers and not possible to ascertain in terms of academic certification if not observed in use. But again, none of these languages is examined at PLE level and only a few more (in addition to Luganda and Kiswahili which have been examined right from the time of the East African Examinations Board) have started being examined at 'O' level. The multilingual skills exhibited by this teacher cannot be expected from many of the teachers as there is no single school that can teach multiple local languages. Even UNEB does not provide for any candidate to be examined in more than one local language at 'O' level as all such languages are timetabled to be done at the same time.

The oral participation exhibited by speakers of the different languages in turns when the teacher was counting the counters showed that the learners were following the steps of subtraction as demonstrated by the teacher. It was observed that the volume of the pupils' chorus, when counting along with the teacher, varied with each language according to the number of pupils to whom that language was familiar. For Ateso, Adhola and Kiswahili the counting chorus was fast (not sluggish) compared to English and some other languages which were less familiar and some of the pupils were waiting for a cue from the teacher to say the counting number. This indicated that the use of only English, or any one single language as the medium of instruction, could not have led to participation or interaction for as many learners as the use of multiple languages even with the teacher's use of interactive teaching practices.

Another school, School G, was a Church of Uganda founded primary school was located in a rural area along a main murram road. The school is just opposite a big church. The school is big with some of the buildings very old. The school is isolated from commercial and administrative activity. The population of the area is generally mono-ethnic and linguistically homogeneous.

The lesson observed in this school was P.E. in a P2 class and the lesson was conducted in the school playground. The researcher first reported to the classroom from where the teacher took the class to the field. The pupils marched to the field in two lines (one for boys and the other for girls) while singing in front of their teacher. The pupils did not have sportswear and the boys were required to remove their shirts before leaving the classroom. The boys had a home-made banana fibre ball each and the girls had ropes made out of banana fibre. The teacher instructed the pupils to run around the field and in the meantime arranged a line of plastic bottles in pairs with each having a green and a clear bottle. The bottles were arranged in such a way that

there was just enough space between the pairs of bottles for a ball to pass through and it was not possible for the two bottles to be hit with one shot of the ball.

Next the pupils were called and divided into two teams: one team was referred to as 'green' and the other as 'white' (for clear) corresponding to the colours of the bottles. After this, the teacher explained in the selected medium that for one team to score, one of its players had to throw the ball and hit a one of the bottles of the other team. The teacher then demonstrated how to play the game. After this, the two groups started playing the new game and each group agreed on the players to take the shots. This was a practical field lesson and it was neither necessary nor possible to use documentary materials. The teacher explained to the class in a familiar language and demonstrated what was to be done. This made it possible for the learners to interpret the teacher's oral input and to turn it into physical participation. If any of the learners had not understood the oral explanation, they would have understood the visual demonstration or copied the physical activity from other learners.

The stated objectives of the lesson were for pupils to practice 'throwing to hit a fixed target' and to develop 'flexibility and coordinative skills.' The teacher later acted as the coach and doubled as the umpire. All the instructions, questions and answers during the lesson were in the selected MT/LL-medium (Adhola). The pupils had grasped the rules and moves of the game by the end of the lesson. The success of using MT/LL-medium in this lesson can be attributed to the linguistic homogeneity of the class, the teacher's personal knowledge of the language and the practical nature of the lesson content. The fact that the teacher's explanation was backed up with demonstration facilitated comprehension. The use of Adhola for the more or exclusively theoretical subjects might have been limited by the lack of demonstrative

materials and this can lead to choosing a less familiar language in which materials are available.

The last school, School (H), was an urban-located private school in fenced premises with good school structures. The classrooms blocks were painted and had metallic doors and windows with glass panes. The school compound had several written posters on various topics including education, AIDS, and gender equality.

The observed class was one of the streams of P3 in the school. The pupils were dressed in full sports uniforms: a short and a T shirt with canvas shoes. According to the school's programme, on certain days of the week the pupils wore sports uniform. Most of the pupils had personal textbooks and other scholastic materials like geometry sets. The classroom was spacious the desks arranged in straight rows and there were neatly drawn charts hung on the walls.

The lesson observed was Mathematics and the content was on fractions. The lesson seemed to be one of the last ones in a series on fractions. Some of the word problems included multiple fractions with different denominators. The teacher referred to some previous lesson and asked the class to explain what a proper fraction was. One pupil explained that a proper fraction was formed by dividing one whole number into equal parts. Another pupil explained that the total number of the parts formed the lower part and that the number of parts picked or shaded out of the total formed the upper part. The teacher emphasised that pupils should read and understand fractions as one small number over, or out of, a big number. The pupils were later required to formulate numerical equations from word problems involving fractions and solve them. Generally, the pupils were capable of individually reading and understanding the problems, deriving the equations and solving them.

All class communication during the lesson was in the selected MOI (English) and pupils were quite at ease with using it in the spoken and written forms. After the preliminary explanation of the kind of task to be done, the teacher only pointed out the specific items to be attempted from the pupils' book.

The third objective of the study was to find out the fluency levels of teachers in the participating lower primary school classes in the languages chosen as MOI in their respective schools. Generally, the teachers in schools that chose L₂ as MOI met the basic fluency requirements in English needed to teach using it in the lower primary section. The teachers of lower primary school classes in schools that chose MOI languages the MT/LL category were multi-lingual in English and one or more indigenous languages depending on the level of mutual intelligibility between the majority languages in the area and the personal exposure and attitude of individual teachers to other languages.

In Tororo, both the district and the municipality, there are two indigenous majority languages: Adhola and Ateso. These languages are not highly mutually intelligible and their use as MOI within the area varied with ethno-linguistic composition of the population in different localities. In counties where the Iteso are the majority, Ateso is the dominant language; and in counties where the Jopadhola are the majority, Adhola is dominant. In some schools it is Adhola that is used as medium of instruction in the lower primary section but other schools elsewhere use Ateso or English. One of the challenges observed was that some of the teachers did not know Adhola, or Ateso, well enough for the content of some subjects and the technical terminologies in some of the subjects were not to be easily translatable into indigenous languages. Otherwise, the participating teachers were fluent enough in the specific indigenous languages chosen as MOI in their respective schools.

But in Lyantonde, the two main indigenous majority languages are highly mutually intelligible. The languages, Luganda and Runyankore, are highly mutually intelligible and each is used beyond the area of the communities in which it is the mother tongue to the majority. The use of both languages was observed in different communities but within the same localities. Hence, both the probability and level of fluency among pupils who spoke the two languages were quite high. Therefore, the use of either of the languages as MOI did not completely rule out comprehension by speakers of the other.

4.2.4 Document Analysis for the Documents Used

The last instrument to be administered was document analysis. The analysis of documents focused mainly on schemes of work, lesson plans and displayed print media materials produced or procured by teachers for use in imparting learning content.

In all the classes observed documents, including lesson plans and teachers' comments in pupils' books were in L₂ medium even where the lessons were delivered in MT/LL medium. Most of the materials displayed and used at the learning sites (one of the cases classes was in open place) were produced in one language (L₂ in most cases) although their use in the four MT/LL-medium cases involved bilingual practices like code switching and borrowing between and across languages. All the participating teachers, including even those who used languages from the MT/LL category, produced their preparatory documents for teaching (schemes of work and lesson plans) and other resources in English. This was perhaps partly because the prepared documents have to be made available and linguistically accessible to various educational administrators but also because most teachers are usually multilingual in

only the aural-oral skills of the local languages which are not learned at school, but acquired and in informal contexts. This shows that although some of the teachers are bilingual only a few are multi-literate and their literacy is more functional in English.

But the documents produced or procured for supporting teaching and learning differed especially in the way they were used. In classes where the language(s) were familiar to the learners, the displayed documents were or could be used with learners contributing to the development and their own appreciation of the learning content contained in the document. In case H, a teacher teaching Mathematics in a familiar language displayed a chart showing two circles. The first circle had two straight lines perpendicular to each other drawn through the centre, dividing it into four equal parts. The teacher then invited a volunteer to draw a straight line running from left to right and through the centre of the second circle. One pupil was chosen out of the many volunteers. The pupils were guided to discover that the circle had been divided into two. Another pupil was invited to draw another line running from the top to the bottom and through the centre on the same circle. The pupils were asked to talk about what had happened to the circle. The teacher shaded a varied number of sectors on the circle in turns and each time asked the class to state how many, out of the total number of parts of the circle, were shaded. In due course the pupils were able to about dividing one whole into fractions.

All the lesson plans and the schemes of work that were used were produced in English but some of the displayed language-based materials, for example charts, were in MT/LL. In one school that used MT/LL as medium, the document used as reading input for the lesson was reproduced from the text book by being written out by hand on large sheets of paper and displayed for all pupils to copy. But the difficulty in production did not interfere with the advantage of using it in a familiar language.

The lesson on fertilisation in case A was in a familiar language from the MT/LL category. The learning support material produced by the teacher and the reference in the text book were in English but the teacher managed to have the lesson delivered in another language that was familiar to the learners. The lesson on subtraction in case F was in different languages that were familiar to different members of the class but all the documents were in English. The teacher was able 'read' the mathematical expressions in each of the languages used in the lesson without hindrance from the original not being in the same language.

The effective use of documentary resources that were in a second language was found to be more related to the language of instruction being familiar than to being the same as that of production. The increased comprehension, participation, retention, and the likelihood of assimilation of the learning content all contributed to the learners' potential to translate the learning to other languages and applications.

The fourth objective was to determine the pedagogical practices used with the languages chosen as MOI in the participating lower primary school class teachers. In all the cases observed, teachers listed and used more or less the same pedagogical practices irrespective of the official chosen MOI. The observation of lessons and analysis of documents showed teachers in both the schools that chose L₂ and those that chose languages from the MT/LL as MOI used similar pedagogical practices. The major difference was observed mainly in how the learners got involved and interacted depending on the level of their familiarity with the MOI. In classes where the MOI was not familiar to the learners, teachers used practices aimed at exposing learning content as a finished product.

In an L₂-medium lesson in case E, the teacher asked the class a number of questions to which no answer was given. The teacher then gave an explanation that was meant to provide the answers to the questions. Only a few of the pupils asked some questions or said something during the teacher's explanation. Later the teacher gave a writing activity in which pupils were required to copy notes from the blackboard to their exercise books. But in another L₂-medium class in case C, nearly all the pupils participated orally during the lesson both amongst themselves and between individuals and the teacher before the writing activity.

In classes where the MOI was familiar to the learners, the learners' comprehension of and their response to the teachers' oral input, even if not solicited by or directed to the teacher, made the lessons buzz with verbal activity. Generally, classes conducted in languages familiar to the learners had greater, more original, and individual oral learner participation compared to those in unfamiliar languages. In lessons in familiar languages, learners did not wait for the writing activity to get individually active as teachers were able to get them involved in pair and small group activities.

4.3 Discussion of Findings

This section discusses the major findings of this study according to the stated objectives of the study. The objectives of the study were to identify the languages chosen as MOI, investigate the reasons for choice of languages as MOI, find out the fluency of the teachers in the languages chosen by the schools and to determine the pedagogical practices used with the languages chosen. The findings of this study are discussed following the objectives of the study and in their order of administration.

4.3.1 Languages Chosen as Media of Instruction

On the first objective, the findings of this study indicated that overall L₂ and MT/LL were equally popular MOI choices. But L₂ was found to be more popular in urban areas and where the main majority languages were not highly mutually intelligible. MT/LL choices were more observed in ethno-linguistically homogeneous rural areas with one majority language or where the main indigenous majority languages were highly mutually intelligible.

There were eight cases from two areas (Tororo and Lyantonde) that participated in the study. In Lyantonde there were only two potential indigenous majority languages, Luganda and Runyankore, eligible for selection as media of instruction and both were from the Bantu group of languages and highly mutually intelligible. Tororo was an area with over four local languages (including Adhola, Ateso, Samia, Luganda, and Lumasaba), all nationally indigenous but some locally 'foreign' (in the sense that its speakers migrated from somewhere else within the country), each with a sizeable number of speakers. The two major indigenous languages, Adhola and Ateso, are from different language groups and do not have high mutual intelligibility beyond the terms they borrow from the same sources. The total number of languages chosen as MOI was six, that is, English and five indigenous languages: two in Lyantonde, and three in Tororo. But the total number of all languages used was seven, including Kiswahili in addition to English and the five indigenous languages.

Out of the eight case schools, four chose an L₁/MT and the other four chose L₂ as media of instruction. Of the four schools that chose an L₁/MT, three were in Lyantonde and one was in Tororo. Of the four schools that chose L₂, three were in Tororo and one was in Lyantonde. The one school in Tororo that chose MT/L₁ was

located in a rural area that was linguistically homogeneous and the three schools that chose L₂ were located in linguistically diverse urban or peri-urban areas. In Lyantonde, the single school that chose L₂ was a private owned school located in an urban area and of the three schools that chose MT/L₁ two were located in rural areas with only one located in the urban area. The one urban-located L₁/MT-medium school chose Luganda, one of the two highly mutually intelligible majority languages and the language of business.

From the above observation, it was evident that choice of medium of instruction was influenced by the ethno-linguistic composition of the population in the community the school was located within and served. The linguistic composition of the communities served by the case schools varied with rural/urban location as people of different cultural and linguistic backgrounds were attracted to such areas to share and contribute to the improved demand and supply of services associated with dense urban populations. More schools chose a neutral language (English) as the medium of instruction in Tororo, which was more ethno-linguistically diverse than Lyantonde. But the degree of familiarity and ease of using the language in both areas was observed to be greater in schools located in urban communities where the socio-economic status of homes and schools was higher.

In general, it was observed that although in urban school more of the pupils had more and better scholastic materials, those who exhibited greater familiarity and ease with the use of the second language when used as MOI were less. But they were more active, made more appropriate and relevant use of the materials than the others and even the teachers tended to encourage them. In rural schools, the availability of scholastic materials was observed to be inadequate but the proportion of pupils who were active was higher in classes that used languages from the MT/LL as MOI.

Another observation was that the success of the teachers' attempts at using participatory teaching practices was dependent on the presence of a big number of pupils to whom the medium of instruction was familiar. Where pupils sharing a common language sat near each other or together in groups, they were observed working together amongst themselves even if the language they used was not the one being used at the moment. Hence, if a child from a peri-urban poor family where L₂ is not used at all goes to an L₂ only medium school in P1, it was likely for that child to repeat classes or even drop out of school before completing the primary school course as observed by (Heugh, 2011, p. 255):

Fifty percent of the world's out-of-school children live in communities where the language of schooling is rarely, if ever, used at home.

But it was unfortunate and absurd that parents, including those whose children did not use L₂ at home, argued against the use of familiar indigenous languages and some even removed their children from schools that used such languages as media of instruction. The main reasons parents considered when choosing schools for their children were the academic performance of the school and its affordability and whoever could afford L₂-medium school would not miss the good performance that is assumed to be automatic. In rural areas the chances of L₂ being used as the home language were very limited and even where it was used the variety used and the extent of its use could rarely promote its use as a medium of instruction. According to Ouane & Glanz (2011), *resistance by African communities against the potential and capacity of their own languages* is one of the reasons for failure of implementing MT-MLE programmes in Africa.

Most of the rural schools studied chose languages from the MT/LL category and the reasons for the choice of specific languages included the language chosen being

native, being the majority language and/or having materials produced in it. The urban schools mainly chose L₂ and the reasons, apart from it being especially recommended by the policy, included the second language being neutral to all, being the language of examination at national level and the medium of official communication, and having adequate scholastic and general reading materials written in it.

In practice, both the schools that chose indigenous languages and those that chose the second language as media of instruction combined the second language with at least one other language, in most cases an indigenous and/or majority one, during instruction. The officially L₂-medium schools used indigenous languages as a means to aiding pupils whose comprehension of the second language was still inadequate for learning purposes. The episodes in which languages from the MT/LL category were used by the teachers in officially L₂-medium classes, those pupils to whom the language(s) used were familiar exhibited extra attention, interest, and participation. In some cases, the use of indigenous languages in L₂-medium schools was observed as late as P3. In some officially MT/LL-medium classes, teachers used L₂ in order to explain ideas and translate vocabulary for which the chosen medium did not have equivalents. Second language was used in MT/LL-medium schools earlier than the official exit level for switching over to L₂ to accommodate pupils who used different home languages and to prepare them for its use later when it would become the sole medium of instruction and assessment.

In its formulation, the LOI policy was meant to be flexible enough to provide for an early-exit MT-MLE programme based on an unlimited number of indigenous languages. One of factors that limited the implementation of this policy to its full potential was the use of English language grades in determining overall grading and as a specific requirement to various post- 'O' level courses. A candidate who sits for the

'O' level certificate examinations in Uganda would stand better chances in a country with a different Language in Education policy. Parents and teachers in turn decided to choose English as MOI on the assumption that using English as MOI improved performance in it and in the other subjects taught and examined through it. The aim was to increase the pupils' chances of qualifying for admission to the next level in a competitive education system.

The number of cases that chose languages in the LL/MT category as medium was greater for Lyantonde than for Tororo. In Lyantonde three schools chose two local languages and in Tororo one school chose a local language. This could be explained in terms of the degree of mutual intelligibility between the major indigenous languages in each of the two areas. The languages in Lyantonde were highly mutually intelligible and the choice of one of the two majority ones did not exclude those pupils for whom the chosen language was not the mother tongue or home language. Any the languages could easily be picked up especially by young children in addition to their home languages. Even literacy in either language could be applied in the other. *Bukedde*, a daily in Luganda and *Orumuri*, a weekly in Runyankore, were sold in the same area. So, the choice of specifically one of these two languages as the medium of instruction by a school was often for catering for the children who were still monolingual and for expression of identity. The adults were generally bilingual in these languages and literacy in either of these languages was easily transferable to the other as both languages used the same alphabet as English.

But in Tororo, unlike in Lyantonde, the two majority languages (Jop'Adhola and Ateso) were not highly mutually intelligible and the use of any one of them excluded the speakers of the other. Tororo Municipality is urban and densely populated and parts of the district are industrialised. The population included a large non-indigenous

proportion, from the neighbouring Bantu districts, who did not speak either of the majority languages. There was not any newspaper in Jop'Adhola and the dialect of Ateso used in *Etop* (a weekly in the other dominant local language) was used more in Teso region than in Tororo. The newspaper vendors in Tororo town sold more copies of the Luganda newspaper than of the Ateso one.

But in the community, it was the indigenous languages that were the major media of communication in the homes, in public assemblies and for mass communication in both the oral and literacy modes. Most of the religious denominations had one of the prayer services with the highest attendance in an indigenous language as the sole or default medium of communication. Many of the local electronic media broadcasting stations had programmes and advertisements aired predominantly in indigenous languages.

But there was unjustifiable polarisation of opinion on choice of media of instruction and choice is not mainly based on sound or informed argument but often on the fact that L₂-medium schools had better academic performance compared to MT/LL-medium ones. Since almost all urban schools used L₂ and many performed better than the rural ones, parents and teachers tended to think that using L₂ would of itself lead to improved performance without considering the other factors that contributed to the success of L₂-medium schools. For as long as government does not come up with an equitable LIE policy providing for the academic progress of pupils learning in unfavourable conditions for learning English, the education system will benefit only the socio-economically privileged and elite minority.

4.3.2 Reasons for Choice of the Chosen Media of Instruction

The decision of choice of MOI was made at school level and the reasons were given by head teachers. Generally, the reasons for choice very much varied with the choice between L₂ and LL/MT and not with the specific languages. Hence, the reasons given for choice of English equally apply for other second languages in similar situations.

The reasons for choice of L₂ were found to be more related to its neutrality, status as the official language, educational functionality, and availability of resources than to its familiarity to the learners as individuals. The choice of L₂ was more implementable in urban areas. Hence, the validity of such reasons for choice of L₂ as MOI did not hold for rural-based and low SES schools where the professional human resource was not qualitatively adequate for using L₂.

Many of the schools that chose the second language as MOI did so on the argument that it was a neutral language. The idea of neutrality was in relation to the cultural identity of the ethno-linguistic groups that constitute the population. It had nothing to do with the ability of the pupils in the neutral language. Kiswahili is a neutral language in all East African countries but in countries where it is not taught, the degree to which it is familiar, especially among children, is not significant. The advantage of choosing a neutral language, where it was not familiar to the learners, was only to the teacher in terms of ease of accessing learning materials and self-expression but not for classroom interaction.

Another argument in favour of choosing a neutral second language was its presumed role in promoting patriotism and nationalistic identity and avoiding cultural assimilation of some groups by other stronger ones. Like the other arguments, this one also relegates pupils and their ability to learn to a level of importance below

nationalism. It is great to have national unity but to an educationist it is even of greater and of primary importance if all the nationals have fair chances of accessing education.

Another reason why second language was preferred to indigenous languages was that it is the sole official languages of instruction and assessment after exit in subtractive MT-BLE models. In addition, the criterion for choice was based on what the pupils are supposed or expected to achieve later on rather than their current language ability to progress towards that achievement. Teachers, and schools in general, were more concerned about how many of their registered candidates would pass and be admitted at the next level than whether every pupil had chance to participate in learning. This was perhaps why parents were also concerned about whether their children would qualify for courses that promised profitable employment.

The choice of languages from the MT/LL category was based primarily on the specific languages being majority, heritage, or native languages to the historical original inhabitants of a given area. The fact that their use was characterised by higher learner comprehension and participation was only secondary and incidental. It was only by coincidence that in linguistically homogeneous areas the languages claimed to be heritage or native languages were also majority languages as well in most parts of the area studied. In some parts of Lyantonde, a county in Buganda, the majority language was Runyankore which is not considered 'native' or 'indigenous' according to the geo-political location of Lyantonde.

The reasons for choice of languages used as media of instruction included location of the school, the linguistic diversity of the community, the status of the different languages concerned, the degree of mutual intelligibility of the main indigenous

languages and the availability of teaching/learning materials in each of the candidate languages.

Four out of the eight cases chose languages as MOI on the basis of those languages being 'native' and 'majority' and therefore widely used for more communicative social functions and availability of scholastic and general reading materials written in them. Majority indigenous or local languages in the MT/LL category that were more developed and widely used were chosen and used even in schools where they were not taught as subjects and in areas where they were not considered native or indigenous. Never the less, such languages were used as media of instruction alongside others by teachers, and with pupils, who had never studied them. Examples of such languages included Luganda in schools with speakers of other Bantu languages in Lyantonde and Kiswahili in peri-urban areas in Tororo near the border with Kenya.

Although choice of MOI precedes its use, the decision of choice was in most schools based on the likelihood of success of implementation during use and achievement of the purpose of the choice. Apart from reasons related to the status of the languages involved, head teachers pointed out reason related to location of the school as another factor for choice of MOI in their schools. Head teachers of schools located in areas characterised by linguistic diversity, as in most urban schools, said they considered language choices that could strike some balance between academic achievement and comprehensibility of instruction for speakers of different languages.

Head teachers of schools located in remote and isolated places mainly said that languages from the LL/MT category were the most viable candidates for selection as MOI in the lower primary section. Schools in such areas chose indigenous languages

on the basis of such languages being the mother tongue or home language of most of the learners or the heritage language of the majority ethnic group in the locality.

Head teachers of schools in which the enrolment was ethno-linguistically diverse chose L₂ or an indigenous language of wider communication that was considered ethnically neutral or linguistically unifying for all learners. This was the case especially in schools where the number of pupils who were speakers of languages other than the majority indigenous one constituted a big percentage of the enrolment as in case school H. In one school, the head teacher said that one of the reasons for choosing English as MOI was that the school did not want the pupils to be linguistically assimilated by any one ethnic group.

Another reason for choice of different indigenous languages as media of instruction was the extent to which individual languages could be easily acquired and used by pupils who speak other languages at home. In one school, case G, the head teacher said that parents were involved in deciding the language(s) to use and another head teacher said that some families choose where to take their children at the lower primary level basing on the language used by the school at that level.

The reasons for choosing L₂ as the medium of instruction included *the school being located in an urban area, L₂ being neutral, promoting academic achievement, and avoiding assimilation of pupils into other cultures*. In all these reasons, the teachers' interest in achievement appeared to be related to the schools' performance in national examinations rather than to the pupils' acquisition of knowledge and skills as individuals. The overall single justification was to achieve the academic ambition of the school and the parents. One of the cases that chose L₂, case C, was better off in terms of resources and charged high school fees affordable only by parents who had

adequate incomes and ambitious expectations for their children. The school had more teachers, better buildings, better teacher motivation incentives, more scholastic materials and boarding facilities. All these were possible because such schools were located in or near urban areas, attracted pupils from high socio-economic status homes with exposure to L₂, and charged higher fees. It was mainly in such schools that the use of L₂ as medium led to relevant learner involvement and participation.

The reasons for choice of languages in the MT/LL category were the specific languages being *dominant, the majority language, or the language of the natives* in a given area. The three categories were interrelated as in most situations the natives usually outnumbered the incomers and therefore were the majority and their numerical advantage made their language socially dominant in relation to others of the same status. But despite this reasoning by schools for choice of specific indigenous languages as media of instruction, it would seem that the schools were only paying tribute to the ethno-linguistic identity of the majority population or the geopolitical administrative regions as the actual use of a single chosen indigenous language in learning communication was rare and minimal.

In Lyantonde, two cases within a distance of less than two kilometres apart chose different languages because in one case consideration was based on, among other reasons, which language was considered to be historically more indigenous in the area the school was located in and according to the geo-political local administration set up. But in the other case consideration was on the language being that of the majority of the population inhabiting the immediate area the school is location in. However, in no single case was the use of one language as MOI observed to be so absolute as to completely rule out using the other languages even by the teachers.

Even the head teachers of schools that chose MT/LL medium were not in favour of using it for classroom instruction beyond P2 although it was generally used for communication in and outside school. The major reasons for preferring L₂ to MT/LL were that it was the medium of instruction after P3 and the language of examination at all levels of education and, therefore, that its early use prepares pupils for its mandatory use and enhances academic achievement. This belief and practice by teachers and the reasoning they were based on were so widespread to the extent that even some illiterate parents believed that not using indigenous languages in instruction or anywhere at school was in itself a means to improving academic achievement. In some school pupils were punished for speaking other languages but they were not punished for not speaking English.

The reasons given by head teachers for not choosing languages otherwise eligible for selection as MOI applied exclusively to languages in the MT/LL category. These reasons included the languages *being undeveloped* and their *lack of instructional and general reading materials*. This gives the impression that L₂ does not have limitations and hence justifying its suitability as the only logical choice of medium. A head teacher in one of the participating L₂-medium schools, case C, openly said that the failure of the policy of using languages other than English as media of instruction was manifested in the poor performance of the schools that implemented it. Such a statement by a teacher represented an attitude towards the use of indigenous languages in education originating from, and shared by, the wider community for a long time and reinforced by the education system that the society was a product of. The small number of people who were privileged to have their children in schools where the use of L₂ was the ideal choice, including some educationists, were contented with and proud of being part of the elite minority class at the expense of the majority.

Although many people were multilingual, the general public had apparently accepted that literacy in only the second language is sufficient even if one could not read or write in their first or any of the languages they spoke. The education system, perhaps in response to the demands of the public, did not put much effort in promoting multilingual education or indigenous language literacy. Despite the presence of interventions aimed at promoting literacy in some selected indigenous languages, like Literacy Achievement and Retention Activity (LARA) and Early Grade Reading Assessment (EGRA) and their use in the school programme, it was observed that indigenous languages were minimally used and not taught even in the ethnolinguistically diverse schools including where such languages were chosen as the official media of instruction. In schools where indigenous languages were observed as timetabled to be taught at all it was after P3. Before that they were handled under 'Literacy' and there was no provision for their examination at PLE.

A few years before this study, UNEB started examining a number of these languages at 'O' level although there did not exist any specific secondary school teacher training courses for or in most of them. All such languages were timetabled to be done at the same time and, hence, each examination centre must choose only one of such languages, which ruled out any chance of a candidate sitting for examination in more than one of them. This tended to rule out the possibility of one ascertaining or documenting one's fluency in multiple local languages. But still, those languages were not emphasised in teacher education as they are not considered at entry qualification to teacher training institutions or in the final qualifying assessment.

The contributory effect of factors related to socio-economic status, like socioeconomic class, on academic achievement was mediated through the conditions for pre-school second language acquisition just like the influences of class size and

materials availability were economic. The effect of such socio-economic variables on general academic performance in primary schools in Uganda was also a reality and was mainly related to the second language ability of both teachers and pupils. The decline in the academic performance of day primary schools that used to be famous for good performance in Kampala after the introduction of UPE served to highlight this point. When UPE was launched, there was an upper limit put by government on the fees chargeable by the schools under this programme. This was meant to make it possible for pupils from low socio-economic backgrounds to gain access to schools that were previously unaffordable for them. In response, many high socio-economic class parents took their children to private schools and children from low socio-economic status homes joined these newly-turned UPE schools in large numbers. This resulted into big classes and less PTA funding leading to the decline in performance in schools like Buganda Road Primary School, Kitante Primary School and Nakasero Primary School among others.

4.3.3 Fluency of Teachers in Using the Chosen Media of Instruction

On the third objective, related to the fluency of the teachers in the languages chosen as MOI in their schools, it was found that competence in MOI varied with location of the school and its SES status. All the trained teachers had documented basic competence in English language since the entry requirements for training include a specified minimum grade in English language. But the competence of teachers in languages in the MT/LL category could not be ascertained apart from basing on practical use. Most of these languages had previously not been examinable at any level of education until some few years before the time of this study. Teachers in urban private schools that chose L₂ were more competent in English than those in rural public schools that

admitted pupils from low SES background communities. The rural public schools were less likely to afford adequate PTA incentives to attract and retain competent teachers from other areas even when they were officially posted there and to be paid by the government. Teachers in rural schools serving ethno-linguistically homogeneous communities were very competent in the majority indigenous language(s) chosen as MOI.

It was noted that the level of fluency sufficient for teachers to use languages in the MT/LL category was modest and easily attainable by teachers in areas where the majority languages chosen as MOI were highly mutually intelligible. In the Lyantonde region, where languages in the MT/LL category were more popular than L₂, some of the teachers in the lower primary classes used languages other than their first ones without having studied them at school. The language used by pupils, and needed for communicating with them was elementary and easy to follow even by teachers to whom the specific language was not the first language. In the Tororo region, the teacher who switched and borrowed across different languages had had formal learning in only English.

The extent to which available learning resources were utilised was in direct proportion to the degree of interaction between the teacher and the learners. The interaction was through language and varied with how the language(s) used was/were familiar to the teacher and to the learners. Clear articulation and comprehension of instructional communication by teachers and pupils respectively depended on using a familiar medium and at an appropriate level of complexity to the learner. Teachers for whom the language used as MOI was not familiar enough did not give clear explanation of known concepts just like learners for whom the MOI was unfamiliar did not understand the explanation even when given. In some classes, both situations were

true for some learners. Improvised resources in or used with a familiar medium provided better learning opportunities than better resources with an unfamiliar medium.

Teachers who used languages from the MT/LL category as the official medium did not have much problems in using those languages. This was because the teachers generally knew the languages themselves and used code switching and code mixing across L₂ and the specific relevant indigenous language for those few pupils for whom the official local language medium was not very familiar. In Lyantonde, where the choice of an indigenous language as medium was between only two highly mutually intelligible languages, that is Luganda and Runyankore, most of the teachers were actually orally bilingual in both. The use of code mixing or switching between English and any chosen indigenous language also served to prepare the pupils for the switch over to L₂ as the medium.

The schools that chose L₂ tried to insist on using it faithfully as the sole MOI but it was the teachers' inability to use it for instruction or the pupils' failure to comprehend the instruction that forced the teachers to switch to some other language(s) to improve learning communication. The pupils' comprehension of L₂ in the early years of primary school education was generally related to the socio-economic status of the homes that the pupils came from. It was observed that in L₂-medium schools that enrolled pupils from homes with high socio-economic status homes its use was greater and more successful compared to those that enrolled pupils from low socio-economic class homes. In peri-urban L₂-medium schools where pupils from different socio-economic backgrounds studied together it was noticeable that some pupils were smarter, had more adequate personal scholastic requirements, were more fluent in L₂, and participated more actively in learning interaction than others.

Bilingual teachers in schools that chose L₂ as the official medium often ended up using more than one language as a matter of necessity. Sometimes a teacher would switch to an indigenous language after explanation in L₂ proving unsuccessful. But there were also instances where even the teacher's own use of L₂ was inadequate for explaining the learning content or even outright incorrect. In some areas, teachers in peri-urban schools that chose L₂ as medium would call upon individual pupils by name to say something or perform a task without any response from the named pupil. This piece of evidence was in line with the statement that:

...where the medium of instruction is mastered by neither the teacher nor the learner, there is no efficient communication (Ouane & Glanz, 2011, p. 340).

The use of language with or for young children usually involved their learning new linguistic content in the medium of instruction itself which needed to be explained. Teachers were observed expressing the meaning such content using bilingual explanation or even direct translation. But in some cases, it was the teacher that needed such explanation or translation from the class for the success of the lesson as some of the participants said that it was to the teachers' advantage if they were familiar with the learners' other languages.

The use of English as medium of instruction turned out to be less communicative in comparison to the use of languages from the MT/LL category. This was more so for schools in peri-urban areas where children from high and low socio-economic status backgrounds and with different home languages have to study together. Apart from not being very fluent in English, the teacher in case G was fluent in only one of the indigenous languages and the two majority languages in this area were not highly mutually intelligible. Some of the secondary school leavers that joined primary teacher colleges were mainly those that could not meet the academic and fees

requirements for joining 'A' level. Many of them had second or third grade certificates because of their low proficiency in the language of instruction.

Although some teachers personally acknowledged the need of using other languages in addition to the officially selected medium of instruction in the case of L₂, their own fluency in indigenous languages other than their own first languages, was not adequate for explaining abstract content. In one school, case E, the teacher found it necessary to switch from English to another language but could do it in only one language. With the exception of English, none of the other languages used for instruction was examined at PLE level or taught up to P7 and as such pupils did not develop literacy in any of them. The pupils who dropped out of school without completing the primary school course did not have adequate literacy in any language. The teachers' fluency in English, particularly in rural schools, was not satisfactory either. Many of the rural school pupils who completed primary school performed very poorly compared to those in urban areas and most of them were not very fluent in English, just like their teachers.

In one observed MT/LL medium-class, case A, the teacher tried to switch between an indigenous local language and English but English was the main languages that the teacher kept switching to. A big part of the class as a whole appeared to comprehend when the teacher used English but verbal learner-participation was lower than when the teacher used the majority indigenous language although it was not the mother tongue for all and even unfamiliar to some. Similarly, it should be expected that teachers for whom the language used as MOI was not familiar enough would understand the pupils' contribution better than they could give verbal explanation. An unfamiliar medium of instruction had more negative influence on production than on comprehension. The pupils for whom the medium of communication was unfamiliar

seemed not to fully understand the teachers' explanation and, worse than that, were even less likely to ably express their problem when trying to ask for clarification. Those that tried to interact with other pupils in a shared indigenous language that was not the medium, or unknown to the teacher, could not share their opinion or view beyond those to whom that language was familiar.

Therefore, in schools with pupils from linguistically diverse communities, no matter what the choice of MOI in the lower primary was, the use of any single language would be biased against some of the pupils, the teacher, or both parties particularly where teachers in L₂-medium schools had passed English language marginally. Although language is supposed to be learned and used to mediate thinking and learning through corroborative talk within a community of practice, in any of the above-cited scenarios, the medium of instruction was in itself an impediment to corroborative talk. Pupils in schools and communities where the second language was not familiar enough to both the learners and the teacher could not hope to succeed under a system that made 'O' level English language grades a specific criterion for qualifying to join specific academic and career opportunities at subsequent levels.

4.3.4 The Pedagogical Practices Used with the Chosen Media of Instruction

The fourth objective was concerned with the pedagogical practices used by the participating teachers. These were found to be basically the same with differences observed only in the extent to which they were exploited for interactive learning communication among pupils and between them and the teacher in the chosen MOI. The pedagogical practices were few and similar from the teacher training experience and the teachers used mainly expository methods. The type of activities that pupils were required to do were either verbal (re)production of teachers' utterances or sorting

of the presented learning content into groups. Where the MOI was familiar to the pupils and the teachers were competent in it, the pedagogical practices utilised were better exploited than where either of these conditions were different. Generally, all teachers used more or less the same pedagogical practices and some of those practices (for example Question and Answer) were capable of involving the pupils. But in general, teachers in classes that used languages that were familiar to themselves and to the majority of the pupils were more successful in achieving interactive learner participation with the practices used.

It had been anticipated that teachers in classes where the chosen MOI was from the LL/MT category would use pedagogical practices that were more participatory than those used by teachers in L₂-medium classes. But it was noted during lesson observation that all teachers used similar pedagogical practices. The practices used involved teachers requiring learners to repeat items of learning content as a class, in groups, and only occasionally as individuals for those learners for whom it was somehow evident that they had not got it right.

The main observed difference was in how pupils' activities in classes using the different categories of MOI were likely to promote application and assimilation of the new content for retention and integration with earlier experience. Pupils in L₁/MT-medium classes or L₂-medium classes where there was use of one or more other languages that were familiar and not strictly prohibited, engaged in information-sharing activities about the presented learning content. Individual pupils for whom the main language used in the information sharing-activities was unfamiliar were less active during such activities and in most rural based L₂-medium classes such pupils were the majority.

The pedagogical practices used in the participating schools were generally teacher centred and non-participatory. For the L₂-medium schools, the lower primary section pupils' second language ability was still undeveloped for adequate interaction or even comprehension during the lessons. The teachers, especially in the low socio-economic class urban-located schools, had no alternative but to use rote teaching practices as explanation for understanding was generally ineffective. In one such class, in case E, the teacher was observed teaching about natural materials in P3 using samples of the different materials and explained the finished products made out of each of the named materials in L₂. The teacher then explained where each natural material was got from. In an evaluation exercise at the end of the lesson, the pupils were required to match different natural materials to the products made out of them by writing the names of products made out of each material under it. Some of the pupils instead wrote the places where the materials were got from and others just got the products wrong. Apart from failing to read the written words, these pupils might have thought that the task was to match natural materials to where they were got from. It was perhaps because the explanation was in a language that was not familiar to that pupil even in the aural-oral form that the pupil failed to comprehend the lesson.

In the LL/MT-medium schools only part of the class, those for whom the language was familiar enough, could participate. But the amount and relevancy of such participation again depended on the teachers' fluency in the specific chosen languages and subject being taught. In case G, the teacher who taught Mathematics using multiple languages said that her success at using multiple languages was less in other subjects. Even in the one class where the teacher used multiple indigenous languages, learner participation beyond choral repetition was mainly between individual pupils, those to whom the language was familiar, and the teacher and not amongst the pupils

themselves. Hence, it became necessary for the LL/MT medium to be dropped earlier than it was supposed to be. The lack of proficiency by some of the teachers in more than one of the indigenous languages made their use of the languages in participatory teaching practices limited. This tends to justify the use of the second language beginning earlier than it is supposed to be and when the pupils are still deficient in it. To promote the use of indigenous languages for participatory, learner-centred and meaningful teaching practices and for long enough to give the pupils time to learn the second language, there is need to encourage indigenous language multilingualism among teachers of lower primary.

Although all teachers used more or less the same pedagogical practices, those in MT/LL-medium classes involved their pupils in more interactive activities than those in L₂-medium classes. The pupils actively participated in and contributed to the development of the lessons through voluntarily and competitively asking and answering questions, making remarks and offering advice or correction to the teacher and amongst themselves. On the contrary, many pupils in rural L₂-medium classes attended lessons rather like passive observers of what the teacher and some few pupils were doing and waited for the time for copying notes from the blackboard.

4.3.5 Miscellaneous Findings

One of the immediate indicators of a school's success by teachers and parents is its performance at national examinations. It is a truism that L₂-medium schools are academically more successful than those that use other languages. The choice of L₂ as MOI was influenced by the unstated reason of improving academic performance. But the academic success typical of L₂-medium schools that is aimed at might not be solely as a result of the choice of medium of instruction alone.

Most of the schools that chose second language as MOI were located in urban areas where the socio-economic status was generally higher than in rural areas. Some of the schools that chose second language as the medium of instruction were in this category but many education analysts do not acknowledge this socio-economic status factor.

One of the general findings was that choice of a language as MOI is a different thing from its actual or exclusive use during instruction. Whereas most schools chose one language as MOI, some of the teachers observed switched languages or used items borrowed from other languages to supplement communication in the official language chosen. The selective borrowing of isolated items was mainly from L₂ to MT/LL but the switching from one language to another for long stretches of utterance was from MT/LL to L₂. In rural schools MT/LL was more continuously used where chosen than L₂ and the borrowed items were mainly single words or phrases. In L₂-medium classes, there was not borrowing from other languages but there was occasional switching to MT/LL for clarity of explanation. Indeed, some head teachers of L₂-medium schools confessed that it was necessary for lower primary teachers to know the language(s) familiar to the majority of learners.

The actual classroom use of the languages chosen as media of instruction in specific schools varied with the specific language chosen, the teacher, level of class and the subject of instruction. For English-medium schools, being generally urban located and serving comparatively higher socio-economic status families, there were comparatively more trained teachers and better teacher to pupil ratios. This was partly due to the better remuneration and incentives funded through the fees paid by the elite and working-class parents. Generally, the use of English as medium of instruction was observed to get more communicative and less mixed with other languages as the level of the class got higher in all the cases. In classes where the learning content involved

technical and other terminologies that could or did not need to be translated the use of English was more frequent even at lower class levels.

Although each school had to choose only one language as the official MOI, some of classes observed used more than one language during instructional communication. The use of English was more frequent and communicative in urban based schools with pupils from high socio-economic backgrounds. But the use of languages in the MT/LL, either as the official media of instruction or as an alternative to it, was more interactive and communicative even for teachers using similar pedagogical practices. The use of multiple languages, including non-indigenous local ones like Kinyarwanda and Kiswahili to communicate with parents during school meetings emphasised the importance of comprehension for participation. But in practice some school language policies prohibit and penalise the use of languages other than English by pupils even amongst themselves.

The provision for choice and the actual selection of specific languages as MOI was aimed at improving comprehensible classroom communication for better academic achievement. But one miscellaneous observation was that teachers who used languages that were unfamiliar to the learners tended to use mechanistic and testing-oriented pedagogic practices. In relation to what is often done beyond the lower primary section, some teachers and schools encourage cramming. The learning content was presented as packages of information prepared by the teacher and to be internalised by the learners.

In case E, where the majority of pupils and the school set up exhibited characteristics of low socio-economic status, the use of L₂ as the medium of instruction was limited to classroom interaction due to learners' low proficiency in the language. The head

teacher of that school said that school meetings involving parents were in different languages with interpretations across the languages. It appeared unrealistic and self-defeating to require lower primary school learners from such a background to study exclusively in a language they lack exposure to. A casual note of the attendance and performance record statistics displayed in the head teachers' offices indicated that low social-economic status schools that chose L₂ had higher incidences of absenteeism, dropouts and ungraded candidates in PLE examinations. The insistence by parents and teachers on choosing L₂ as MOI right from lower primary school might have been necessitated by the practice of pegging the grading of academic achievement and access to tertiary level courses on grades in English language. A graduate who joined 'A' level without a credit in English language could pursue degree or diploma course in education and become eligible to teach at secondary school level and even above it. But the same person would not be eligible for admission to a certificate course to teach in a primary school.

If it is possible for a teacher to teach at higher levels using a medium they are not 'fluent enough' in (according to examination grades), then it must be relatively easier for that same teacher to teach at a lower level, more so if they use a medium of instruction that is familiar to both themselves and to the learners.

4.4 Meta-reflection

Using multiple familiar languages as media of instruction benefits both teachers and learners because it promotes ethnicity- and class-equitable education access, learner comprehension leading to improved retention. With the ever-increasing urbanisation and rural-urban migration, the incidence of ethno-linguistically diverse schools is certain to rise. The question of choice of medium of instruction in Uganda needs to be

considered from the point of view of promoting learner comprehension for active participation for all pupils. The current focus on using 'majority' or 'neutral' languages in ethno-linguistically diverse schools tends to emphasise easing the teachers' uploading of content without concern for individual learners' comprehension for assimilation of meaning. The choice of a constructivist paradigm adopted at the beginning of the study is justified by the findings in that, learners in classes using the same or very similar practices exhibited different behaviour. The difference in behaviour can be attributed to each learner constructing the learning experience in an original and different way.

The findings of this study were also in agreement with the Socio-Cultural Theory that learning is a social language-mediated activity within a community of practice. In some of the classes observed, pupils who shared a common language tended to sit together and seemed to use such languages to socially mediate learning activity through improvised scaffolding. The critical theory-based idea that there is need to overcome inequality by promoting equal opportunities in education was also backed by the study findings. Pupils for whom the chosen MOI was not familiar had less than equal opportunities for success in the competitive education systems.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter dealt with the presentation, analysis, interpretation and discussion of the data generated from administration of the instruments. This chapter present a summary of the major findings and the conclusion drawn from the study. It also makes practical recommendations to specific agents for implementation and suggests relevant areas for further research.

5.2 Summary of Findings

Generally, the overall findings on choice of MOI revealed that the LL/MT category of languages was as popular as L₂. Four of the schools chose indigenous languages (one language was chosen by two schools) and the other four schools chose L₂. In two of the cases that chose L₂, the use of other languages (including Kiswahili) in addition to the official choice was observed. The reasons for choice of language varied with location of cases and ethno-linguistic diversity of the area. The teachers were fluent enough in the languages used as MOI and the use of pedagogical practices was influenced by the familiarity of the language(s) to the learners.

MT/LL was more opted for by rural schools and ethno-linguistically homogeneous ones compared to urban and ethno-linguistically diverse schools and vice versa. In schools that chose languages that were unfamiliar to the majority of pupils the use of MOI was not capable of supporting interactive pedagogical practices. The extent to which the pedagogical practices adopted were interactively used varied with the level

of teacher's competence in the language chosen as MOI. The extent to which learners responded to the teacher's instruction varied with what proportion of the class found the MOI familiar. MT/LL was preferred by rural schools and those in areas where the major indigenous languages were highly mutually intelligible. Urban schools and boarding schools preferred L₂. Effective use of L₂ as MOI was more successful in schools located in or drawing their pupils from communities/homes with high socio-economic status. They admitted advantaged pupils, charged higher PTA fees and provided teachers with enhancement payment and welfare incentive packages. Effective use of any chosen MOI was enhanced by the teacher's bilingualism in L₂ and the main indigenous majority language(s) even if the latter was not used by the teacher. Even a minimum knowledge of the majority local language by the teacher was useful in the teachers' interpretation of pupils' unclear statements in the L₂-medium

The specific findings are presented in the order of administration of the data collection instruments and under headings corresponding to the study objectives.

5.2.1 Choice of Medium of Instruction

Most of the head teachers interviewed were of the opinion that use of MT/LL as the MOI had a negative effect on learning L₂. This suggests that even where a language from the MT/LL is the official MOI its practical use is not fully implemented up to the official class level (P4) for switching over to L₂-medium. Some head teachers said the policy was not easy to implement as some pupils, and in some cases even teachers, could hardly communicate in any of the local languages apart from their first languages. Many of the head teachers said that where pupils with day care or

kindergarten background were many it was more practical to use L₂ and this was mainly in urban areas.

Out of the eight cases, four chose L₂ and four chose language in the MT/LL category. Of the four cases that chose L₂, three were located in urban areas and one was located in a rural area. Of the four cases that chose languages in the MT/LL category, three were located in rural areas and one in an urban area.

Of all the head teachers interviewed during the study, 4 (50 %) said their schools chose MT/LL as MOI and 4 (50 %) said that their schools chose L₂ as MOI in the lower primary section. Almost all head teachers of schools that chose L₂ said that their schools' choice of MOI was not affected by rural/urban location but by the multi-ethnic diversity of the community and the need to boost L₂ and overall achievement after switching over to L₂ medium. In some of the schools that chose MT/LL as MOI the head teachers said that the specific language chosen as MOI was not taught as a subject. There was only one single school that taught Kiswahili as a subject.

In all the schools involved in the study, assembly was conducted in L₂ as the official medium of communication but again in some cases languages from the MT/LL category were also used to accommodate those pupils whose L₂ ability was still deficient. In addition to that, all head teachers in schools that chose MOI from the MT/LL category said that school meetings involving parents were conducted in English and one or more other languages depending on the location of the school and the linguistic diversity of the area. However, in all cases the minutes were recorded in L₂.

All of the schools involved in the study were either founded by, or its proprietors inclined to, a religious denomination and as such prayers were part of the schools'

daily or weekly routines. Most of the head teachers said the school prayers were conducted in MT/LL even when held at school. With an exception of only one, all the schools involved in the study were day schools (although some made special boarding provisions for candidate classes) and arrangements were made for the clerics from the relevant religious denomination to conduct special prayer sessions either at the school premises or in the relevant place for congregational worship where it was nearby. The main difference was in a Muslim founded peri-urban school where the head teacher said that on Fridays the school programme was adjusted to make it compatible with the timing for the weekly congregational prayers. The head teacher said sermons in the mosque were always multilingual in Arabic and at least other languages which sometimes included English or Kiswahili depending on the individual cleric delivering the sermon.

5.2.2 Reasons for Choice of Media of Instruction

The reasons for choice of MOI varied basically with the location and linguistic composition of the communities that the schools were based in and/or served. Rural and urban settings were found related to linguistic uniformity and diversity respectively. In addition to the rural/urban distinction, location in some areas included consideration of the geopolitical local administration structure/cultural realm within whose jurisdiction an area was found.

In any region, the existence of only a small number of majority local languages that are highly mutually intelligible increased the likelihood of choosing any of those languages as MOI. Similarly, the existence of majority languages that are not mutually intelligible, regardless of the number, increased the likelihood of choosing a second

language as MOI for its neutrality presumed comprehensibility to more pupils, and teachers' fluence.

In rural locations, the effect of ethnolinguistic diversity is not as much pronounced as in urban areas due to the relatively small number of languages involved and the fact that the different languages are used at home and the homes being far apart. In urban areas, due to the greater linguistic variety and closeness of homes to each other, the effect of ethnolinguistic diversity is accentuated by cross-cultural social contact both at school and in the wider community. This usually leads to widespread exposure to the second language which, in turn, makes more people motivated to learn it.

Schools located in areas with linguistic uniformity tended to choose indigenous languages since such languages were also majority languages and functionally dominant. The term 'majority language' was in some cases used to describe the concentration of users of a given language just within the school catchment area. In contrast, schools in areas of linguistic diversity tended to choose L₂ or another non-indigenous language for neutrality or formal functionality. The only languages chosen or just used in areas where they are not considered indigenous (either at national or local level) were English, Kiswahili, and Luganda.

Generally, the reasons for choosing or using languages from the MT/LL category were related to ease of acquisition by speakers of other languages which again depended on levels of mutual intelligibility among the majority indigenous languages. But choice of media from the MT/LL category was also observed where there was no mutual intelligibility. Although Kiswahili is not a heritage language to any of the people in Tororo and unrelated to the two majority languages (Adhola and Ateso), in some

schools it was used instead of or in addition to the majority language(s) because of its neutrality and functionality, not nationally, but in that specific area.

On the other hand, the reasons for choice of L₂ were related to its neutrality vis-a-vis the linguistic diversity in the school enrolments, adequate availability of trained teachers and instructional materials and the status of L₂ as the official language, sole post-exit MOI, and a grade determining-subject at subsequent levels.

With reference to individual schools, the reasons for choice of MOI were mainly based on location, linguistic diversity of the wider geographical area, status of the candidate languages, and religious affiliation of the foundation body or dominant language community. Rural schools that chose LL/MT were in communities speaking dominant indigenous languages and founded by or related to either the Roman Catholic Church a Muslim community.

In four out of the eight cases, the reasons for choice of languages in the MT/LL category were based on the respective languages chosen being 'majority' and/or 'native' in the area. The other four chose L₂ and the reason was its 'neutrality' but in two of these cases the use of L₂ was backed up with some other language. In almost all the cases the reason for choice of MOI was based on the relative status of the languages involved rather than on assessment of which of them was most comprehensible to the majority of the learners in a particular school. In some of the cases where the chosen MOI was from the MT/LL category, its use for instruction stopped before the official exit class recommended by the policy.

The reasons for choice of MOI were based on location of the schools, linguistic diversity of the wider geographical area, and in some cases religious affiliation of the foundation body or dominant language community. Rural schools in Lyantonde that

chose Luganda were in areas with dominantly Luganda-speaking communities and founded by or located in an area with either a Roman Catholic mission or a Muslim community.

The reasons cited by head teachers for their schools' choice of MOI were mainly related to the location of the school. The majority of case schools in rural areas chose a LL/MT among the different indigenous languages in the area. In urban and peri-urban areas most cases chose L₂. In all cases the choice of MOI had been in use before the assumption of office of the incumbent head teacher. Hence such choices are unchallenged and long term.

Urban schools were found to have more ethno-linguistic diversity than rural ones but the number of speakers of some of the languages was too small to be considered. In many cases such schools admitted pupils who had attended English-medium nursery schools. Head teachers of urban schools using L₂-medium right from P1 justified their choice on the ground that using English as MOI favoured its learning as a subject and its use improved overall academic performance. Some urban school head teachers said that the use of English was demanded for by both the comparatively elite and the underprivileged parents arguing that using English improves the pupils' chances of competing in education and generally in life after school.

Most of the schools that chose L₂ as MOI were located in urban areas and which are associated with relatively higher household incomes, parental education levels, and linguistic diversity. Hence there was a marked difference in the availability and use of resources between MT/LL- and L₂-medium schools. L₂-medium classes were smaller, in better shelter structures, and had more adequate furniture and scholastic materials compared to MT/LL medium classes.

The head teachers of schools that chose MT/LL as MOI in the lower primary section gave reasons including the need for using a medium familiar to the pupils and the need to consolidate first language development. But even in those schools that chose to use MT/LL as the official MOI in lower primary classes, some of the head teachers did not want its use to go beyond P2 citing problems with accessing instructional and assessment materials. All head teachers involved in the study agreed that although knowledge of specific languages in the MT/LL by a teacher was not a requirement for working in any school, it helped in solving learning interaction problems faced by learners for whom L₂, when used as the sole MOI, was unfamiliar especially in the lower primary classes. On whether using specific languages in the MT/LL category as MOI limited the practices or activities that can be used in the classroom, some head teachers said that some whole class activities like debate, brainstorming and quiz were not useable in classes where the chosen MOI was a LL/MT.

Where a language in the LL/MT category was chosen, the reasoning was mainly related to achieving learning comprehension for all, or at least the majority. Hence, reasons like the chosen language being indigenous, dominant or a majority one, are all implicit of the number of people in the area (not the class) who understand the language. In some cases, the choice between or among languages in the LL/MT category was based on which of the candidate languages was used by the original inhabitants of the area or where the area is located in terms of geo-political local administration structure. Languages chosen with such reasoning are referred to as 'native' not relative to people but to places.

Urban schools chose L₂ because it is the only neutral language that accommodates speakers of different languages without risk of any kind of prejudice to the ethnolinguistically diverse school community. Apart from being neutral, L₂ is also the

ultimate and sole medium of learning assessment in MT-MLE programmes from P4 and is therefore chosen by schools to promote it even at levels and in subjects where other languages are acceptable for instruction. In spite of the policy being in place, hardly any of the other languages had any practice assessment or supplementary learning materials, for example holiday packages, produced in them even for P1.

Apart from reasons related to the number of users in the community, neutrality or origin of the candidate languages, functional dominance was another implied reason for using languages that were not the official choice. Where the choice of medium was based on neutrality or origin of a language, its use sometimes needed support from another functionally dominant language. In one case a teacher was observed switching between the official chosen medium and other languages to explain or refer to functions that are carried out in languages other than the official chosen MOI. In one L₂-medium class in CRE, the teacher had to help the pupils to relate the lesson to their religious experience gained through their respective first languages.

Ideally, the LOI policy and its implementation should be guided by balancing the need for comprehension by all pupils, the opportunity to use the available materials, the desire to master L₂ and graduate, and the challenges of communication in a multilingual community. Having many dropouts after using available materials in a language that the pupils cannot understand with an educated elite minority alienated from the community is not a sign of a good education system.

5.2.3 Teachers' Fluency in Use of the Chosen Media of Instruction

It was observed from the names on the class lists that in many classes the pupils were of different ethnic ancestry and hence likely to have different languages as their home or first languages. In rural schools the teachers' teaching plans stated languages in the

MT/LL category as the official MOI in lower primary classes but the teachers used code mixing and code switching when delivering the lessons. All rural cases chose languages in the MT/LL category and had one teacher per class even in big classes unlike some urban schools that chose L₂ and had more than one teacher per class. It is therefore clear that all the teachers had the required language fluency in English to use it for instruction.

The fluency of teachers in using L₂, where it was the MOI choice, varied with their formal education background and socio-economic status of the school as schools with good PTA incentives attract highly trained teachers. Trained teachers have documented L₂ ability because L₂ performance at 'O' level is one of the requirements for admission to teacher training institutions. The fluency of teachers in using LL/MT was an individual issue and not easy to analyse for all the participating teachers as they used different languages (the whole category as teachers who used) and it was by those for whom the chosen language was either the mother tongue or an acquired dominant majority language.

Teachers were observed to translate or reproduce information that they had already conceptualised and tried to package the content according to the learners' response. But the learners were required to make sense of the information presented by the teacher and use it to execute specific learning activities as required in the lesson. Although the learners' role is often evaluated in terms of observable response, the response is dependent on initial reception of linguistic input depending on personal fluency in the relevant language.

Whereas all participating teachers met the fluency requirement in English language, some in English-medium schools occasionally switched to or borrowed from other

languages that they were less fluent in. Since such action is intended to redeem pupils who are less fluent in English, it follows that lack in the basic oral fluency in the medium of instruction is more detrimental to the receiver of information than to the producer.

In one local language-medium class taught by a teacher to whom the medium was the first language, one pupil to whom the language was very unfamiliar could not benefit from the teacher's endeavours to paraphrase using words that were simpler to only himself. So, the teacher's adequate fluency did not make up for the pupil's inadequate fluency.

Most teachers in cases that chose languages in the MT/LL category used documentary reference materials in a different language (in all cases L_2) and this required the teachers to be multilingual and multi-literate if the documents were to be translated and reproduced in the chosen medium. In classes where the choice and use of one or more languages from the MT/LL category as MOI was on the basis of the linguistic composition of the class, its use generally led to active and participatory teacher-learner and inter learner interaction. The lessons involved reference to documentary input in L_2 . In all cases such documents were not translated but that did not inhibit their use. This was evidence that generally both the teachers and many pupils were bi/multi-lingual in languages including English.

The use of code mixing or inter lingual borrowing was limited to technical terms or words that had either been indigenised by the local language(s) or whose use was considered acceptable to all and not an impediment to communication, like the names of some colours and days of the week. Learning communication and the learning atmosphere were relaxed without need for super-comprehensible talk by the teacher.

Where the learning content and situation required use of teacher-produced MOI-based print materials learners exhibited self-motivation and interest in co-producing the materials with the teacher, for example when graphically produced (in L₂) on the blackboard during the lesson. This is evidence that although only some majority indigenous languages are examinable at 'O' level and none is examinable at the Grade III Teachers College level, some teachers are able to use them for instruction.

Many teachers of lower primary classes in schools using LL/MT as MOI were bilingual speakers of English and one local language. Ideally, they should be multilingual speakers of at least two of the relevant dominant local languages and L₂. But in many cases, some of the teachers could only manage translations of individual words but not coherent explanation in languages other than their own. The success of individual teachers' use of switching/borrowing across local languages depended on each teacher's knowledge of the languages involved and the level of comprehension required for the lesson content to be delivered.

Schools that chose languages from the MT/LL category followed the thematic curriculum which requires them to use continuous assessment. The assessment was always oral and in the chosen medium of instruction but the individual pupils' progress record cards and the class progress record sheets provided by the Ministry of Education was in English. In mathematics lessons, for example, teachers in classes that used L₂ medium uttered the mathematical expressions printed on charts in English but some of the learners who revisited the materials later would use other languages.

In all the classes observed, the schemes of work and lesson plans were in L₂ medium but the imparting of the learning content in such documents was mainly in the official MOI selected by the school even where it was different from L₂. But even where the

chosen medium was from the LL/MT category, apart from classes where the subject was an indigenous language, there was only one single teacher. For classes that used only one language for both production of the materials and their use throughout the lesson in the lower primary section, that language was inevitably English. This was typically in private schools located in urban areas. In classes where the official selected MOI was from the MT/LL category, teachers often switched to L₂ for reasons including accommodating pupils not fluent enough in the chosen MT/LL medium, their own personal inability to translate some of the learning content in the documents to the relevant MT/LL, and the selected language not having developed enough vocabulary for expressing the meaning that was being taught. Hence, bilingual instruction by teachers was the norm in ethno-linguistically as it served to help the teachers overcome their own incapacity, where the selected medium was an MT/LL that one was not familiar enough with and to overcome the learners' incompetence where the selected medium was an L₂ and not yet familiar to the majority of the learners.

In classes where the official selected MOI was L₂, many times teachers who could do it switched to one or more languages in the MT/LL category in order to facilitate comprehension for learners who would otherwise fail to grasp the essence of the lesson content in the chosen medium of instruction. In one L₂-medium class in a linguistically diverse school, the teacher had to rely on pupils to translate some of the words into the different languages understandable to the different linguistic groups within the class. From this observation, it is concluded that multilingualism was necessary and useful for languages which the teacher was did not understand.

In some instances where a teacher was very fluent in the chosen MT/LL medium, that teacher's use of that language in lesson presentation was a bit too sophisticated for

those pupils to whom the language was unfamiliar. In some MT/LL medium classes, teacher-coordinated learner participation was mainly limited to oral-aural activity as pupils (and even some teachers) for whom the medium was not very familiar were illiterate in it. Even in classes where teachers used languages from the MT/LL category as media of instruction, no single teacher was observed developing lesson illustrations on the blackboard in any specific non L₂ medium. In linguistically diverse classes, different groups of pupils were observed using different languages when communicating among themselves and/or reflecting on the materials. In some classes it was clear that the teachers encouraged, or at least tolerated, pupils sharing a common indigenous language sitting together. This implies that the level of indigenous language fluency required of the teacher for multilingual classroom interaction is not very high if the language is used by a good number of the learners.

5.2.4 Pedagogical Practices Used with the Selected Media of Instruction

The observation guide for pedagogical practices was the last instrument to be administered. The purpose was to find out if, and where so, how the choice of specific languages as MOI influenced the range of pedagogical practices that are practicable by the teachers when teaching using those languages chosen as media of instruction. The pedagogical practices that teachers opted to use were generally similar for both categories of MOI choice with variation occurring mainly in how and the extent to which the learners were capable of responding to instruction in the chosen language.

Although the methods and materials used with both categories of MOI were not very different, their actual use varied with the familiarity of the language used to the learners. In classes where the language was familiar, the methods and documentary materials were presented to learners in form of input for them to interpret and

perform specified activity intended to facilitate construction or discovery of meaning. But in classes where the language used was not familiar enough to the majority of learners, the use of documentary materials was basically to either summarise learning content presented by the teacher or to evaluate the pupils' memory of the content presented.

The choice and use of pedagogical practices was observed to generally vary with the level of familiarity of the languages chosen as MOI rather than the languages per se. Level of familiarity is construed in terms of the ability of majority of pupils in a class to comprehend the teacher's instruction and respond appropriately. Where the MOI was unfamiliar to the majority of learners, there was low learner-comprehension and participation; where it was unfamiliar to the teacher there was low teacher explanation and in either case learning interaction was inadequate.

In schools where the choice of MOI was based on enhancement of class communication, interaction amongst learners was in several languages; unlike where choice was based on the status of the language and only one language was used. In classes where the majority of learners found the MOI unfamiliar, learner participation was chorus, brief, and sometimes crammed. But where the MOI was familiar, learners were individually active and competitive in making original contributions. Written work in the learners' books was based on note taking where the language was unfamiliar as opposed to individual note making through interaction based on the learning content in a familiar language. Where the medium was familiar to both the teacher and the learners, there was increased learner comprehension and participation.

In classes where the media of instruction were familiar, the pupils exhibited more active participation and their responses to learning input were more individual and

original compared to classes where the media of instruction were unfamiliar. The use of the named methods during lessons depended on the degree of communication between the teacher and the learners and amongst the learners themselves. The communication itself was a function of the familiarity of the language to both the teacher and the learners.

5.3 Conclusion

The study set out to achieve four major objectives and the following are the main conclusions according to the set objectives:

- MT/LL was chosen by the same number of schools as L₂;
- By area, more cases in Lyantonde chose MT/LL and more cases in Tororo chose L₂
- By location more rural cases chose MT/LL and more urban cases chose L₂.
- The reasons for choice of L₂ were its neutrality, being the language of examination, and availability of materials; for MT/LL the reasons were the chosen language being the heritage one in the area, a majority language in the district, or being dominant.
- The fluency of teachers in using L₂ was higher in urban-located and high SES background schools. In some cases, the fluency of teachers in using languages in the MT/LL category was so high that it needed to be toned down to accommodate some pupils for whom the specific language was not very familiar.
- The pedagogical practices used by teachers were similar for L₂ and MT/LL. The difference was in learner participation which varied with the degree to which the chosen MOI was familiar to the pupils.

The rural/urban categorisation is a generalisation. Some rural boarding schools chose L₂ and some peri-urban day schools chose MT/LL. The conditions where MT/LL was used were characterised by having a small number of majority languages which were highly mutually intelligible (for example Luganda and Runyankore in Lyantonde); or a linguistically homogeneous community with generally one major ethnic identity and one language.

Neutrality of L₂ was the main reason for its choice in areas with communities which wanted to assert their own identity and/or not to recognise any indigenous language(s) other than their own (for example in Tororo) and in schools where most pupils came from communities with different home languages that were unrelated, as is characteristic of urban schools. The reasons for choice of MT/LL were related to how comprehensible the language(s) was/were to the pupils, the ethno-linguistic uniformity of the population and the levels of mutual intelligibility between the languages in an area.

Most of the pupils were from linguistically diverse communities though still largely monolingual speakers of their first languages. Most of the teachers were bilingual in only English and their respective first languages but more literate in English. Hence, there was breakdown in direct teacher-pupil communication for individual pupils who did not share a common language with the teacher and were not yet able to communicate in L₂.

5.4 Recommendations

The national LOI policy in Uganda is open and it provides for a possibility of implementing a range of early-exit MT-MLE models. The adoption of a MT-MLE

without teaching most of the languages in the MT/LL category means that those languages cannot be used effectively.

The recommendations made here are meant to make the implementation of the LOI policy flexible, sensitive to the differences in pedagogy requirements for both MT/LL- and L₂-medium education, and relevant to the multiplicity of ethno-linguistically diverse contexts and the specific circumstances of each. On the basis of the conclusions made, it is recommended as follows:

- In ethno-linguistically homogeneous areas, District Language Boards should sensitise parents on the benefits of MT/LL and facilitate teachers on its use.
- Reasons for choice of MOI should be related to learner comprehension and participation instead of ease of use by teachers and schools.
- The competencies of teachers in using the selected MOI need to be at a level that is adequate for the teachers' clarity of expression but again not too hard for pupils' comprehension.
- Teacher training should prepare teachers who can use the pedagogical practices in all the languages they speak.
- The national LOI policy be made more flexible to allow individual areas/schools determine when to switch to L₂ medium for some subjects depending on need and availability of materials and staff.
- There should be provision for assessment in as many of the different languages eligible for use as MOI as possible regardless of whether they are currently used as such.
- The language in education policy should be revised to make the overall grading of academic achievement less dependent on grades in English.

- The NCDC should undertake a review of the primary school curriculum to include content-integrated language activity, in both indigenous languages and L₂, related to the different subjects and learning areas for cumulative cross-curricular cognitive development through the different languages used for instruction.

The first languages to be used should be the area languages for some of which supplementary materials by TDMS are already in place. Teachers and parents need to be made aware of the academic and communicational benefits of bilingualism.

Examining the different indigenous language should start earlier at PLE unlike at present when examinations begin at 'O' level. Using familiar languages other than the second language as MOI for can curb drop-out rates and improve post-switch learning due to the prolonged study of the second language as a subject. The use of two or more languages as MOI, where feasible, should become an acceptable practice to accommodate more learners who are monolingual. Many of the young teachers using their first languages as media of instruction are illiterate in those languages, which limits the use of materials written in them.

The District Language Boards should promote the training and posting of speakers of less dominant indigenous languages as primary school teachers in areas where these are needed.

5.5 Suggestions for Further Research

The pupils in almost all schools are exposed to multilingualism in the oral-aural skills in the languages in their areas. The majority of schools that choose MT/LL as medium of instruction do not teach any language in this as a subject and none of them is examined at PLE level. Although such pupils may be orally articulate in any one or

more of these languages, they are not assured of becoming literate in any of them on the basis of formal school education and those who drop out are not literate in English either.

In ethno-linguistically diverse rural schools, pupils who speak minority languages as their first languages are marginalised in accessing education regardless of whether the medium of instruction is MT/LL or L₂. Their parents pay high cost in terms of what they forego to pay fees for longer as they pupils repeat classes. The probability of success for such pupils is usually lower as their achievement is lower due to learning through unfamiliar languages. Their chances of gaining access even to the lowest tertiary level education are reduced by the second language requirement. There is need for carrying out research on whether graduate and undergraduate tertiary level courses require different second language proficiencies. The findings of such a study are hoped to inform the decision whether applicants to undergraduate courses should be subjected to different second language admission requirements.

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APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR HEAD TEACHERS

(The researcher administered this instrument to individual participants after the introduction and explaining the purpose of the study, as in the following introductory prompt, and soliciting for their consent. The items listed were used as prompts instead of direct close-ended questions to generate data from the participants. Specific relevant probes were used to seek clarification whenever it was realised that some specific data were not being generated. Specific permission was sought from each participant to audio record the interview.)

You have been identified to take part as a participant in this study on **Choice and Use of Media of Instruction in Lower Primary Classes in Multilingual Uganda**. The purpose of this study is to investigate the influence of choice and use of MOI on the pedagogical practices of schools with pupils from ethno-linguistically diverse backgrounds. The results of this study will be used only to make recommendations on education language policy reform. All the information collected will be confidential and the participants are not required to reveal their identity. No participant's identity will be recorded even if volunteered or otherwise made known. There are no foreseeable risks of hazard related to this study.

The national LOI policy requires all pupils to be taught in their mother tongue or a familiar local language in P1-P3, after which English becomes the MOI. What are some of the challenges of implementing this policy? Do you find it possible for a school to strictly implement this policy?

What factors do you think influence the choice and use of a local language as the MOI for a school located in, or with learners from, an area with more than one local language? How is this handled in this school?

What factors do you think limit the use of English/local language as MOI for a school located in, or with learners from, an area with more than one local language? Which of these factors apply in this school? Under what circumstances would you recommend the use of mother tongue/local language as the preferred MOI and up to what level? What is your justification. In an ethno-linguistically diverse community, how should choice of MOI be made among the different alternatives?

To what extent does this school implement the LOI policy? How would you deal with teachers of lower primary who do not know the local language(s) used as medium of instruction if they were hired by or posted to your school? For what reasons was the school's MOI chosen? Is the chosen MOI used for other communication functions?

As a head teacher, what specific qualities do you think a teacher must have to work in a school like this one or any school located in, or with pupils from, an ethno-linguistically diverse community? How does location of a school in a rural or urban setup influence the use of any language chosen as MOI?

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR LOWER PRIMARY CLASS TEACHERS

This instrument will be used for interviewing lower primary school teachers to select those to participate in the study. It will be administered after that for head teachers has been administered to identify the languages chosen by the participating schools. The teachers to be selected are those who teach the targeted classes and whose fluency in the relevant language chosen as MOI in that school is adequate. The following information about the nature and purpose of the study will be explained to the teachers before the instrument is administered.

You have been identified to take part as a participant in a study on **Choice and Use of Media of Instruction in Lower Primary Classes in Multi-lingual Uganda**. The purpose of this study is to investigate the influence of the use chosen media of instruction on language policy implementation at school level. The results of this study will be used only to make recommendations on medium of education choice and education language policy reform. All the information collected will be confidential and the participants are not required to reveal their identity. No participant's identity will be recorded even if volunteered or otherwise made known. There are no foreseeable risks of hazard related to this study.

1. Are you a trained teacher?
2. (Only for those whose answer to No.1 is 'No'):
 - What grade did attain in English Language at 'O' level?
3. What class do you teach?
4. What language is used as MOI in that class?
5. (Only for those whose answer to No. 4 is not English):
 - (i) Name the language used.
 - (ii) Is it your mother tongue?
 - (iii) If 'No', is it similar to your mother tongue?
6. (Only for those whose answer to No. 5(ii) is 'No'):
 - (i) Is it similar to your mother tongue?
 - (ii) How did you learn it?
 - (iii) At what age did you start using it?
 - (iv) Why was it chosen?

APPENDIX C: OBSERVATION GUIDE FOR PEDAGOGICAL PRACTICES

This instrument will be used for observing lessons by the sampled teacher participants after explaining the following ethno-linguistic related issues to each of the participants just before observation. Express permission will be sought to audio-record each teacher's lesson.

You have been identified to take part as a participant in a study on **Choice and Use of Media of Instruction in Lower Primary Classes in Multi-lingual Uganda**. The purpose of this study is to investigate the influence of the use chosen media of instruction on language policy implementation at school level. The results of this study will be used only to make recommendations on medium of education choice and education language policy reform. All the information collected will be confidential and the participants are not required to reveal their identity. No participant's identity will be recorded even if volunteered or otherwise made known. There are no foreseeable risks of hazard related to this study.

The observer will look out for the following and their contribution to active teacher-learner interaction in the teachers' presentation of, and pupils' response to learning content.

- ethno-linguistic composition of the class being taught
- stated or main MOI used
- teacher's fluency and use of super-comprehensible talk in the MOI
- teacher's use of code mixing or bilingual borrowing across the chosen MOI and other languages
- teacher's use of typical conventional pedagogical practices in the chosen MOI
- teacher's ease of communication in relation to that of learners in using the chosen MOI
- use of chosen MOI-based reference materials, for example printed materials
- development and use of chosen MOI-based teaching/learning materials, for example oral explanation, blackboard illustration, sketching, labelling, et cetera.
- provision of subject content-related oral activity in MOI between learners
- use of subject content-related oral activity in MOI between teacher and learners
- provision of subject content-related written activity between learners and learning materials using the chosen MOI
- provision of subject content-related writing activity in MOI from the blackboard and use of subject content-related writing activity in MOI from textbook/printed material.

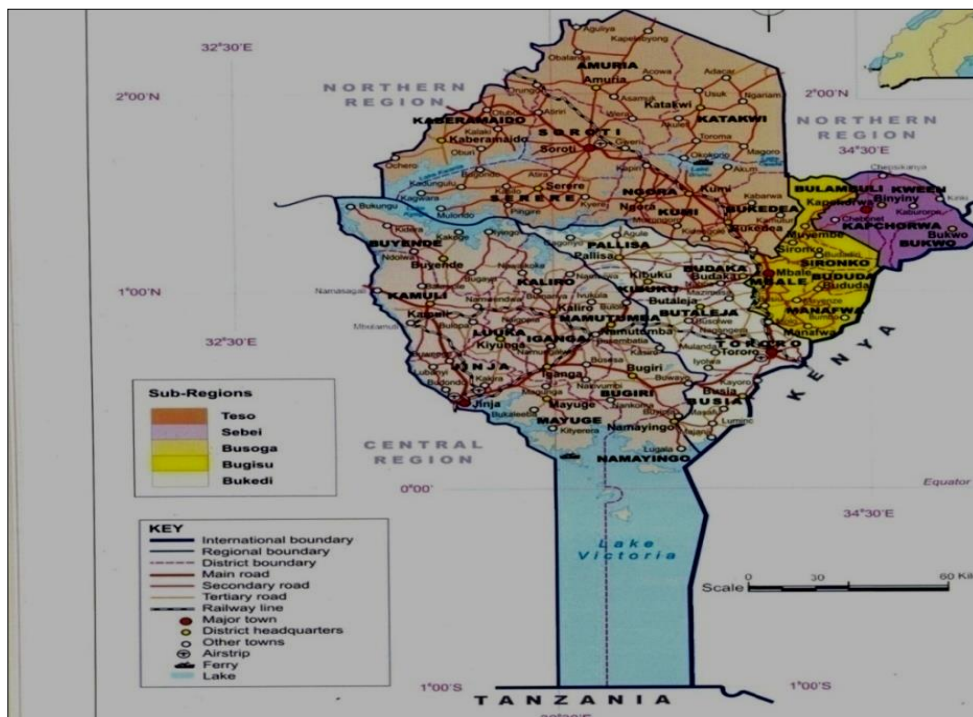
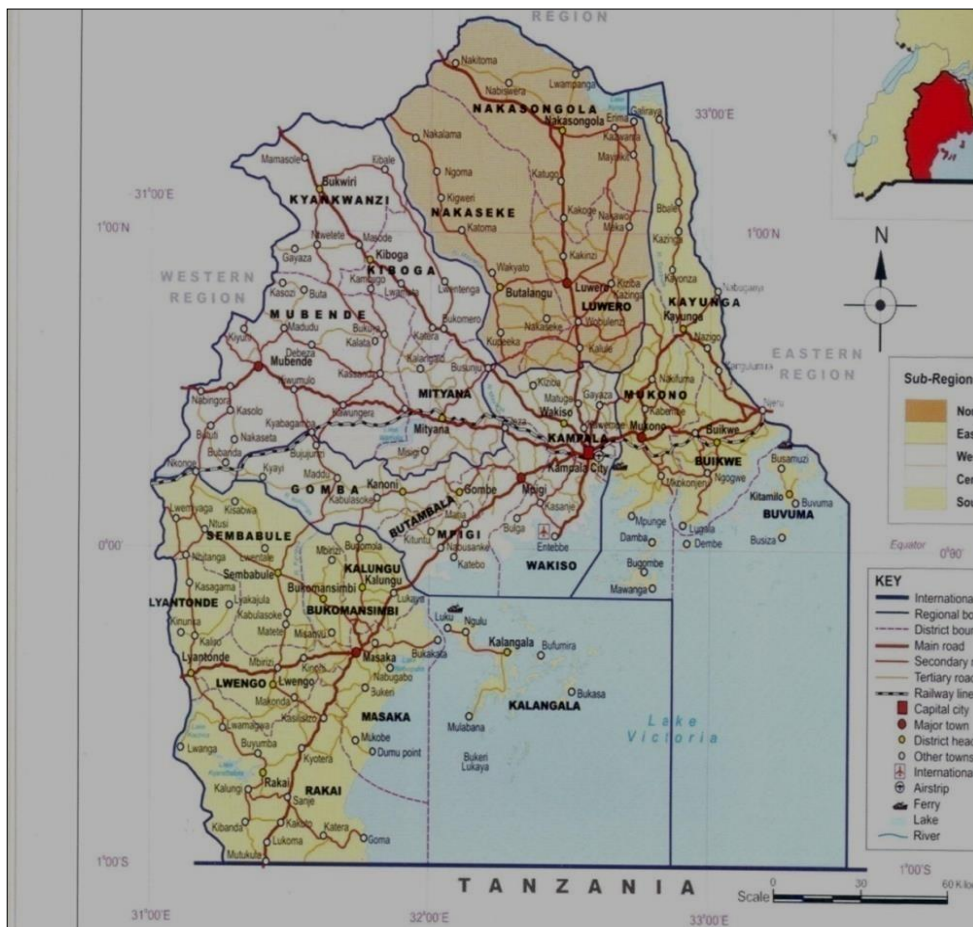
APPENDIX D: DOCUMENT ANALYSIS SCHEDULE

The researcher analysed different documents produced and/or used by participating teachers in the observed lessons. The documents will include lesson plans, schemes of work, charts, records of marks, teachers' comments in pupils' books, progress reports, et cetera.

Each of these document types seen was photocopied and analysed using the following criteria:

- Language of production in relation to chosen MOI.
- Frequency of production/amount produced.
- Appropriateness of language structure to learners' assumed comprehension ability.
- Clarity of language expression for learners' comprehension.
- Relevancy to learning the target subject.
- If translated, equivalence to original meaning.
- Compatibility to the learners' assumed average ability in the subject and the MOI.
- Possibility for use by learners in teacher's absence.
- Compatibility with the approved subject content

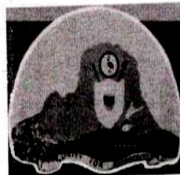
APPENDIX E: LOCATION MAPS OF STUDY AREA



**APPENDIX F: CONCENT LETTER FROM TORORO MUNICIPAL
COUNCIL.**

TORORO MUNICIPAL COUNCIL

Telephone: 04545012



Education & Sports Department
P. O. Box 17

Our Ref: TMC/EDU/221/1

TORORO (U)

Your Ref:

Date 16th November, 2017

Mr. Muhammed Nyanzi-Kabanda
Kyambogo University
Kampala.

RE: PERMISSION TO DO RESEARCH IN TORORO MUNICIPAL COUNCIL

Permission is hereby granted to you to collect data for a study entitled **“Choice of Instruction for Implementation of Language in Education Policy in Multi-ethnic Uganda”**

You are expected to exercise utmost ethical treatment of the study subjects, get consented participation, and ensure that the results of the study are used for Educational purposes only.

You will also be expected to share your research report with Tororo Municipal Council.

Be blessed.

Yours in Service

Ereboi Patrick

MUNICIPAL INSPECTOR OF SCHOOLS, TORORO



**APPENDIX G: LETTER OF CONCENT FROM LYANTONDE DISTRICT
ADMINISTRATION**

Telephone contacts:
D.E.O +256 773 450 429
+256 703 804 241
E.O +0777168457
D.I.S: +256 772 670 706
+256 701 670 706



The Republic Of Uganda

OFFICE OF THE DISTRICT EDUCATION OFFICER
LYANTONDE DISTRICT
P.O.BOX 10,
Lyantonde
E-mail: byarugabamedard66@gmail.com


12th June, 2017

Mr. Muhammed Nyanzi-Kabanda
Kyambogo University
Kampala

RE: CONSENT TO DO RESEARCH IN LYANTONDE DISTRICT

Permission is hereby granted to you to collect data for a study entitled: Choice of Medium of Instruction and Education transition in Multi-ethnic Uganda.

You are expected to exercise ethical treatment of the study subjects, consented participation and ensure that the results will be used for academic purposes only.


Byarugaba Medard
Ag. District Education Officer

APPENDIX H: DISTRICTS AND POSSIBLE LOCAL MEDIA OF INSTRUCTION

Education Reform In Uganda 1997 to 2004
Reflections on Policy, Partnership, Strategy and Implementation

Table 7: Local Languages of Instruction Currently in Use

District and Region	Main Language(s) of Instruction	Subsidiary LOIs
Northern Region		
Adjumani	Madi	
Apac	Luo (Langi)	
Arua	Lugbara	Madi, Kakwa (?)
Gulu	Luo (Achoi)	
Kitgum	Luo (Achoi)	
Kotido	Ngakaramajong	Luo (Achoi and Langi)
Lira	Luo (Langi)	Ateso
Moroto	Ngakaramajong	
Moyo	Madi	
Nakapiripiri	Ngakaramajong	
Nebbi	Luo (Alur)	
Pader	Luo (Achoi)	
Yumbe	Lugbara	
Eastern Region		
Bugiri	Lusoga	
Busia	Samai	
Iganga	Lusoga	Lulamoji
Jinja	Lusoga	
Kaberemaido	Kumam	
Kumali	Lusoga	
Kapchorwa	Kupsabiny	Lumasaba, Lubukusii
Katakwi	Ateso	
Kumi	Ateso	
Mayoge	Lusoga	
Mbale	Lumasaba	
Pallisa	Lugwere, Ateso	
Sironka	Lumasaba	
Soroti	Ateso	
Tororo	Lunyole, Ateso, Luo (Dopedhola)	Kiswahili
Central Region		
Kalangala	Luganda	
Kampala	Luganda	
Kayunga	Luganda	Lusoga (?)
Kiboga	Luganda	
Luweero	Luganda	Lunyole (?)
Masaka	Luganda	
Mpigi	Luganda	
Mubende	Luganda	
Mukono	Luganda	
Nakasongola	Luganda	Luruli (?)
Rakai	Luganda	
Sembabule	Luganda	
Wakiso	Luganda	
Western Region		
Bundibugyo	Lukhonzó	Rwamba, Rubwisi
Bushenyi	Runyankore	
Hoima	Runyoro	
Kabale	Lukiga	
Kabarole	Rutoro	Lukiga
Kasese	Lukhonzó	Runyakitara, Swahili
Kibaale	Rutoro	Lukiga
Kisoro	Kifumbira	Runyankore/Rukiga (?)
Masindi	Runyoro	
Mbarara	Runyankore	
Ntungama	Runyankore	
Rukungiri	Lukiga	